years of magnificent achievement that followed, he really never left this field.

For him education was a continuing process and a necessary one if man was to understand his environment, to cope with his times, and to have some degree of control over his destiny.

Murrow, as most of you know, was Chairman of this Council's committee that selected recipients of the fellowships that are now being perpetuated in his name.

He had high regard for the purposes for which these fellowships were established; to broaden and deepen the education of men assigned to the task of informing the public of the affairs of the world; a world that these days grows more complex as crisis follows crisis.

In attaching such importance to the quality of foreign correspondents, Murrow realized that in many countries abroad they find themselves in a real sense serving as unofficial ambassadors of our country.

It was certainly such a position that Murrow himself occupied during the war years in London. He held the confidence of the highest circles of government both there and in Washington and the benefit of his wide knowledge and his counsel were constantly sought. Although his broadcasts were not heard abroad, their contents were carefully studied and his reports were highly respected both for the observations they made and for the influence they exerted.

Because he understood the importance of foreign correspondents, he was never more conscientious and searching than when as European Director of CBS News he was choosing men to cover its various posts

overseas. And these men in turn rose to meet the exacting standards of character and intelligence that he exemplified.

Those standards have had a profound effect on broadcast journalism, and as a matter of fact, on all categories of journalism.

And, so tonight we're taking a significant step to assure their continuation and I hope their permanence.

If he were here tonight, I'm sure Ed Murrow with pleasure and pride would say to you: Gentlemen, thank you. Thank you very much. Good night and good luck.

February 2, 1961

Dear Shep:

Since I must, from now on, spend all of my time in Washington, I shall have to reluctantly withdraw from the Study Group on British Images of the United States, conducted by the Council on Foreign Relations.

I hope, however, that it will be possible for us to remain in touch, and that you will be so gracious as to let me see the results of the Study Group.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Shepard Stone
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
LEhigh 5-3300

January 19, 1961

TO MEMBERS OF THE STUDY GROUP ON
BRITISH IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES:

As you know, the next meeting of the Study Group on British Images of the United States will take place at 5:30 on Monday, February 6th. Tea will be served at 5:15, and the meeting will continue, with a break for dinner at 7:00, until around 9:30 or 10:00. A working paper by Mr. Evans will be sent to you ahead of time.

Enclosed, for those who were not here last night is Mr. Flanigan's digest of the December 20th meeting. If you have any corrections of statements attributed to you, please let us nave them for the master copy in the Council's files. If anyone at the meeting last night neglected to take his digest home with him and would like a copy, we would be glad to send him one.

Please let us know whether or not to expect you on February 6th.

Lorna Brennan
Administrative Secretary

Please return the enclosed card or call Miss White at LEhigh 5-3300.

RESTRICTED TO GROUP MEMBERS ONLY

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STUDY GROUP REPORTS

BRITISH IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES

Chairman: Shepard Stone
Research Secretary: F. Bowen Evans
Rapporteur: William A. Flanigan, Jr.

Digest of Discussion

Second Meeting

December 20, 1960

(This digest has not been edited by the participants.)

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
58 EAST 68TH STREET NEW YORK 21

The second meeting of the Study Group on British Images of the United States was held at 5:30 p.m. at the Harold Pratt House, on December 20, 1960. Present were: Shepard Stone, Chairman; F. Bowen Evans, Research Secretary; William A. Flanigan, Jr., Rapporteur; Winthrop W. Aldrich; Frank Altschul; Henry G. Aubrey; Edward W. Barrett; Hugh N. Boyd; W. Phillips Davison; William Diebold, Jr., Lewis W. Douglas; Leon D. Epstein; Albert E. Ernst; J. K. Evans; William T. R. Fox; W. Rogers Herod; Irving Kristol; Porter McKeever; Philip E. Mosely; Abraham Sirkin; Leroy D. Stinebower.

* - * - * - *

Mr. Stone opened the meeting and noted that in the working paper, after each section is a question regarding the United States Information Service's role on the topic discussed. Mr. Mosely mentioned that if corrections were to be made in the digest they should be submitted to him and could either be made on the master copy or circulated separately to all members of the Study Group.

Pacifism in Britain

Question: How deep and how lasting is pacifist sentiment in Britain? Is it the chief factor underlying the campaign for nuclear disarmament, and the foreign policies advocated by the left wing of the Labour Party? What is its effect on official British policy? How would one reason as to the appropriate role of the United States Information Service in Britain on the subject of British pacifism?

Mr. Mosely said that perhaps pacifism in Britain was in reality a form of isolationism. The British, in the past, have had the barrier of the English Channel behind which they sit. Also,they have maintained a big navy and an army, and perhaps there is resentment regarding the burdens imposed by their present position in world affairs. He does not believe that pacifism is a deep religious commitment peculiar to the British people. Mr. Evans felt that pacifism in the United Kingdom was not primarily a religious matter. In fact, church attendance in England is small and percentagewise is much less than in the United States. Some church leaders are active in pacifist and unilateralist movements. But while moral revulsion against war

is a factor in British pacifism, in most cases that is not directly related to practicing religious beliefs. A greater impetus toward pacifism is the fact that the British feel themselves so highly vulnerable to an H-Bomb attack.

Mr. Stone commented on his experience in watching CND marches in Britain. He sensed that the participants were young, militant people who might be committed to any cause. He wondered if there was Communistic influence in the pacifist movement. Mr. Kristol believes that there is little Communistic influence; that communism is more important in the trade union movement; that among the young people there were idealists seeking causes to be followed. Furthermore, that the pacifist movement in England was not deeply rooted in the English people, but that pacifism was an expression of their socially conscious nature.

Ambassador Douglas recalled a poll that was taken in 1936 in which 61 per cent of the British were in favor of peace at any price; yet they acted quite differently when war occurred. However he did feel that there was Communistic influence among the demonstrators. Importantly, it is not a question of "peace at any price," but "how can nuclear war be avoided" that is really in their minds.

Mr. Aubrey felt that the pacifist position was a normal one in that people naturally desired to stay out of war; but if war should occur they would be willing to fight. Mr. Herod pointed up the fact that the British are anxious because they find themselves in the middle, and having no control of the situation. They are worried over whether, if a war should occur, it would occur at a time of their choosing and at a time when they are prepared. They feel themselves constantly in the middle between the United States and Russia. They are concerned about U.S. policies and actions which might involve them in a war which they might not think justified.

Regarding the effect of pacifism on official British policy, Ambassador Douglas felt the demonstrators did not represent enough strength to effect the policy. Mr. Kristol referred to the polls on page three of the working paper regarding the question whether "nuclear war was ever justifiable." He felt it would be interesting to

know what similar polls in America produced. Mr. Evans stated that he knew of no comparable poll in this country. Mr. Epstein said that among the young people who are his students, the feeling of pacifism does not seem to exist.

In connection with polls, Mr. Herod stated that we should not give too much weight to them as he did not believe that polls give people enough time to consider their answer. Ambassador Aldrich felt that pacifism had no effect on official policy as the British are completely tied to NATO and to us. Ambassador Douglas doubted the implications of the polls also, recalling that in 1948 the bombers sites for the United States were accepted in England by both parties.

Regarding the role of USIA in this matter, Ambassador Doublas felt that there is nothing which USIA can do to make a bad policy or action of our government appear good to the British. He said the British definitely have had the feeling that our government was "trigger-happy," but that this feeling has subsided, and he does not believe that the USIA can deal with this type of problem. Ambassador Aldrich felt that the USIA should not try to affect policy, but should try to explain it. Mr. McKeever felt that the role of USIA should be to emphasize the peaceful objects of the U.S. government and to further the mutuality of feeling in the fields in which we hold common interests. Mr. Evans noted that the USIA sometimes found it hard to explain or to act as Mr. McKeever suggested when there is a general in the Pentagon rattling an H-Bomb. Mr. Davison felt that any interpretation should be done by the British; that the USIS does not have to interpret, but should recognize its duty of supplying correct information to those who are trying to interpret policy.

A discussion was held regarding the Institute of Strategic Studies in Britain, and it was commented that it was well that this Institute was completely in British hands; the Ford Foundation had merely supplied the necessary means to launch this organization.

Ambassador Douglas mentioned that the British press has maintained complete news coverage in this country. The reports sent out by the British correspondents in the United States may be biased by the writer or by the editor or publisher in

Britain. This is a problem and it is hoped that the USIA will employ a technique of having more personal relationships with those who control the dissemination of news in Britain. He felt that personal relations were of the utmost importance and that if the USIA never visibly appeared, it was all to the good. Mr. Herod said he also felt that the USIA should only give out detailed, correct information and should not attempt to influence people. Ambassador Douglas stressed that any deviation from the absolute truth was wrong and that the USIA can only explain policies and events and that the best way to do this was by personal relationships.

Mr. F. Bowen Evans said that the USIA does attempt to get facts into the hands of the right people. It is then perfectly appropriate for the British to use such factual information to try to influence policy. Regarding the problem of the representatives of the English press in this country, USIA has only one man in New York City to serve as a liaison man between the government and correspondents from all over the world. There is no one available in Washington, as that involves a jurisdictional problem with the State Department. In conclusion, Mr. Mosely made the point that interpretation is inherent in selecting which facts and issues to emphasize, and therefore it is not easy to draw a firm line between "facts" and their interpretation.

"Interdependence' vs. the status of a Dependent Satellite

Question: How important is the factor of "dependence" in Britain? What can the United States do to decrease the "satellite" charge? Apart from actual policy development and statements by the U.S. government, is there any appropriate role for the USIA on this question?

Mr. Epstein felt that there was a time lag between the actual loss of British status and recognition of that fact by the British public. But now they are becoming more and more aware that they are no longer a controlling world power; that they are no longer equal and that, perhaps, they should move toward a position like that of a Sweden or an India in world affairs. Mr. Epstein indicated that perhaps this position would appeal to the younger generation.

Mr. J. K. Evans mentioned that the U.S. gold problem might very soon alleviate Britain's feeling of inferiority or dependence.

Mr. Stone felt that an alliance was between partners -- not between a power and a satellite -- and that the alliance and the importance of it was recognized by the U.S. government and the British. Mr. Kristol felt that the inferior status that had been mentioned was extremely hard on the British people in view of their proud, great and long history. Perhaps this feeling of inferiority could be overcome by some bold, dramatic gesture on the part of the American government. Mr. Herod felt that America refused to give credit to the British where due, and that the British did have a sense of resentment and felt that we were looking down on them. In many areas this is not justified, he noted, such as in the development of jet aircraft and radar, where they have shown great research talents. In connection with giving the British greater recognition, Mr. Davison commented that he had long felt that it might help the situation by having a British naval commander at the head of the NATO naval forces, and to have him located in Norfolk, Virginia. This might counterbalance to some extent the SAC bases in England and would draw the English closer to us and supply the sense of importance that is needed.

Mr. Stone asked how vital the British were to the U.S. government. Ambassador Douglas answered that the British had proven their importance in their very good basic science research. However, they had dropped behind in technological areas. He felt that they were extremely vital to us and we to them, the reason being that problems cannot be restricted to one geographical area, but can suddenly become a world issue. This could even be true in the case of the Peru-Ecuador border dispute. It is hard to have a limited war when great powers are in the picture. The U.S. role was vital to Britain in the Suez crisis and that could easily have become even more serious than it was. Ambassador Douglas felt that there was not enough political consultation in NATO as regards the foreign policies of the associated governments. Mr. Aubrey agreed that this was extremely important, and that the NATO alliance would

grow in strength if it added greater economic and political collaboration to the present military collaboration.

Ambassador Aldrich said that consultation between the governments is absolutely vital and more should be encouraged. He stated that in regard to Suez our government was not consulted. Part of this resulted from the confusion on the part of the British before Suez, as regards the U.S. attitude. He noted that, in his experience, the U.S. had been more active in consultation than had the British. Mr. Stone asked if consultation should be more effective. Ambassador Aldrich and Ambassador Douglas agreed that this is a vital area and that the subject of consultation runs both ways. Mr. F. Bowen Evans wanted to know if everyone present did not feel that consultation had improved since Suez. Agreement seemed to be held that it certainly had.

Mr. Sirkin felt that Britain presented a special problem as Britain not only wanted to be consulted, but wanted to be consulted first and as an equal. Mr. Stone wondered whether Britain would be satisfied if the consultation were done through NATO. Ambassador Douglas felt that this depended on how it was done and Ambassador Aldrich added that always the personalities involved must be considered.

Mr. Kristol cited Canada an an example where American dominance is generally accepted and yet our relationships are good. Mr. Mosely asked whether Britain should not be encouraged to give a stronger lead to the European members of NATO, for example, by building up a West European deterrent, and thus to act in relation to the United States as the leaders of a powerful bloc; admittedly, at present the British attach more importance to their direct relations to the United States and treat NATO as a secondary forum. But, he added, Britain gives little help now to the United States in meeting its responsibilities in Asia.

Political Ideology in Britain

Question: In what ways, and to what degree, does ideology influence British attitudes toward Russia; toward America; and toward British foreign policy? Should USIS employ ideological arguments or output in its British program?

Ambassador Douglas felt that there was little difference in ideological feeling in the United States and Britain, but that the difference lay rather in experience than in ideology. The British have a great respect for time whereas the United States is always anxious to solve problems quickly. Whether the Socialists or Conservatives were in power, there appeared to be, in foreign policy, no ideological difference in their dealing with us. In short, ideological feeling does not enter into it. Ambassador Aldrich also felt that there was little difference ideologically and that any such differences largely vanished when the British understood what was being said by Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Davison noted that the British do feel that the Russians can be argued around. In contrast, Mr. Evans noted, the United States operates more as though the contest with communism were a religious war. Ambassador Douglas felt the British were not as shocked or excited about communism as we are because they have faced many similar threats in the past. They are more concerned with preservation of the peace and less with the argument of a holy crusade. Ambassador Douglas felt that the United States, in its foreign policy, appeared to the English to be inflexible. Mr. Altschul questioned whether the British were being sufficiently realistic about communism. At this point, Mr. Stone asked whether perhaps the USIA's effort should be to bring about more realism in England. Mr. Altschul commented that at first we might do it at home.

Returning to ideology, Mr. Kristol mentioned that the large number of Socialists in Britain regard the United States as a capitalistic country and Russia as the extreme of socialism and that, therefore, these people are resistant to an objective study of communism. Ambassador Douglas did not feel this was so. The Socialist party was the party that was enthusiastic regarding NATO and, by all its actions, has tried to check and counterbalance the Soviet threat.

After dinner, Mr. Stone referred again to the matter of consultations and closer communications with England through NATO. Would that improve Britain's self-respect, and improve her attitude toward America? Mr. Fox felt that it certainly would increase

England's prestige as she would then be one of the top two out of fifteen. Mr. Mosely asked the group to consider the position if Western Europe should take responsibility for her own deterrent collectively in NATO. Then we would have a Western Europe deterrent and a U.S. deterrent. This might result in England and NATO gaining prestige, and help to reduce their feeling of being overly dependent on America. As an aside, Mr. Mosely mentioned the possibility of Red China's expansion in Asia. Red China may consider expanding, relying on Russia to deter nuclear resistance on our part. This would leave us in an extremely bad position as our capability with conventional weapons is low.

Mr. McKeever asked the group to seriously consider the common possession we hold with the English, namely the English language. He stressed the importance of this vital link of communications and the hopeful fact that the rest of the world is coming to regard English as a second language. This is a strong Anglo-American bond and a great advantage on the side of the West. We have only to consider our position if the rest of the world considered that Russian was the important second language to be taught in schools and universities.

The question was then raised, "Have the British, in fact, been successful in moderating American policy and, if so, has that been desirable?" Mr. Herod believes that they feel that they have influenced our policy, but that Americans feel that this is exaggerated. Mr. Altschul pointed out that Macmillan's trip to Moscow did influence us and the English played a considerable part in bringing us to the acceptance of a summit meeting. Mr. Stone asked if USIS could not emphasize the fact that the British do have an influence on our policy under certain circumstances. Of course, one of the difficulties of this would be that we would have to admit that our friends influenced us; some might regard this as embarrassing. Mr. Barrett felt that this was an avenue that could well be explored, of giving credit to others and looking to them for advice. Mr. Diebold felt that this was a misleading approach to follow.

Mr. Herod stressed that it was not necessary for them to be leading us or we them. "Can it not be that we have common problems and goals and approach them together? "

Certainly, in the intellectual spheres, they are our equals and we should avoid the appearance of claiming a copyright on brains. Mr. Herod felt that our press, advertising, movies, etc., all give this feeling. Mr. Sirkin, at this point, felt that our behavior domestically, more than our behavior overseas, created this impression. Our crime, as regards this problem, is certainly committed at home.

Differences Over Summitry

Question: What were the reasons for Mr. Dulles' reluctance to have a summit meeting" Were the stated reasons the real ones? could we -- or should we -- have moved closer to the British position earlier than we did? What can USIS in Britain do when there is such an impasse between U.S. policy and British opinion? What should be the position of the new U.S. administration on "summitry"?

Mr. Stone attempted to analyze Dulles' reasons for being against "summitry" and felt that they were similar to Dean Rusk's and Anthony Eden's. Mr. Altschul expressed the opinion that Dulles was afraid to expose Eisenhower to "summitry". Mr. F. Bowen Evans stated that view was widely held in England. Mr. Mosely noted that in a summit meeting, there is a great deal more pressure on us than on the Russians, as we are much more deeply affected by public opinion. Mr. F. Bowen Evans agreed with Dulles' reservations on "summitry." However, he believes the English impression was that our reluctance to go to a summit meeting was basically a reluctance to negotiate at any level. Since the British insist on the importance of negotiation, this view that the United States did not really wish to negotiate gave much trouble. Following this line, Mr. Stone wondered whether we should try now to have our foreign ministers meet to overcome this objection. Mr. F. Bowen Evans stated that it would be helpful if we could take the initiative; if, for a change, we could be the ones who made proposals for negotiation. Of course, it is harder for us to move than it is for a totalitarian state. Mr. Kristol felt that we should not believe that every Briton was for "summitry" and that many of the British intellectuals and professional politicians had the same reservations about "summitry" as we do. Mr. Sirkin mentioned

that in the last issue of the Observer, one writer even blamed Macmillan for the failure of the Pa is Meeting, saying that Macmillan at first indicated to the Communists that there might be some room for concessions regarding Berlin and then backed away from this hint.

Mr. McKeever questioned how much pressure there was for "summitry" after Potsdam. Mr. Barrett felt that the lack of a dynamic, active policy brings about the desire for "summitry." It was also mentioned that Sir Anthony Eden, in his latest article in Foreign Affairs, opposed summit meetings and explained their difficulties. In view of this, Mr. Stone questioned whether, if President-elect Kennedy came out against "summitry," there was some way that USIA could gain acceptance for this policy in Europe by publicizing the fact that this was also Eden's view. The group seemed to believe that this could not be done directly, but could be done through various British organizations.

Mr. Sirkin felt that the USIA could encourage more open and frank debates. Mr. Barrett felt that USIS must operate in England very differently from the way it would in a less developed country. Perhaps exchange of persons for frank, open discussions would be more effective than the usual information attempts. These people might well not be in official positions.

Mr. Altschul felt that USIS could set as one goal an effort to make it absolutely clear why the United States is unwilling to go to a summit meeting. Mr. F Bowen Evans stated that we must not appear to seem negative. Mr. Stone indicated that Mr. Kennedy in his inaugural speech might make a policy statement regarding "summitry." Mr. Herod felt that we might even convey the impression that we will make concessions but, most importantly, we should show that we have flexibility and must show initiative. Mr. Kristol stressed that the main spokesman for the USIA is the President of the United States -- that the USIA cannot invent arguments, but can only disseminate the arguments advanced publicly by the President and the Secretary of State.

Brinkmanship

Question: Are there arguments in favor of "tough" public statements?

Mr. Kristol felt that it is all right to make a tough statement if you mean it and intent to back it up. Mr. F. Bowen Evans questioned why generals could make various "provocative" statements and continue to escape discipline. Mr. Stone recognized this problem and stated that it might be well for the new Kennedy Administration to lay down a firm policy to correct it immediately. Mr. F. Bowen Evans explained as far as public speeches go the mechanics of controlling this are already at hand and must only be utilized. At the present time, a general is required to submit his talk to the State Department for approval; however, when this is done at the last minute, this does not give the reviewing officer time to analyze it fully and carefully, if at all.

British Neutralism

Question; Is neutralism, in fact, increasing in Britain? What are the prospects, short-run and long-run, of neutralism becoming official British policy? If neutralism should fail in Britain, what would be the effects for the United States? What can the United States do to help diminish neutralist sentiment in Britain?

Taking a case in point, Mr. Stone noted that there was to be a new editor for the New Statesman, which has a world-wide circulation and influence. Is there anything that the USIA can do with this group to influence it and correct its misapprehensions? At this point, Mr. F. Bowen Evans stated his feeling that personal relationships at certain levels are not always as effective as Ambassador Aldrich and Ambassador Douglas implied. Agreeing that personal relationships had limitations, Mr. Stone wondered whether they were yet open to real discussions of problems and would listen to both sides sensibily. Mr. Kristol felt that these people would probably be willing to listen and discuss openly various problems "with their peers." In connection with this, Mr. F. Bowen Evans noted that while personal contact with critical journalists may not improve their attitudes toward America, it may keep their criticisms

from being even more sharp. Regarding neutralism, Mr. Stone wondered whether it was just a matter of the British Left. Mr. F. Bowen Evans felt that this neutralism was mainly concentrated in the Labour far-Left. Regarding neutralism, Mr. Davison explained the position of neutralism in the Scandinavian countries such as Norway: Norway had to reason out its responsibilities and its position as to how they see the military situation, and how they are affected by it. Therefore, in essence, the question is: what would offer the best security?

Relating this to "brinkmanship", Mr. F. Bowen Evans stated that in his opinion, the Life Magazine article in which John Foster Dulles was pictured as advocating "brinkmanship" cost, in dollars, the entire yearly budget of the USIA in view of its disastrous effects on foreign opinion. It tended to undo any good that USIA might have done on the "peace" issue in a year's time.

Mr. Sirkin felt that neutralism will unfortunately snowball in the future as people increasingly begin to understand the dangers of the deterrence of "mutual terror" and as the popular press begins to publicize some of the arguments now seen only in serious journals. When this happens we will have one of the hardest problems to face that we have ever faced. Basically, he believes, every country looks at the world situation from its own point of view; as the British become increasingly aware of the risks involved in the strategy of nuclear deterrence, they will probably become increasingly neutral.

William A. Flanigan, Jr.
Rapporteur

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
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LEhigh 5-3300

January 31, 1961

TO MEMBERS OF THE STUDY GROUP ON
BRITISH IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES:

Enclosed is Mr. Evans' working paper, British Images of Americans as Individuals, and of American Society, which will serve as the basis of discussion at the meeting on Monday, February 6th. As you know, the meeting will begin at 5:30, preceded by tea at 5:15, and will continue through dinner until around 10:00 p.m. If you have not done so already, please let us know whether to expect you.

Mr. Flanigan's digest of the last meeting will be mailed to you shortly.

Lorna Brennan
Administrative Secretary

Please call Miss White
at LEhigh 5-3300.

Working Paper No. 4.
For meeting of
February 6, 1961

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COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Study Group on
British Images of the United States

British Images of Americans as Individuals, and of American Society

by F. Bowen Evans

A. British Attitudes toward Americans as Individuals

1. The Image of Homo Americanus

In seeking to know what the British feel about Americans as individuals, or about "the American character," reliance on what some British authors have said can be highly misleading. The best known attempt was by the British "sociologist" Geoffrey Gorer, a Cambridge don, in his 1948 book The American People. I leave it to one of his own countrymen, Professor H. C. Allen, to put Gorer in his place: Allen has written (in Great Britain and the United States, 1954, p. 153), that Gorer's book on the Americans "is a supreme instance of the nemesis which overtakes even observant and perspicacious men who rush into complex social problems and emerge hastily with simple 'scientific' solutions. The many notes of interest which he strikes are utterly vitiated by the fact that he raises upon the precarious pinpoint apex of a neo-Freudian theory of universal American 'father-rejection' a vast inverted pryamid of unsubstantiated conclusions."

There is by now considerable evidence of how the British people view the species homo Americanus, and their view bears little or no resemblance to what an individual British "intellectual" may feel.

Milton Graham, in his 1950 survey, showed his 761 British respondents a long list of descriptive characteristics and asked them to check off all those which they thought applied to Americans.

Graham reports that "everybody had opinions about Americans, and very little reticence was shown in expressing those views." The favorable adjectives chosen, in order of their frequency, were: friendly, informal, enterprising, gregarious, energetic, generous, hospitable, warm-hearted, industrious.

The unfavorable adjectives, in order of frequency, were: cocksure, noisy, boastful. ("An Experiment in International Attitudes Research," International Social Science Bulletin, Autumn 1951, pp. 529-539.)

A British survey organization found in 1953 that "the main qualities that people liked the Americans for were their friendliness and openness, their kindness and generosity.... They were disliked, on the other hand, chiefly because they were felt to be boastful, conceited, or 'all talk'; also for their immaturity and because they were suspected of taking other people's credit or looking down on other people." (Mass Observation Bulletin, London, April 1954, p. 7.)

Citing its earlier survey of 1947, which got substantially the same results, Mass Observation remarks that "this picture has been fairly stable throughout the years." As several other surveys show, there is little question of that. Only one more will be cited, of interest because the questionnaire asked not only for British opinions about other peoples, but also for British opinions about the British. In this UNESCO survey (1948, with the Gallup Poll conducting the British portion), a list of adjectives was again employed, respondents being asked to check those they thought applicable. The eight characteristics selected most frequently as applying to Americans, and those selected most frequently as applying

to the British, are given in order of frequency. (From Buchanan and Cantril, How Nations See Each Other.)

The British see the Americans as:		The British see themselves as:	
Progressive	58%	Peace-loving	77%
Conceited	52	Brave	59
Generous	52	Hard working	57
Peace-loving	39	Intelligent	52
Intelligent	38	Generous	48
Practical	38	Practical	47
Domineering	37	Self-controlled	44
Hard working	32	Progressive	31

One finding of this nine-nation simultaneous survey with identical questionnaires was that "stereotypes of one's own countrymen are invariably in flattering terms." (Buchanan, ISSB, Autumn 1951, p. 528.) Allowing for that, the adjectives British apply to Americans and to themselves show a considerable similarity, despite the fact that they come in different rank order. In the lists above, "conceited" and "domineering" are the only characteristics the British apply to Americans and not to themselves. "Brave" and "self-controlled" are the only characteristics they attribute to themselves and not to Americans. The survey also found that the British gave Americans a considerably better score (more "good" adjectives and fewer "bad" adjectives) than they gave to other foreign nationalities.

On a separate question, "Which foreign people do you feel most friendly toward?", the same survey showed the following result:

Americans	29%
The Dominions, Colonies	11
French	9
Dutch, Belgians	7
Scandinavians	7
Germans	4
"All people"	11
"No particular people"	6
Miscellaneous	14
Don't know	9

Other more recent surveys have reinforced the finding that Britons are more friendly to Americans than to any other nationality. And in fact, if the question above had been worded differently it is probable that Americans would have scored still higher. For most Britons do not regard Americans as "foreigners" (see below), and may not, for that reason, have thought to name Americans as the "foreign people they felt most friendly toward."

A twenty-four year-old schoolmistress interviewed in one British survey summed it all up, though she could not have possibly have known how closely her own brief remark reflected the temper of a whole nation. "I am quite kindly disposed towards Americans," she said. "Apart from their big talk, I think they are quite like us." (Mass Observation Bulletin, April 1954, p. 6.)

Are British assessments of Americans as individuals reflected in broader attitudes toward America as a world power? Milton Graham, in the survey conducted as part of his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of London, found a definite correlation (Chap. 5, pp. 19-20):

> The personal attributes of Americans in Britain that formed the basis of the ideas about the Americans as a people also forms the basis of the ideas about the Americans as a nation and a dominant world power. The GI's and the tourists, for all their good qualities, were also considered cocksure, over-confident, aggressive, immature, materialistic, poorly educated, and lacking in self-discipline and self-criticism.... Reinforced by the historical accounts and much of the contemporary comment, these unfavorable attributes affect the observers' appraisal of America as a nation and as a dominant world power....

Graham found a "carry-over" effect. Americans as individuals are seen as generous and mechanically adept -- the American nation provides generous economic assistance and good technological advice. Similarly, Americans as individuals are seen as over-confident, impulsive, rather simple -- the American nation is naïve about

international diplomacy, and there are "fitful bursts of often misdirected energy."

Other possible "carry-over" effects have been noted -- the impression of the individual Yankee's talkativeness, youthfulness, (crew-cuts), aggressiveness, play some part in molding the picture of a U.S. government whose policies may seem immature, brash, and/or too loudly or belligerently proclaimed.

There is another sort of connection. A British survey in 1959, designed by Hugh Parry, disproved (as others also have) the old adage that "familiarity breeds contempt." To be sure, some American individuals in Britain as elsewhere have created only resentment and animosity. But in the net, as Parry shows, those Britons who have actually known American airmen or tourists or businessmen have a vastly better opinion of "Americans in general" than those who have had no such contact or acquaintance with Americans.

Further, Parry has demonstrated a direct correlation between the degree of acquaintance with individual Americans, and the degree of support for U.S. objectives as measured by attitudes toward neutralism, confidence in the United States as an ally, general esteem for the United States, and belief that Britain and America share the same general interests. (USIA report, mimeographed, October 1959.)

Establishing the correlation does not of course prove whether it is the acquaintance and liking of individual Americans which causes the greater degree of support for U.S. objectives -- or whether causation runs the other way, with the acceptance of U.S. objectives leading to greater acquaintance and liking of Americans -- or whether there is a mutual interaction, which would seem to be the common sense conclusion.

The British image of American individuals is derived in part of course from what Britons read in the newspapers or see in the movies or on television. But to an increasing extent, during and since World War II, it is based on observation of/or acquaintance with the large numbers of Americans who have been in Britain.

It is estimated that nearly two million American servicemen passed through Britain during the war or have been stationed at U.S. bases in Britain since 1948. (Clark,cited, p. 13.)

Americans tourists have been visiting Britain in ever-increasing numbers, with about 360,000 there in 1959 and with the figure for the first half of 1960 some 20 per cent higher than the first half of 1959. Tourist behavior seems to have improved greatly.

There is a steady influx of American students, and of course a substantial number of American businessmen and other "civilian residents" in Britain.

A 1958 Gallup Poll asked the British what sort of influence they felt these various groups had on Britain, with these results:

	American Residents	American Military	American Tourists	American Students
Very good influence	11	5	26	16
More good than bad	26	38	38	31
More bad than good	8	20	3	3
Very bad influence	2	10	1	1
No influence at all	23	11	12	13
Don't know	30	16	20	36
	100	100	100	100
Net favorable	27	13	60	43

This broad question of course measured only broad impact. A series of more precise questions would be needed to determine what part of the attitude toward tourists is generated by the dollars they bring, for example, and what part is due to their personal charm.

QUESTIONS: Do attitudes toward individual American influence broader attitudes toward American policies and American leadership? What sorts of problems are generated by the presence of Americans overseas? Are there programs which government or private enterprise should undertake to improve the behavior of our citizens abroad?

2. The "Cousin Complex"

Americans are "quite like us," said the British schoolmistress. This is the "cousin complex" which exists far more strongly on the British than on the American side of the water. It springs in large part from the possession of a common language, and from a failure of many Britons to realize the diverse national origins of the American population, from the persistence of the old supposition that America is populated almost entirely by persons of English, Scottish, Irish, or Welsh descent.

The titles of William Clark's book Less than Kin and of Gorley Putt's book Cousins and Strangers are indicative of concern with this question.

Several authors in the past have commented on the fact that many of the British do not regard Americans as foreigners. The extent of that attitude was not measured, however, until Hugh Parry's survey of 1959 (referred to above), in which a national British sample of 1,000 was asked:

> "When you think of the Americans, do you think of them basically as British or basically as foreigners?"

Think of them as Basically British	42%
Think of them as foreigners	29
As something between the two	25
Don't know	4
	100%

At first blush, this widely held British view that Americans are not "foreigners" would seem to be a great and unmitigated asset

in creating good will for the United States. But if the net effect is positive, it would be only because the beneficial effects outweigh a number of offsetting factors which arise from precisely the same feeling of being "in the family."

First, the feeling of kinship gives rise to an exaggerated expectation of likeness to the illusion, in William Clark's words, that "America is Britain-with-a-difference." Thus a Briton can be shocked or even hurt when he comes up against real, live Americans and finds that they are not like the British; or when he comes up against some aspect of American life which he unconsciously had assumed would be like the equivalent practice or belief or institution in Britain.

Second, does it not possibly contribute to a type of criticism, a particularly sharp and acid and sometimes irresponsible criticism of things American? Such denouncements might occur less frequently if there were not the feeling that "we're all in the same family, so let's speak freely." Criticism and speaking freely are all to the good, in themselves. But the benefits of criticism and free discussion may be in part undone if the tone only arouses antagonism, and creates answers in kind from the Chicago Tribune or the Hearst press in America, or even from some who are more kindly disposed toward Britain.

Third, it seems universally true that people tend to judge by the standards of their own country the queer peoples and customs of another land under observation, inevitably drawing comparisons which are usually favorable to their own accustomed ways and unfavorable to the other country. When the British look at countries other than America this rule of course operates, and the British judge the French,

for instance, by British standards; but they make many allowances because of the knowledge and expectation that of course the French are different. But when they look at America, regarded as a kindred country, this habit of judging by British standards is intensified and is not relieved by the normal allowances that some things will be different. It thus happens that America may be blamed harshly by Britons for some incident or practice which is "un-British," while they might overlook the same incident or practice in some other land deemed to be more alien.

Fourth, as Crane Brinton has stated, the British feeling that we are members of the family leads them "to expect from us a lot more of the wordless, habitual understanding than they could from Frenchmen, or Russians. This attitude, which is not reciprocally shared by most Americans, is one of the serious psychological difficulties of Anglo-American relations." (The United States and Britain, p. 233.) Sir Oliver Franks, back in Britain after his term as ambassador to the United States, said: "If I had to state what I thought the most prevalent single cause of misunderstanding between the United States and Britain, I should name the failure to communicate the assumptions of a proposal." (BBC Reith Lectures, 1954, p. 34.)

Fifth, the sense of "family" contributes to the British demand, and the supporting argument, that Britain should be not merely one of our allies, but first and special partner. This is an attitude which the United States finds it difficult to requite, in view of the sensitivities of other allies.

Sixth, and perhaps most importantly, it contributes to a false expectation by many of the British that there will be no important frictions or difficulties between Britain and America. "Even Britishers

wise in American ways expect -- not in their conscious thinking, but deep down in their subconscious -- that we will want to do what they want us to do, because we do naturally what they do." (Brinton, cited, p. 234.) Leaders on both sides have sought to dispel this dangerous illusion. For example, at the dedication of Roosevelt's statue in Grosvenor Square on April 12, 1948, Sir Campbell Stuart cautioned that "there are bound to be many continuing points of conflict in our political and trade relationships with one another and with the rest of the world." (Vanderschmidt, What the English Think of Us, 1948, p. 212.)

It is not clear to what extent this unconscious assumption of Anglo-American harmony has survived the jolt of Suez. Ambassador Whitney has thought it wise to say, in several of his public speeches in Britain, that occasional frictions must be expected. And in his farewell to Britain, spoken to the Pilgrims in London on January 11, 1961, he again emphasized the necessity and utility of freely discussing such differences:

> When we have been in trouble, it has more often than not been because of a failure in communications. Except for the most urgent reasons of security and in full consciousness of the risk, we cannot afford to leave our people to guess at official positions, intentions, or motives in any of the matters where we must act together successfully in order to achieve the goals we agree on.... I am persuaded that no single aspect of the Anglo-American partnership is more important than the freedom of each partner to hold and to urge separate points of view. It seems obvious to me that the supreme advantage of an alliance such as ours is that we have different positions, different outlooks, different interests, different experiences, and that we are able to bring these to bear on the solution of common problems for common objectives.

On the kinship matter, Ambassador Whitney said that "an American cynic once remarked that 'a friend who is very near and dear may in time become as useless as a relative.' Our own progression has been from cousins to friends, and that is as it should be."

QUESTIONS: Shaw once quipped that Britain and America were two countries separated by a common tongue. Is it true that the British feeling of kinship poses problems in the six ways which have been named? Is it correct to assume that such disadvantages are outweighed by the friendliness and loyalty which are also in part products of the British feeling of kinship? Can we or should we requite the British sentiment by openly and avowedly accepting Britain as a first and special partner? If we do, how do we assuage the feelings of our other allies? If we don't, how do we explain to Britain?

It was successfully argued in congressional committees in 1957 that the USIS program in Britain could be drastically cut because, in effect, the "ties that bind" are so strong that Britain could be taken for granted. The budget of USIS in Britain was accordingly cut 40 per cent. Again in January 1960 a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs recommended still further cutbacks for USIS in Britain. Could the ideas presented in this section be of some use in mitigating the congressional premise that Britain poses few information problems?

B. British Attitudes toward American Society

1. What's Right with America

The first thing to be noted is that there are many aspects of American life which the British approve and admire. Among them are our technological and industrial and business techniques and our high standard of living; our general energy and progressiveness (though the pace of life is thought to be too fast); our political democracy (though not necessarily the particular constitutional and institutional forms through which it operates); our inventiveness and industry and productivity; our openness and friendliness and hospitality, etc. The British masses (though not the highbrows) like our Hollywood movies (which constitute two-thirds of all movies shown in Britain), our television, our jazz music, and other aspects of our mass culture. The British egg heads (though not the masses) have come increasingly to appreciate our fine arts, whether it be the novels of Faulkner or the plays of Arthur Miller or the choreography of George Balanchine or the compositions and conducting of Aaron Copland or the performances of the New York Philharmonic or the Met. Both highbrows and lowbrows are nuts about our musical comedies.

This list (and other things could be mentioned) is formidable, and every item contributes to a favorable image of America. In the interest of perspective, we should keep that in mind as we move along to the problem areas. For like images of our foreign policies and our American individuals, there is here again mixture and ambivalence, and it is not at all clear that bad impressions outweigh the good.

But while we may take pride in these things, they are not the stuff that information problems are made of. Our major concern must focus on those facets which, in the British view, are distasteful and serve to tarnish the American image.

2. <u>What's Wrong with America</u>

Press comment and opinion surveys indicate that the following aspects of American life are among those disliked by significant proportions of the British people:

(a) The fast pace and high pressure of American life.

(b) American youth. This pertains both to youths themselves and to the manner of their upbringing,which the British feel is too lax. On the "net favorable" index American youth scores minus two.

(c) American politics, where a favorable attitude only barely preponderates over a large segment of unfavorable opinion. (Index plus nine.)

(d) Widespread corruption, not only in politics and government (chiefly local government), but also in unions (Jimmy Hoffa) and business and in television (Charles Van Doren). As each new instance crops up British writers are prone to refer to "the built-in corruption" in American life.

(e) Superficiality and exaggeration, related generally to a type of advertising which the British often find too blatant and too omnipresent.

(f) To the statement that "A few families and large corporations dominate business and industry in the United States," 51 per cent of the British agree, 24 per cent disagree, 25 per cent don't know. The old "Wall Street domination" image still lingers.

(g) The old feeling that America was a largely classless society no longer holds. Only 28 per cent express agreement with the assertion that "America is a classless society," while 61 per cent disagree and 11 per cent don't know.

(h) A very large segment of opinion including all intellectuals and well-educated people, plus much of the press, deplores the "trash" of our mass culture as reflected in such things as commercialized television, radio, pulp magazines, comic books, etc. The fact that so much of this is exported to Britain increases the resentment.

(i) Conformity and violations of civil liberties, with McCarthyism as the supreme and frightening instance. There is no question but what during the McCarthy era, this aspect of American life greatly outranked all others as the object of British abhorrence. Sir Oliver Franks has said that of all the things which gave the British anxiety about America and caused the British to have doubts about our leadership, McCarthyism ranked second only to Brinkmanship. (BBC Reith Lectures, p. 28)

(j) Last and worst, the treatment of the Negro in America.

Much could be said about each one of the items on the list, but for discussion purposes it will perhaps be better to take only one case in some detail. The information problems arising from the other complaints would be largely the same, though differing in degree. We will use attitudes toward treatment of the Negro in America as our example.

3. <u>America's Race Problem and Its Impact Abroad</u>

One of Christian A. Herter's last acts as secretary of state was his apology to the Nigerian Ambassador for an incident in Charlottesville, Virginia, where a Nigerian second secretary was rebuffed when he tried to order breakfast in a local restaurant. Mr. Herter explained that the incident did not reflect the attitude of the American people, but as <u>The New York Times</u> (January 21, 1961) reported, "African diplomats are not entirely convinced." They have suffered too many embarrassments in and around the nation's capital.

African students run into the same problems. In early August 1960, four of them, in Washington as part of a State Department program designed to give them a "favorable impression of America," were invited to a private party at the apartment home of a white acquaintance. They were stopped in the lobby by the building manager because they were colored. As the Washington Post commented (editorial of August 11), "What an impression of America these students will take home with them!"

The damage done in African and Asian and Latin American opinion by unequal treatment of the Negro in America is by now pretty well recognized. There may not be an equal awareness that the damage also extends to opinion in other nations which are overwhelmingly white, such as Britain.

The British Gallup Poll has several times sought British reactions to various aspects of American life. Each time, treatment of Negroes in the United States has emerged as the single item eliciting the highest degree of criticism.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you tell me your opinion of the treatment of Negroes in the U.S.?"

	April 1956	Nov. 1957	Oct. 1958
Size of sample	(806)	(800)	(1198)
Very good opinion	0%	1%	1%
Good opinion	2	4	6
Fair opinion	16	20	12
Bad opinion	31	36	34
Very bad opinion	34	30	31
Don't know	17	9	16
	100	100	100
Not favorable (good plus very good, minus bad plus very bad)	-63	-61	-58

And a Gallup survey of January 1959 (this one using a national sample drawn from juror lists), asked whether respondents agreed or disagreed with the statement that "The United States is making substantial progress in its treatment of the Negro and other minority groups." The answers were agree, 27 per cent; disagree 55 per cent; don't know 18 per cent.

One does not have to look far for the reasons for this highly negative stereotype. The Supreme Court's decision of 1954 on desegregation was hailed by British opinion as a great step forward. But since then the many adverse developments have been widely (and often sensationally) reported in British media. After the riots at the University of Alabama in 1956, the name of Autherine Lucy, the Negro girl who had sought admission, became virtually a household word in Britain. Similarly, developments at Little Rock in 1957 made headlines in British papers day after day. Now in January of 1961 the disturbances at the University of Georgia are news around the world.

Be it emphasized that in all such instances, the British get their primary picture through the normal commercial channels of information. British reporters, photographers, radiomen, newsreel men rush to the scene and make their reports from on the spot. Thus eyewitness accounts not only appear under bold black headlines in the British papers, complete with photographs, but by means of television move right into the living rooms of millions of British families. They have seen the whole nasty business of whites beating Negroes, white kicking Negroes lying on the ground , white mobs rioting and jeering, whites in television interviews expressing their undying opposition to integration and their view that "Communist agitators" were responsible for the difficulties.

Those are the dramatic ways in which the impact is registered on the British mind; and in the face of such evidence, USIS has not been able to do very much effectively. The general USIS effort has been to supply perspective by the use of examples and statistics to show that integration has proceeded smoothly in many places; to show that majority opinion in America, just as in Britain, deplores the mob violence; to explain the federal system so that it will be understood that it is not the national government which blocks integration, deprives the Negro of voting rights, etc.

Partly as a result of these USIS efforts and partly because of a desire to be fair, the "serious" British papers, which had been almost exclusively critical in their editorial comment, began in 1957 and increasingly in 1958 to present a somewhat more balanced view. (But of course only a tiny fraction of the British public reads the "serious" press, and only some of those read the editorials.) And the serious papers, while admitting the complexities of the federal system, did not feel that President Eisenhower had used his voice and influence. The President went on record as believing it would be improper for him to comment on the Supreme Court decision, and as believing that desegregation should proceed slowly. At the time of Little Rock he made a forceful statement on the need for maintaining order, but not on the racial issue. Only at the end of his term, in the Christmas tree-lighting ceremony in Washington, did he speak feelingly of the need for equal justice to all, regardless of color.

Such is the nature of news and its reporting that "bad" public statements in Washington may result in wide publicity abroad even if they come from a very low-ranking official; whereas "good" public statements get some play in the foreign press only if they come from topmost officials

such as the secretary of state or the president, who are almost automatically reported. But it is hardly proper or wise for the secretary of state to comment on domestic problems, and the President either did not wish to or felt it was unwise or inappropriate. A ringing statement from the President would have made news abroad through the normal commercial media, and would have supplied valuable ammunition for VOA broadcasts and USIA pamphlets. USIA had to do the best it could without such ammunition.

Britain herself has not, of course, ever been faced with a sizable racial problem at home; and that fact no doubt contributed to the "holier-than-thou" note which sometimes creeps into British comment. Britain's own race riots in 1958, in Nottingham and at Notting Hill in London, served to mitigate this bit of self-righteousness. But in general the British press condemned their own racists just as severely as they had condemned racists in America. Five of the white youths involved in the Notting Hill riots were given prison terms, and, while racial friction no doubt remains, there has been little open trouble since. British condemnation of racism in South Africa, a member of the Commonwealth, is much stronger than British condemnation of America on this score.

Thus the British are not being entirely "self-righteous" when continuing their charges that America is "hypocritical" in practicing discrimination, while preaching the doctrines of democracy and equality.

Each time such events erupt in America, our embassies and information offices overseas are flooded with critical letters. In their replies to such letters, in personal conversations, and in official releases or speeches, the American ambassador and his staff try to help by putting things in perspective. But often the perspective itself does not look very good, and the arguments cannot be convincing.

Here, therefore, is another example of the inherent limitations on what an overseas information program can accomplish. Basically, it is only as our practices and behavior in this matter improve that the image will improve. There is no way to hide the facts.

Whitney Griswold wrote recently that if we want to have a good image of America overseas, "to begin with, we must have a good original.... But if the rest of the world cannot see in us all that we should like them to see, the main reason is because we cannot see it ourselves, no matter how often or how hard we stare in the mirror. The mirror cannot create; it can only reflect, and what is not there will not be reflected." ("Wormwood and Gall," Foreign Affairs, October 1960, p. 39.)

QUESTIONS: Members of the group may have comments or questions they wish to raise at this point about the specific problem of race discrimination in America, the impact overseas, and the handling of the resulting information problems. Broader questions concerning the relation between American domestic problems and overseas opinion -- of which this is only one example -- are held over to the end of Section D.

C. America's Self-Criticism and Its Impact Abroad

In identifying the chief aspects of American society toward which British criticism is directed, one thing will have been noted. Racial discrimination, violations of civil liberties, too much softness and materialism, private affluence and the neglect of public welfare, juvenile delinquency, corruption whether in government or unions or business, mediocrity or worse in our television diet -- if the list of British complaints about America sounds familiar, it should, for these are precisely the criticisms we ourselves voice about American life.

In fact, if one reads Reston and Lippmann plus the Washington Post and the New York Post (thus striking an average leftward of the American center) he scarcely needs to look at British newspapers to see what the British leader-writers are saying. The parallel between such left-liberal opinion in America and center or average opinion in Britain is striking.

And of course all of our self-criticism is overheard abroad, since such things as congressional investigations, the critical reports issued by our various foundations and funds and committees, the strictures of American politicians and essaysists and journalists are all grist for the mill of the foreign correspondents stationed among us.

Not only that, most of our self-critical books are published or distributed in Britain, where they are widely read and reviewed. They supply the stuff of occasional radio and television programs in Britain which go in for review and comment. C. Wright Mills has had a certain vogue. As another example, Vance Packard's The Hidden Persuaders was widely reviewed and was the subject of a half-hour talk

on the BBC by an eminent British professor. Packard's subsequent books, The Status Seekers and The Waste Makers, have no doubt had a similar reception.

Hard-hitting comments by Ed Murrow about the status of American television, made at a Chicago meeting, were picked up and repeated in the address which a BBC official made in Germany, which address was then published in Britain. (Supplement No. 3 to Ariel, May 1959.)

More directly, the producer of a certain BBC television show came to America, taped the comments of a dozen disgruntled Americans such as Wright Mills and Norman Thomas, for a program which emerged on TV sets in the living rooms of perhaps 5,000,000 Britons.

Within the past two or three years more and more Americans have viewed their society with some disenchantment (partly as a reaction to the Soviet sputnicks and their implications, one supposes) and the volume of our self-criticism has increased to a crescendo. We have had the highly serious and responsible warnings of the Rockefeller reports, the "national purpose" series serialized in Life magazine and The New York Times and then published as a book, and now the report of the President's Commission on National Goals. While a hopeful note is sometimes struck, none of these find any grounds for complacency.

Aware that the British are looking over our shoulders in all this, Ambassador Whitney told a London audience on March 17, 1960, that "without doubt we Americans have been searching our souls in public with unusual gusto." He affirmed that such self-examination is an old American custom and that, within limits, such realism is a good thing, dissatisfaction being "obviously a much healthier and safer attitude than complacency."

The British reaction to our national habit of introspection seems mixed. It is very often praised in serious writing, usually in the context of an article or review which finds some American practices obnoxious but pleads the extenuating circumstance that the Americans themselves are the first to recognize and condemn the defect. As a quite typical example, in the October 1960 issue of the British journal International Affairs, there is an article reviewing four American books which are derogatory of four different areas of American life: Senator Joe McCarthy, by Richard Rovere; The Status Seekers, by Vance Packard; The Waist High Culture, by Thomas Griffith; and Eisenhower: Captive Hero, by Marquis Childs. (All, by the way, were published in London editions.) The reviewer says: "The heartening thing is that the most severe and searching criticism of the ills affecting the body politic comes from the Americans themselves." (p. 120.)

But other Britons think we vastly overdo it. George Schwartz, for instance, writing of our self-castigation on the score of materialistic affluence (à la Galbraith), says: "If this be affluence, let it spread.... Call it a gadget civilization if you like, but the women aren't turned into hags before forty." (London Sunday Times, February 28, 1960.)

USIS in London (and elsewhere) operates under a limitation which necessarily characterizes the propaganda of a democracy, but not of a dictatorship; i.e., we must admit the full picture of America "warts and all," for the British not only know about our warts but, through our self-criticism, they know that we know. Thus denial would be hypocrisy, and the rule of truth is reinforced by the awareness that we could not get away with anything other than the truth.

The issue of self-criticism arises in various forms. Senator Johnson did not think the administration should be publicly criticized for the U-2 incident, because to do so would weaken the government's hand and give comfort to our adversary. In the presidential campaign, Mr. Nixon argued that Mr. Kennedy's blasts about American prestige were only serving to damage American prestige, that Mr. Kennedy was "down-grading America." Mr. Kennedy's retort was that the issues had to be discussed and that he was not down-grading America, but rather the Republican administration.

QUESTIONS: In its impact overseas, is our self-criticism a liability or an asset? Assuming that it is a necessary part of democracy with which we would not wish to dispense, are there nevertheless limits? What were the merits of the arguments used by Johnson, Nixon, and Kennedy?

D. An OCB for Domestic Problems -- or Presidential Leadership?

It is now commonplace to say that there are no longer such things as purely domestic problems, because they are so intertwined in so many ways with foreign problems. Domestic policies and foreign policies are not a dichotomy but a continuum.

Despite our awareness of this fact, there may be a lag in adjustments of our governmental machinery or governmental operations necessary to deal with it fully.

In theory at least, some of the military and political and economic problems discussed at earlier meetings can go to bodies such as the NSC and OCB for the ironing out of a national position and the assignment of action responsibilities.

But to what official or committee can the international implications of a McCarthy problem or the Negro problem be referred for a national position and national action? USIS has a reporting function from the field and USIA has an advisory function in Washington. The dispatches and cables come in from USIS overseas warning that the image of America is being tarnished. They go, perhaps along with a USIA summary analysis saying this is so, to the secretary of state, and the president. But these are domestic political problems outside the effective jurisdiction of the NSC or OCB or the secretary of state. (Mr. Dulles did go so far as to officially inform Governor Folsom that our embassies abroad were being inundated by letters and petitions which protested the death sentence given to a Negro by an Alabama court for the theft of two dollars and which urged clemency. But Mr. Dulles quite properly and very carefully avoided making any recommendation to the Governor.)

Are these not problems which by their very nature could not be handled by committee and which, like so many things, must devolve

upon the president himself? Whatever machinery might exist or be invented to assist the president's conception of his office and of his role as the chief spokesman for America would in these matters still be crucial.

Or so the British feel, at any rate. Eisenhower is as popular in Britain as he is in America, and there are opinion polls to bear this out. But, so far as the British press and other articulate opinion goes, this liking of Eisenhower the man is not accompanied by respect for Eisenhower the president. The feeling of the British about Eisenhower, in fact, symbolizes their attitude toward America: popularity still strong, prestige down. Upon Kennedy's election one of the British dailies ran a banner headline on page one: "The End of the Long Sleep."

In its editorial "The Eisenhower Era," the London Times (January 12, 1961) called Eisenhower "the most friendly and agreeable of all American Presidents," and gave full praise to his devotion to peace and to his very real accomplishments, including the keeping of the peace. But citing the U-2 and Cuba and Japan, the Times says that something has been "clearly amiss." "What has chiefly been missing in foreign policy is the same element that was lacking in internal policy. There has not always been the constant directive impulse that can come only from the President."

The Manchester Guardian's "Farewell to Ike" (January 19) said: "He was a good man -- sincere, honorable, obviously anxious to serve his people and the world; but he faced a task that seemed beyond his capacity, and he approached it in a spirit which made failure inevitable." This was due to his "conception of the Presidency," which was to be above politics, and which ended in "an incorrigible reluctance to tackle difficult problems with firmness and speed."

In another typical comment the Spectator wrote (January 19):

> There is much to be said for a President who sets honorable standards and who means well; but no Presidential era which included brinkmanship and McCarthy can reasonably be remembered with pride. It is possible to argue that Eisenhower was wise not to tackle McCarthy head-on ... but some intimation of Presidential disapproval of the Senator's more disgraceful excesses could have done no harm.

The British press in general has welcomed the new President while expressing sympathy for the large variety of pressing problems he is inheriting, with numerous cartoons underscoring the point. They expect from Kennedy a vigor and a degree of positive leadership which they have long been asking for. Whether they will like it when they get it, as Drew Middleton has commented, remains to be seen.

The British reflections on the Eisenhower era are not "anti-American," any more than are similar comments from Americans, and again the parallel with Reston and Lippmann is of interest. In the Life series on national purposes, all of the contributors expressed anxiety with the drift of American affairs. Some, like Clinton Rossiter, urged the American people to a greater awareness and effort, without ever mentioning the role of leadership, as though we might somehow en masse pull ourselves up by our own bootstraps. Coming from a political scientist, this prescription seemed particularly naïve. It remained for Reston and Lippmann to point out that the American people had never failed to meet demands and make sacrifices when the need was explained and the appeal was convincingly made, and that, crucially, under our system such leadership can come only from the President, or not at all.

QUESTION: What are the reactions of the study group to this thesis about the role of the president, the president's conception of his job, and the resulting impact on foreign opinion?

British Images

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January 12, 1961

TO MEMBERS OF THE STUDY GROUP ON
BRITISH IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES:

Enclosed is Mr. Evans' working paper, Problems of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy, prepared for the study group's meeting of Wednesday, January 18th. As you know, the meeting will begin at 6:30, instead of 5:30, and will adjourn at 9:30 or 10:00 p.m. If you have not done so already, please let us know whether or not to expect you.

Mr. Flanigan's report of the last meeting will be sent to you shortly.

Lorna Brennan
Administrative Secretary

Please call Miss White
at LEhigh 5-3300.

Working Paper No. 3
For meeting of
January 18, 1961

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COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Study Group on
British Images of the United States

Problems of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy

by F. Bowen Evans

Prefatory Note:

The area of international economics is one in which I should like to disclaim in advance any special knowledge, let alone expertise. I think I understand the broad principles of tariffs and quotas, for instance. But the mechanisms by which the United States arrives at a tariff -- the Tariff Commission, the Committee on Reciprocity Information, the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements, the Trade Policy Committee, etc. -- this is a labyrinth about which I have much to learn. Thus when I raise a question as to whether this machinery is unduly cumbersome and therefore slow (as it appears to a layman), I myself have no real basis on which to make a judgment, and am not even sure therefore whether it is a pertinent question.

As to the intricacies of foreign finance, The New York Times of January 9 has given away one of the myths by which we live. "The outward flow of gold from the United States," it confides, "is actually limited to a short trip in Manhattan's downtown area. The bricks are transferred by armored cars from the U.S. Assay Office to the vaults of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. In 1960, about $1,689,000,000 worth, all credited to the accounts of foreign nations, was shifted in the same procedure." One might ask, tongue in cheek, why don't we move those bricks back, and furthermore, why wasn't USIA consulted by the Assay Office so that it could warn about the adverse psychological impact overseas of such a transfer?

Given my degree of ignorance, my feeling of rushing in where angels fear to tread is perhaps understandable. I hope therefore that members of the group will aid by adding other questions which are relevant to the British image of America's foreign economic policy, and which I have neglected.

A. American Aid

Postwar American aid to Britain has been substantial. In 1945, the United States extended to Britain a line of credit amounting to $3,750 million, and a loan of $650 million in settlement of Lend-Lease and reciprocal aid adjustments arising out of the war. Payment is being made in fifty annual installments with interest at 2 per cent. On December 31, 1960, Britain made her annual payment, which amounts to about $185 million.

Between 1948 and 1951, Britain received approximately $2,700 million in Marshall Plan aid. Of this, $1,700 was grant aid, some $620 million was "conditional" aid (i.e., dollar aid on condition that Britain provided corresponding sterling aid to other European countries) and $337 million was a loan to be repaid with interest at 2 1/2 per cent. The Marshall Plan helped to put Britain back on her feet. In 1947 the gold and dollar deficit of Britain and the Sterling Area had stood at about $4 billion. But the volume of British exports rose between 1947 and 1950 by 60 per cent, and exports to the dollar area increased by $370 million during this period. In 1950, receipts exceeded expenditures by $800 million. (Philip Goodhart, United States Aid to the World 1945-55, ESU Pamphlet, London, 1956.)

Because of this measure of recovery, the early termination of Marshall Plan aid for Britain was announced in the House of Commons on December 13, 1950. On that occasion, The Economist wrote: "Marshall Aid is the most straightforwardly generous thing that any country has ever done for others, the fullest expression so far of that American idealism on which all the hopes of the West depend."

After 1951, U.S. aid to Britain was mainly under the Mutual Defense Assistance Program and the Mutual Security Program. Between 1951 and 1958, Britain received $1,184 million under these programs. (That figure includes a loan of $48 million repayable with interest at 2 1/2 per cent.)

In 1956, Britain ceased to be allocated any Mutual Security aid. However, military aid continued. Since 1952, surplus U.S. agricultural commodities have

been made available for sterling. (Since 1954 this has been under Public Law 480, the "Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act" of that year.)

Britain has also benefited from offshore procurement, under which the United States has placed contracts in Britain for military goods to be supplied to other NATO countries.

(1) The Bad Period. In August 1945, immediately after Japan's surrender, the United States abruptly and unexpectedly announced its termination of Lend-Lease to Britain. British resentment was bitter, particularly because Britain had emerged from the war desolate and impoverished, while America had emerged much wealthier than when she went in. The press and Parliament were outraged. In the words of the mass-circulation Daily Mirror (September 14, 1945), "Americans may now be reminded that we stood alone a whole year before Lease-Lend came into operation, and during that period we spent every penny we had fighting America's battle as well as our own. Our money was spent mainly in America which thereby became richer as we became poorer."

It was necessary for Britain to ask America for assistance. The British hoped for an outright grant, or at least for a loan without interest. But the United States would only give a loan with interest, and with conditions (convertibility of sterling within one year, and the abandonment of certain imperial trade preferences). The U.S. Congress debated long and loud whether Britain was "a good risk." In their dire necessity the British took the loan, much as it offended their pride. Even that sober and friendly organ The Economist felt it sad that the British reward for losing a quarter of their total national wealth in the common cause was "to pay tribute for half a century to those who have been enriched by the war." (December 15, 1945.)

To the British, Uncle Sam had suddenly become Uncle Shylock. They hated their enforced dependence on America. William Clark has written: "The sudden termination of Lend-Lease in August 1945 first made the extent of the dependence

unmistakably clear, and roused bitter anti-American feeling which was only increased by the prolonged haggling and debating over the loan agreement. By the beginning of 1946 most people in Britain had been made aware that Britain was, temporarily at least, an American satellite." (Less than Kin, p. 149.)

The years 1946-1947 do seem to represent the high point of anti-Americanism in Britain. The British survey organization Mass Observation found in 1947 a "great increase" in anti-Americanism since the war, and the organization's director, Tom Harrisson, wrote that this flowed chiefly from the economic misery of the British people and their projection of their frustrations outward against America. (Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall 1947, p. 332.)

Furthermore, the "Shylock" treatment was not forgotten even in later years when Britain had achieved considerable economic recovery. Reminders of the "grievous and unjust blow" dealt by America in its sudden cessation of Lend-Lease became a stock part of Aneurin Bevan's criticisms of the United States in 1952. (Leon Epstein, Britain: Uneasy Ally, p. 39.) Such memories contribute also to present-day British suspicions concerning U.S. "economic imperialism" and to the feeling that countries which take aid from America do so at the risk of losing independence.

Thus when World Poll asked the British in 1958, "Do you feel that acceptance of economic aid from the United States carries with it any threat to the independence of those countries which accept the aid, or not," the survey found 46 per cent of the British answering that American aid did threaten independence, as against 44 per cent who held it was not a threat and 10 per cent undecided. (It is some comfort to know that on the same question, 72 per cent of the British thought that Soviet aid threatened the independence of recipient countries, as against 17 per cent who thought it was not a threat and 11 per cent undecided.) (New York Herald Tribune, International Edition, July 5, 1958.)

(2) Happier Days: The Marshall Plan. American aid to Britain under the Marshall Plan (received from 1948-1951) went far toward redressing British grievances. It resulted --

in combination with the shocks administered by Soviet take-overs in Eastern Europe, which pushed the British back toward the Americans -- in an upsurge of pro-Americanism and a corresponding upsurge in anti-Soviet feeling.

British assessments of the motivations behind the Marshall Plan are of interest. Generosity is given its due. But since the British are able to follow U.S. congressional debates, they are quite aware that arguments of American self-interest weighed more heavily with Congress than sheerly altruistic motives.

Sir Oliver Franks in 1956 expressed a quite typical British view:

> American aid, like all great things, has flowed from a combination of motives. It has been offered because it was in the enlightened self-interest of the United States that Britain and Western Europe should recover from the exhaustion and devastation of war and again become prosperous and strong. It was in the American interest that underdeveloped and developing peoples, most of them newly come to independence, should become stable and remain independent. This meant help to improve production and a higher standard of life. But, beyond this, the American people offered aid because they wanted nations which had suffered more than they had in the war, or which had a long way to go before their citizens could enjoy the possibilities of life in the twentieth century, to have the chance to progress. This great program was consistently supported by the American people because they have generous hearts.

(The quotation is from the foreword to the ESU pamphlet United States Aid to the World 1945-55.)

The British public's perception of mixed motives had been indicated in 1948, eight years before Sir Oliver wrote the above, when the British Gallup Poll asked "What do you think is the main reason why the U.S.A. has proposed the Marshall Plan?" The type of answers, listed below in the order of their frequency, are closely divided between those which impute American self-interest and those which impute altruism:

America wants to help the countries of Europe.	10 per cent
American prosperity depends on European recovery.	10
America wants new markets for her surplus goods.	8
America wants to help Britain out of her difficulties.	7
America wants to prevent the spread of communism.	7
America wants to curb the power of Russia.	5
America genuinely wants to help the world.	4
America wants to secure a controlling foothold in Europe.	4
An entirely unselfish plan on the part of the U.S.A.	3
America wants Europe to be a source of profit to herself.	3

America wants to help world trade to recover.	3 per cent
America wants to get us in her power.	2
America wants to dominate the world.	2
America wants Europe as a buffer between herself and Russia.	2

The same survey in 1948 showed 60 per cent of the British in favor of the Marshall Plan, 20 per cent opposed to it, and 20 per cent undecided. Among reasons for opposition the one given most frequently (10 per cent) was a rather vague "We can get along without it," which seemed to indicate pride and fear of dependence; second in frequency (5 per cent) were comments more directly reflective of the fear of becoming dependent, such as "America aims at getting a stranglehold on us" or "We would be tied too much to America."

Opposition to the Marshall Plan came from an alliance of the extremes, a small but vociferous group on the far left and a group of far-right "Empire" defenders which, while also of only marginal strength, nevertheless had the whole Beaverbrook press thundering in their behalf. Beaverbrook's editorials in the Express and the Evening Standard argued that if Marshall aid were taken from America, the British "would forfeit their right to steer their own course in the stormy waters of the postwar world; that is not the way of self-reliance and independence." Britain was "bartering independence for a dried-egg omelet."

(Complete independence remains a fetish of the Beaverbrook press. Twelve years later, when the British government gave up development of its own Blue Streak missile in favor of the planned American Skybolt missile, an editorial in the Express of June 13, 1960, was headed "Once More a Poor Relation." It argued that lack of an independent British missile is "making us a dependent relative of the United States ," and that it "would lose Britain the position of a proud, progressive, self-reliant Power in the Space Age.")

But that was the voice of a minority. Marshall Plan aid was accepted by Britain and it was a big success.

While gratitude was the predominant British reaction to Marshall Plan aid, it was not unmixed with irritations occasioned in large part by actions or statements

from the American side, which detracted from the general British good will of this period.

First, while the executive branch of the American government was careful to stress that the aid program mutually benefited both America and the recipient countries, some American congressmen and publicists labeled it as charity or "give-aways." Similar spokesmen in America sometimes intimated that the recipients were not properly "grateful" -- expecting perhaps that every editorial should laud America for her generosity, and that Britons should wear lapel buttons reading "Thank you, America." Many such remarks of course got back to Britain, and the gall of dependence was thereby inflamed.

Second, there was resentment at the requirement (added later) that 50 per cent of goods bought with American aid should be carried in American vessels.

Third, there was irritation with Americans like Harold Stassen who opposed aid to "Socialist" countries and would make the adoption of "free enterprise" institutions a condition of American aid to any country. (Mr. Stassen expressed those views while he was still a private citizen; there was no trace of them when later, as the administrator of MSA, he had the sobering responsibility of office.)

QUESTIONS: Are there lessons here for our aid programs in other areas? Should our aid be without dictation or "strings," or are some conditions on aid both necessary and desirable? How can we give aid in such a way that ensuing good will is not vitiated by feelings of dependence which sometimes cause resentment against the donor? If this could be accomplished by giving aid through multilateral organizations rather than bilaterally, as has been sometimes suggested, would this be feasible and desirable, or are there countervailing arguments? Should the creation of foreign "good will" toward America be an avowed purpose of our aid programs? Or a silent purpose? Or is it an appropriate purpose at all? ECA's own information program was merged with USIA in 1953. What is the appropriate U.S. information or propaganda role with respect to American aid, in the recipient country and elsewhere?

B. Trade and Transport

The fact that Britain's very life depends upon foreign trade hardly needs to be emphasized to this group. In the early postwar years of Britain's austerity, the motto was "Export or Die." Britain still has great difficulties in maintaining a favorable balance, and the year 1960 was not a good one for the British. For Britain, the trade problem never disappears, and when other countries take moves which even appear to discriminate against Britain, or to hurt her exports, a very sensitive nerve is struck.

Trade and transport are taken together here not from any inherent logic, but because in a series of developments in early 1959 which the British found highly irksome, and which are here used as examples, one of the most important involved air transport. Three cases will be examined at first individually, and then collectively, for their cumulative effect on British opinion.

(1) Greer's Ferry Dam. In the summer of 1958, the United States invited both domestic and foreign bids for two hydraulic turbines to be used at Greer's Ferry Dam in Arkansas under a project of the U.S. Army Engineers. Foreign bidders were aware that, under the U.S. "Buy American" Act, in bidding for a government project their bids would have to be 12 per cent lower than the lowest bid of an American supplier. Since 1952 British manufacturers (despite the 12 per cent disadvantage) had been getting increasing business from such government contracts in America. The domestic industry -- General Electric, the National Electrical Manufacturers Association, and others -- had entered an appeal in February 1958 for the exclusion of foreign heavy electric equipment. They asked the invocation of Paragraph 8 of the Trade Agreements Act (added to the act in 1954), which gives the President authority to suspend imports of any commodity where the national security is concerned. On October 31, 1958, Senator Scott of Pennsylvania, then a Representative campaigning for the Senate, announced in Pittsburgh that he had information from the White House that the Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton Company of

Philadelphia would get the Greer's Ferry contract. That was six weeks before the case was even referred to the OCDM for a ruling on the national-security issue, and almost three months before the ruling was made. (The New York Times, January 24, 1959.)

English Electric had submitted a bid which was 17 per cent lower than Baldwin's, and therefore well lower than the 12 per cent differential required in the Buy American Act.

On January 21, a finding in favor of Baldwin, on national security grounds, was publicly announced by the director of OCDM, Leo A. Hoegh.

On January 22, the British Ambassador, Sir Harold Caccia, went to the State Department and delivered a formal protest to Secretary Dulles. Upon leaving the Department, Sir Harold gave reporters the essence of the British complaint:

> I now the experts have advised that this is genuinely a matter of national security, and experts are experts. But the British man in the street would find it exceedingly difficult to believe that the entire national security of the United States would be imperilled if two turbines were built by her ally, Britain. You can tell that to the marines. The sailors won't believe it. Naturally, this is a matter primarily for the American Government to judge, but since the end of the war they have pressed for liberalization of trade and payments between the Western Powers. It is a strange form of liberalization if foreign firms are allowed to put in for a tender, and then, when they put in the lowest bid, they are told that, after all, questions of national security debar them from being awarded the contract.

The British press was not as restrained as Sir Harold in its condemnation; it blew its top. For about a week the issue dominated the front pages and editorial comment, which was universally unfavorable. The British particularly resented what they saw as "changing the rules in the middle of the game"; they made much of Senator Scott's political intervention, which was also discussed in the U.S. Congress and the American press, with every detail picked up by the British press; the charge of "hypocrisy" was leveled; and the resentment was all the deeper because the British had quite recently liberalized dollar imports of many products from America, including machinery.

Joe Harsch wrote that Senator Scott and friends could not be blamed for trying to aid the Pennsylvania industry, "but Washington gave in to them for a very strange reasons and in a manner which can be described only as a classic example of a wretched way of trying to run an alliance. If Washington had set out to get itself bad publicity within the alliance, it could not possibly have dreamed up a more effective method." (CSM, January 23, 1959.)

Drew Middleton said that "few incidents since World War II have caused deeper or more widespread irritation in Britain.... As a consequence, all of America's critics in both the Conservative and Labor parties have obtained the hearing that was denied them when the interdependence seemed to be working." (The New York Times, January 25, 1959.)

Representative Hale Boggs said in the House of Representatives that the Eisenhower administration had sacrificed its liberal trade principles to a political commitment in Pennsylvania, and the House Subcommittee on Foreign Trade Policy of which he was chairman indicated it might hold a congressional inquiry. (The New York Times, January 24 and 27.)

The situation very shortly settled down in what amounted to a complete reversal of the "national-security" ruling. On February 6 a British concern, Parsons, was awarded a TVA contract for a large turbogenerator. On June 12 the OCDM made its ruling on the broad issue which it had had under consideration for a year, announcing that the domestic industry's claim that foreign supply of heavy electrical equipment had been rejected, and that, while the situation would be reviewed from time to time, the general policy would be not to limit such imports on security grounds.

As a footnote, it may be reported that the British suspected that the bids of American producers were rigged, in a collusion among themselves to maintain high prices, and that the American taxpayer was footing the bill for these inflated bids. That suspicion has now been largely borne out, it would seem, by

the guilty or no defense pleas entered by twenty nine of the major U.S. manufacturers in this field, in the government's antitrust indictment against them. (The New York Times, December 9, 1960.) Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton, however, was not one of the firms indicted in the antitrust action.

QUESTIONS: Could USIS London have done anything to mitigate the highly unfavorable impact of this case on British opinion? The national-security argument is being increasingly invoked by American manufacturers who seek protection. In some cases these claims will have validity and will have to prevail despite negative reactions overseas. Is the OCDM the proper agency to weigh the issues involved?

(2) British Exports of Woolen Goods to America. Wcolen and worsted fabrics entering the United States are subject to a compound tariff duty consisting of a specific duty plus ad valorem duty. The specific duty of 37 1/2 cents per pound, which is compensatory for the duty on raw wool, is the only thing which has remained constant in the story which follows.

The ad valorem duty was negotiated in 1947 within GATT at 25 per cent, but the United States reserved the right to impose a duty of 45 per cent on annual imports which were in excess of 5 per cent by weight of the average U.S. wool cloth production over the three preceding years.

From 1947 to 1956 British producers (particularly the Scottish tweed mills) "spent a great deal of time and money catering to United States demand," to quote the president of the National Association of Scottish Wool Manufacturers. By 1956, he said, one-quarter of the entire output of the tweed mills was going to the United States.

But as the production of synthetic fibers began to lower the total domestic production of U.S. woolens, the 5 per cent of that base correspondingly dropped, and imports began to exceed 5 per cent of domestic production. It was now within

the right of the U.S. government, under the so-called "Geneva reservation," to invoke the quota arrangement if it so desired. It did so in October 1956, setting a quota of 14 million pounds for the calendar year 1957. Goods arriving in 1957 after the quota had been filled would therefore be dutiable at 45 per cent instead of 25 per cent. This system resulted in a scramble by exporters and U.S. importers to get in "under the quota" as early as they could in each calendar year, to avoid the higher duties imposed once the quota was filled. In 1958 the quota was filled by late June. In 1959 it was filled on May 18. In 1960 it was filled on March 3.

This increasing "scramble" helped Japanese exporters of mass-produced low-priced fabrics which could be stocked, were not particularly seasonable in demand, and could be sent in January and February while the quota was still unfilled. It greatly hurt the British exporters of high-quality "fashion" goods which had been traditionally bought on a basis of seasonal planning; i.e., for the spring, fall, or Christmas markets. British exports of woolens to America thus dropped from $35.8 million in 1956 to $24.1 million in 1958. By 1959 it was claimed that Scottish exports to the United States had been halved, resulting in unemployment and part-time working in the mills. (The New York Times, April 21, 1959.)

The British in 1957 and increasingly in 1958 began to press the United States for relief. They apparently hoped that as the invocation of the quota had been optional rather than mandatory, the United States might remove it. The question was frequently raised in Parliament and in the press.

But on April 21, 1959, Washington again announced a quota, this time at 13.5 million pounds, down 700,000 from the previous year. The New York Times reported that "to offset in part this further setback to Britain and other exporting countries, the President established a special quota of 350,000 pounds of fine-quality, high-priced goods that can enter with a much smaller rise in tariff after the over-all quota has been reached."

But this bit of sweetening did little to allay the immediate outcry of protest in Britain. Under a headline "Dirty Deal," the Herald (Labor) said: "The United States, our friends and allies, serve us another dirty trick.... What sort of allies are these? Nobody preaches louder about freedom of trade. Yet steadily the barriers go up.... Nobody wants to talk of a trade war. But let's tell the Americans we have honored our concessions to them, and they can't have it both ways."

The Mail (Conservative) editorialized: "The pity is that America is making it so difficult for British exporters to earn dollars. They talk a lot about the ideal of free trade while doing far too much to restrict it. The latest obstacle is a fierce quota, followed by a punitive tariff, on the import of woolen textiles." Other comment in the press and Parliament was of the same tenor.

This is "the United States' annual kick in the teeth to Scotland," said C. J. Ballantyne, president of the National Association of Scottish Wool Manufacturers. (The New York Times, April 22, 1959.)

Prime Minister Macmillan had already taken the matter up with President Eisenhower personally on his visit to Washington in February 1959, and had so reported to Parliament. He brought it up again with President Eisenhower in their fireside chat televised to the whole British nation on August 31, 1959, when Eisenhower was visiting Britain. Mr. Hagerty announced the next day to the press that the United States was re-examining the whole question. There followed other official statements indicating the American intent to renegotiate.

In late January (or early February) 1960 President Eisenhower announced a wool tariff quota for 1960, the fourth year. In a speech to the Leeds Chamber of Commerce on February 12, 1960, Ambassador Whitney sought to explain that action and to soothe British feelings:

> Of course the President could only act on the basis of the present agreement. He could not anticipate the results of matters sub judice. For that reason he has simply renewed

last year's arrangement without change.

Renegotiation of the agreement will, I regret to say, take time. Preliminary hearings in my country before the U.S. Tariff Commission, as required by law, are nearly complete. The Commission, however, has until April to make its report to the President. Then the President must decide what to do with the advice of other interested agencies. That is necessarily a process again entailing study and time. I cannot predict how long the international talks themselves may take, but after an agreement is reached and accepted by the President the law again imposes certain necessary delays before the new terms can become effective. I should be very surprised if these steps did not take us to almost the end of 1960.

I am truly sorry for any hardship this slowness may cause in this case, but I cannot honestly regret the slowness itself. For it is largely because elaborate safeguards against ill-considered action are written into our law that the Congress has been willing to grant broad authority to the President to liberalize trade. And it is under that the level of American tariffs has been reduced by about three-quarters during the past 25 years.

This can have been but small comfort to his British audience. In the following month the quota was filled earlier than ever, on March 3, and British demands for adjustment continued.

The next phase can, from the British viewpoint, best be reported in the words of Reginald Maudling, President of the Board of Trade, speaking in the House of Commons on November 10, 1960:

> The U. S. Administration announced yesterday that as from 1st January, 1961, the tariff quota system will be abolished and new rates of duty will apply throughout the year. The new tariff for most wool fabrics will be 38 per cent ad valorem (in addition to the existing specific duty) though a higher rate will apply to cheap cloths costing less than $2 a pound and a lower rate to certain speciality fabrics, including handwoven cloth.
>
> These changes are the outcome of our request to the U. S. Administration that they should renegotiate the wool tariff arrangements under which the quota was imposed. <u>They are not, however, the result of negotiations in the true sense, since the U. S. proposals were offered as a package to be accepted or rejected as a whole and no negotiation either generally or on any of the details was possible. I regard the 38 per cent rate as unjustifiably high and I am greatly disappointed that it was not possible to secure rates more favorable to British exporters.... But I consider the new arrangements a lesser evil than the continuation of the tariff</u>

> quota which has so damanged our exports over the past four years, and I believe that industry will agree with this judgment. We cannot, however, be satisfied with these arrangements and we shall seek to improve them in further negotiations at the earliest opportunity.

The British had made their "seasonal" disadvantages which flowed from the quota system the central point of their complaint. The U.S. action of November 9, 1960, met that particular complaint, but the British are still far from happy. Presumably the Japanese are even less happy, since the specific duty on the cheap textiles in which they specialize was boosted from 37 1/2 cents to 76 cents per pound.

QUESTIONS: Putting aside for a moment the adverse psychological impact of this case in Britain, what are the merits of the case from the purely economic standpoint? Why is there such a delay in Washington between the identification of a problem and the working out of a solution? As to the impact on foreign opinion, is this aspect of the question given adequate consideration by the Trade Policy Committee and others who advise the President, or by the President himself? Whatever economic advantages have accrued to the United States, were they outweighed by the negative impact on British opinion? Is there any calculus by which the U.S. policy maker -- assuming that he has in mind both the economic problem and the psychological problem -- can be confident that he is arriving at a correct judgment on such a question?

(3) The BOAC Case. An Anglo-American air agreement of 1946 provides that each country will grant reciprocal rights upon certain specified routes upon application. Until 1958 both countries had approved such routes for the other's carriers, upon application, without incident.

On October 23, 1958, the British Embassy in Washington, in a routine procedure, notified the State Department that BOAC had been designated to operate Route 7 of Section III(a) of the Annex to the Air Agreement, and forwarding BOAC's application for amendment to its CAB Foreign Air Carrier Permit to include this San Francisco-Tokyo route.

Under American procedure such routes, even if applied for under treaty right, must be approved by the Civil Aeronautics Board in the "regular" procedure. The CAB examiner commenced his hearing in this case on November 19. BOAC had made the routine application well in advance of April 2, 1959, the date when it planned to start operations on the route. The State Department and the Embassy in London regarded the matter as routine and no difficulties were foreseen. The San Francisco-Tokyo route was to be one leg of a new BOAC round-the-world service, linking at Tokyo with flights to or from London.

An American carrier, Northwest Airlines, filed an intervening petition on January 13, 1959, after the CAB had ended hearings but before the examiner's report had been submitted. The intervention was accepted and the hearlings were reopened on February 16. They went forward in a long and complicated wrangle. The British -- perhaps in the hope of forcing a decision after the long delay -- went forward with their much-advertised inaugural round-the-world flight on April 2. But the Brittania with its twenty-nine passengers, which had flown from London across the United States, was forced to carry the passengers free on the San Francisco-Tokyo leg of its flight, for want of the CAB's license.

The British newspapers screamed. "Unfair in the Air," The Mail titled its editorial. A News Chronicle headline was "U.S. Trick Stops Latest British Jet Triumph." In a sharp public statement, the British Ministry of Transport accused the U. S. government of submitting to Northwestern's "blackmail" and of failing to live up to the terms of the air agreement.

On April 17 the CAB examiner announced his finding, against licensing BOAC for the route. Britain reacted with "shocked disbelief."

The five-man CAB held a public hearing on April 28, but there was no announcement of its decision. The British kept pressing for a decision, for some word, but there was only silence in May, June, July, and early August. No word of any sort was forthcoming until a few days before President Eisenhower was due to depart on his visit to Britain; he must have been reminded that it would be awkward for this

issue to be still hanging fire while he was a guest in Britain.

On August 7 it was announced that President Eisenhower had approved the BOAC route. "In announcing the President's decision, the Civil Aeronautics Board disclosed that it decided [unanimously] in favor of BOAC's request last May 18, overruling examiner Ferdinand Moran's recommendation in favor of Northwest. A CAB spokesman said he did not know why the President had delayed in adopting the board's recommendation.... The board said bilateral agreements for a sound intercontinental route system for United States carriers 'necessarily involves the grant of reciprocal air routes to carriers of other nations.'" (The New York Times, August 8. 1959.) And so, ten months after it had entered its routine request, BOAC got its license. So far as British public opinion was concerned, the damage long since had been done. But obviously they blamed "the U.S. government" and not President Eisenhower, to whom they gave a tremendous welcome.

In an interesting postscript, one CAB member, Louis J. Hector. proposed to the CAB that it stop "perpetuating the fiction" that it exercises independent judgment in cases where the routes have already been awarded by previous international agreements. "He argued that the CAB in its twenty-year history had never refused a permit under such conditions. And he noted further that the language of the Federal Aviation Act 'clearly intends' that international pacts should settle the question of whether the public interest is aided by approval of a new route." James R. Durfee, chairman of the CAB, disagreed, contending that the Federal Aviation Act required the CAB evaluation. (The New York Times, August 15, 1959.)

(As I was Acting Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Embassy in London during this period, I might say that every officer in the Embassy, from the Ambassador down, was much embarrassed by this affair. Representations were constantly made to Washington. The British were constantly reassured. What more could the Embassy do? It was a foregone conclusion that, unless we were going to publicly begin dishonoring our agreements, the BOAC route would have to be approved. Each

week the announcement of an affirmative decision was expected. And each week nothing came. In time it became a sort of tragic joke.)

The recent report of James M. Landis (The New York Times, December 27, 1960) points up the inefficiencies of the independent regulatory agencies such as the CAB, including the delays occasioned by adversary proceedings in lengthy hearings, when staff work based on written opinions often could do the job much more effectively, and with just as much justice to all parties and to the national interest. His report does not tackle, except obliquely, the harder question of whether in this age of deepening crisis our government's regulatory functions should continue to be exercised by commissions which are in theory, and largely in practice, "independent" of both the President and the Congress. It is not only military decisions which increasingly require speed, coordination, a sense of central direction and purpose. The whole business of government requires it, particularly in those things which impinge on foreign affairs. We are properly concerned with the dangers of too much centralized power. But quite possibly we may have to modify our now somewhat exaggerated "checks and balances," or else run the risk of being beaten by our fractionalized and decentralized inefficiency.

QUESTIONS: What could USIS London have done in the field to mitigate the adverse effect of the BOAC case? What could Washington have done? Should the CAB have -- or take -- juridsiction in such cases? Who is the judge of what shall be the appropriate CAB jurisdiction under the law? Do other regulatory agencies sometimes impinge on foreign affairs in the same way that CAB did in this case? Can staff work in the White House be improved to prevent delays?

(4) The Cumulative Effect. There were still other instances of U.S. protectionism which fed British discontent in the early months of 1959, which cannot be described in detail here. In the words of a Daily Telegraph editorial, "Not just one act of policy, but a succession in very different fields, has given rise to general anxiety."

On March 11, 1959, Sir David Eccles, President of the Board of Trade, made an unusually blunt speech to the American Chamber of Commerce in London. After first giving due praise to America's general postwar trade policies, he let loose with his list of complaints. On the same day Macmillan promised in the Commons that he would take action. All papers ran extensive accounts of these developments, and a Manchester Guardian editorial of March 12, headed "Telling the Yanks" indicates the mood:

> Heavy guns are in use when, in a single day, the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade complain about American import policies. Mr. Macmillan promised a questioner in the Commons that he would tell Americans on his coming visit once again of the "strong feelings" held in this country about recent actions against British exports. Sir David Eccles took his chance to tell a meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce in London that we heartily dislike protectionism. He did not have to search for examples. There was the quota on imports of lead and zinc announced during the Commonwealth Economic Conference in Montreal last autumn and deeply regretted in Canada and Australia. Restrictions on oil imports have just been tightened, and this affects the dollar earnings of the sterling area. The rejection of the English Electric Company's tend for the Greer's Ferry turbines on grounds of national security caused such a shock that the British Ambassador was made to lodge a protest. Feeling runs high also about the recent rejection of the Decca air navigation system in favor of American installations by the International Civil Aviation Conference. American pressure has certainly done more to bring about this last decision than technical judgment. Finally, Sir David mentioned the wool import quota which has damaged sales of English high-grade cloth in the United States and has favored imports of cheaper Japanese and Italian cloth. It is a formidable list of complaints, and some Commonwealth countries could no doubt lengthen it by examples from agriculture. The United States is obviously not as devoted to free trade as a great creditor country ought to be or as all the leaders of American opinion and government would like their country to be.

Sir David had quoted from President Eisenhower's budget message to Congress of the previous year, in which the President had said: "As the greatest producer, consumer and exporter in the world, the United States must be a dependable market for foreign goods if mutually beneficial trade is to grow and prosper."

"This is the right policy," Sir David said. "What we must do now is to put it into action. Is it not plain that if the English speaking peoples will not do this, no one else will, and then we have cause to ponder who will be the next economic leaders of the world." (Daily Telegraph, March 12, 1959.)

The popular mass-circulation press in Britain gave all of these issues sensational play at the time, recommended that Britain retaliate, etc. The serious papers cautioned against retaliation and trade war and gave some perspective by giving America credit for a policy which was in general liberal, while at the same time pointing out that Britain's record was far from unblemished. But while the comments of the serious press were thus more fair, they were no less critical; and these papers proved to have longer memories than the tabloids which went on to other sensations.

In public relations, or propaganda, impressions count as much as reality; and what this series of protectionist incidents had done was to create in Britain a widespread and resentful impression that the American partner was discriminating against Britain in trade. There was a further effect: America's balance-of-payment difficulties (which have now become more critical) were already serious, but in the mood which had been created by these incidents only the most sober opinion was disposed to be sympathetic or understanding at that time. The rest of British opinion was so nettled, indeed, that the tendency was toward schadenfreude, a scarcely concealed glee that the giant American offender was in trouble.

Only as these various issues got straightened out and as irritation subsided, did British opinion begin to see that in the larger picture America was in difficulty with her international balances in great part because she had been generous in aid and generally liberal in her import policy.

QUESTION: Is there a way to make the operation of American trade policy more consistent, so that exceptional cases will not create impressions which are negative and sometimes false, and so we can avoid the charge of hypocrisy?

(5) Trade with the Communist Bloc. Anglo-American differences on this score are at least worth a brief mention here. In his recent report on Western Europe for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Strauz-Hupé has noted (p. 66) that the British are "particularly vulnerable" to Soviet divisive tactics in the trade field, because of their great dependence on trade. They have pressed constantly in COCOM for relaxations of the embargo list. They tried, in the CHINCOM meeting of May 1957, to get unanimous agreement for reducing the restrictions on Chinese trade to the less stringent levels of controls on trade with the U.S.S.R. Failing in that effort, they unlaterally abolished the differential so far as their own trade with China was concerned. In May 1959 they signed a five-year trade accord with Russia, agreed to purchase up to $225 million of Russian exports in the first year, and even extended credit. Polls have indicated that British public opinion broadly supports the British government on such issues, and disapproves of American pressures to restrict trade with the Communist bloc, though a strong minority will go along with the U.S. position so long as they are convinced that the goods on the list in fact do contribute to Communist war potential.

QUESTION: In this matter, have we pressed the British too far or not far enough? In extremes the British have been heard to argue "You don't want us to trade with the Communists, and you put up barriers to our trading with you. We have to trade with somebody. Which do you want?" Is there some grain of truth or some valid point here?

(6) U.S. Balance of Payments and Gold Reserves. As indicated above, when this problem first was becoming serious the British were not generally disposed to be sympathetic because a series of incidents in the operation of our trade policy had incensed them. Today they express great sympathy; but their own trade balances are so precarious that it appears doubtful that they can be of much help. For Britain and for the United States, 1960 was not a good year. While the boom largely continued on the continent, Britain's rate of economic growth, like America's, lagged.

In 1960 Britain had an unfavorable trade balance. "Even when invisible income is added, this does not provide a current balance of payments surplus nearly adequate for covering Britain's overseas capital commitments. Some economists believe there may be no significant surplus at all for last year when all the figures have been received." (The New York Times, January 10, 1961.) If there is a net favorable balance, it would rest on the fact that a high bank rate has maintained a flow of money into her reserves -- a condition which may be temporary, since (particularly now with the lowered bank rate) speculative capital could flow out as readily as it flowed in; and to the $300 million Ford investment.

British exports fell between the first and third quarters and four-fifths of the drop was precisely in the North American market; sales of British cars to the United States dropped nearly 50 per cent during the year.

It appears therefore that Britain and America have something of the same problem. Any substantial help will have to come from elsewhere.

In these circumstances, Britain's attitude toward Germany is of interest. The British are aware that in comparison with their own 1959 hairline payments surplus of $420,000,000, West Germany's surplus was a whopping $2,000,000,000, or roughly five times as great. The Conservative press in Britain (Mail, Express, Sketch) expressed sympathy with Secretary Anderson's mission to Bonn. When it failed they "shared the U.S. dismay." (The Christian Science Monitor, November 26, 1960.)

The Mail said: "European postwar prosperity is founded on American generosity. That should never be forgotten, but some people seems to need reminding of it." The implied reference to Germany was clear enough.

An Express editorial was more blunt: "Britain's policy and duty are clear: to squeeze the [support cost] money out of the Germans on the American's account and to bring our own soldiers home."

To twist an old saying, in the present situation it appears that the British expect every German to do his duty -- by aiding America.

The British press has expressed the hope that in trying to solve her payments difficulties the United States will not take precipitate actions.

Britain's reduction of her bank rate from 5 1/2 to 5 per cent on December 8, 1960, may aid the U.S. payments situation by at least slowing the flow of "hot" money to Britain. (The rate has been reduced from 6 to 5 1/2 per cent, on October 27, 1960.)

Britain ended the year with what the British press described as "a useful gesture of good will to the United States by paying $47,413,800 to the International Monetary Fund to help ease the strain on the United States balance of payments." (London Times, December 31, 1960.)

QUESTION: Can the United States mend her balance-of-payments difficulties without adopting restrictionist measures? While this is first and foremost an economic problem, the courses chosen are bound to have psychological repercussions overseas. What are the possible lines of policy and what would be their impact on foreign opinion?

C. U.S. Investments in Britain

Both the postwar Labor government and the later Conservative government of Britain have actively encouraged U.S. business investment in Britain. Yet each time there is a large deal which can be represented as a "take-over," there has inevitably been a furor of opposition headed by that curious but quite typical alliance between the Beaverbrook variety of right-wing "Empire" opinion and the left-wing Socialists.

In 1956, for example, there was much public anguish over the acquisition of the Trinidad Oil Company by the Texas Company. In 1959 there was a similar hulabaloo when the Reynolds Metals Company of the United States joined with Tube Investments, a British concern, to take over British Alumnium.

Now we have the Ford acquisition of total stock in its British plant, to which the British press reactions were of interest. The Telegraph, Mail, and Scotsman saw no difficulty. "We have been screaming for American investment," said the Telegraph. "How can we, when it comes, say that this, that or the other field is barred?" The Daily Mail pointed out that the British investor has a large stake in American industry and "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." The Scotsman and the Manchester Guardian took the same line. (Papers of November 16, 1960.)

But in a representative left-wing opinion, the New Statesman of November 19 said "The Ford plan to sell Dagenham to Detroit has rightly caused anxiety and anger." And in queer alliance with the left, the Beaverbrook Express condemned the action outright, saying "The British Empire comes before the Ford empire, and there is no Stock Exchange quotation for independence."

In Parliament the Labor M.P. for Dagenham, one John Parker, declared "Henry Ford said 'History is bunk.' The people of Dagenham remember, however, one interesting episode in American history and that is the Boston Tea Party.... If the American Ford Company misuses its position in Dagenham in regard to employment there will be a Boston Tea Party in Dagenham and we shall throw the American interests into the Thames. We shall free Dagenham from colonial rule." (November 21.)

(Again as with military policy, as with aid, as with trade, now with investment -- the dislike of dependence and the abomination of anything which looks like "satellite" status.) The Englishman William Clark was so right when he wrote in 1957: "The main problem which faces the Anglo-American partnership today and for the future lies in the minds of the British people. Unless we can find a status in the partnership which is acceptable, or we can accept a status that is suitable, the Atlantic Community will disintegrate." (Less than Kin, p. 160.)

Brebeck - Rogers

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.
LEhigh 5-3300

December 21, 1960

TO MEMBERS OF THE STUDY GROUP ON
BRITISH IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES:

The date of the study group's third meeting has been changed from Tuesday, January 10th, to Wednesday, January 18th. A paper by Mr. Evans will be sent to you before that time. As usual, the group will have tea at 5:15, and the meeting itself will begin at 5:30. Dinner will be served at 7:00, and discussion will continue thereafter until around 10:00 p.m. Please let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

The fourth and fifth meetings have been scheduled for Monday, February 6th, and Monday, February 27th, respectively. Reminder notices will be sent out later, but we thought you might wish to make note of these dates now.

Lorna Brennan
Administrative Secretary

Please return enclosed card or
call Miss White at LEhigh 5-3300.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
LEhigh 5-3300

December 16, 1960

TO MEMBERS OF THE STUDY GROUP ON
BRITISH IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES:

Enclosed is Mr. Flanigan's digest of the discussion held at the study group's first meeting on November 21st.

We should like to remind you that the digest is distributed for the personal use of you alone. In the interests of keeping discussion frank and free and in fairness to your fellow members in the group, it is of the utmost importance that these digests should not be shown to people who are not in the group. If you have any corrections or modifications concerning statements attributed to you, please let us know so that they can be entered on the master copy of the digest in the Council's files. You will note that the digest carries a statement that it has not been edited by the participants, and it is distributed only to members of the group.

Lorna Brennan
Administrative Secretary

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STUDY GROUP REPORTS

BRITISH IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES

Chairman: Shepard Stone
Research Secretary: F. Bowen Evans
Rapporteur: William A. Flanigan, Jr.

First Meeting

November 21, 1960

Digest of Discussion

(This digest has not been edited by the participants)

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
58 EAST 68TH STREET NEW YORK 21

The first meeting of the Study Group on British Images of the United States was held at 5:30 p.m. at the Harold Pratt House, on November 21, 1960. Present were: Shepard Stone, Chairman; F. Bowen Evans, Research Secretary; William A. Flanigan, Jr., Rapporteur; Winthrop W. Aldrich, Frank Altschul, Henry G. Aubrey, Edward W. Barrett, Hugh N. Boyd, W. Phillips Davison, Leon Epstein, Albert E. Ernst, W. Rogers Herod, A. Donald Kelso, Irving Kristol, Porter McKeever, Philip E. Mosely, Eugene V. Rostow, Abraham M. Sirkin, Leroy D. Stinebower, Henry M. Wriston.

Mr. Stone, in his introductory remarks, stated that Mr. Evans was preparing a book on the topic under discussion. There would be five or possibly six meetings of the group and the next two are planned for December 20th and January 10th. In his introduction, he indicated that Mr. Evans is now on a year's leave of absence from the United States Information Agency.

Mr. Evans, in opening, noted that this was the first study in the field of overseas public opinion that had been done by the Council in ten years. It was originally thought that the subject would be approached on a global basis, but after the original outlines were prepared, it was quickly seen that it would be better to examine one country. He explained the proposed sequence of topics for the meetings.

Mr. Stone began the discussion by asking former Ambassador Winthrop W. Aldrich to discuss the ambassador's role in creating favorable public opinion. Mr. Aldrich believes that an ambassador holds an extremely important position for influencing public opinion. This is especially true in England where there are so many similar national institutions and where we share a common heritage. He had been extremely close to the Bar in England and occupied an honorary position in a body similar to our Supreme Court. He feels that the British take Americans to their hearts. In specialized groups, an ambassador can exercise influence directly, as the principals are so easily

reached. Even the press is centralized. He spoke with extreme warmth regarding meetings he had organized where labor-union leaders from both the United States and England met. The variety of ideas that were discussed with a complete lack of protocol was surprising. This was extremely good public relations. In England, this type of opportunity presents itself much more than it would elsewhere. An individual can reach all the important people easily. He compared being ambassador to England, in respect to size, to being ambassador to New England.

Mr. Herod pointed up the fact that in London, as it is the center of the Court, culture, and finance, all leaders of opinion are easily reached. This makes the ambassador's job easier: this versus the United States where the British ambassador is located in Washington, and yet must come to New York City or elsewhere to reach opinion leaders. He asked Mr. Aldrich how a British ambassador in the United States could obtain the same results as an American ambassador in England. Mr. Aldrich felt that Lord Halifax had done this and noted that he had visited every state in the Union; but there was no doubt that it was much more difficult in this country. In England, each section is steeped in tradition and the ambassador must be aware of the historical background of the different sections and consider their traditions.

Mr. Stone said he had heard it facetiously stated that in England, if one could control just a hundred leaders of different groups, all located in London, he could control the country. Of course, the British ambassador could do nothing like this in Washington. Also, the leaders in England seemed much more effective.

Mr. Rostow believed that it was still extremely necessary in Britain to visit and get to know the people out of London. For example, the polls supposedly include a weight for this type of person and place. Mr. Aldrich did agree to some extent and recalled the period when he was head of the British War Relief and visited every large city in England. At that time, the Americans had helped in the financing of the King's Messengers, a caravan of trucks marked with crossed British and American flags, containing water, food and medical supplies, etc., which came in after an area was bombed.

Such acts as these are well remembered by the common Britisher and deeply appreciated. Mr. Aldrich felt that some British institutions, rightly or not, have an influence completely out of proportion to their size. This appears understandable in view of their historical background.

Mr. Barrett felt that the influencing of public opinion in Britain was in a special category, in view of the tremendous strength of their leadership groups. He further felt that the public opinion polls did not give true indications on subjects of this type any more than the poll of a question regarding the United Nations would provide a correct indication in this country. He noted that the newspapers in England were very bad, but that an educated man did not find it difficult to find many excellent publications if needed. In England, influence could not be handled in the same way by the United States Information Agency as it can be in other countries. It would not be as easy to change opinion in England as it would be in, say, Iceland or Burma where the USIA has shown remarkable results. He compared it to an easterner's understanding of Texas and the Texans. Nothing would be accomplished, he felt, by Texas sending orchestras to eastern states or to set up a Texas Information Agency.

Mr. Evans then referred the study group to his paper containing questions for discussion at this first meeting. He noted that we took it for granted that it is to the interest of the United States to maintain a vigorous and effective Anglo-American alliance. He noted that the world-wide budget of the USIA had been running at the level of about $100,000,000 annually, and that some questions asked by congressional appropriations committees were penetrating in general regarding the use of these funds.

The first question on the agenda was how much effect public opinion in Britain has on the British government's foreign policy. Mr. Boyd wanted to know if England had the type of TV panel shows we had in this country, such as Edward R. Murrow or Susskind. Mr. Evans answered that such programs were becoming popular in England but were not as frank in tone as those we have in U.S. broadcasting. Mr. Stone felt that British programs usually followed government policy more closely and were less controversial.

Mr. Kristol, in thinking of public opinion in Britain and who influences it, felt that the group should be aware that there were two types of opinion: public opinion and popular opinion. Public opinion is the smaller group who have an intelligent or interested opinion and who will probably influence popular opinion. He felt that at the outset of the discussion, this distinction should be completely understood. Mr. Evans agreed on the importance of the distinction and noted that he preferred the terms "mass opinion" and "elite opinion." Mr. Kristol felt that mass opinion was becoming the more important influencer of governmental policy.

Mr. Aldrich, in connection with the matter of mass opinion, stated that a great deal of intercommunication between the two countries has come about through migration and marriage and that it was becoming more important all the time. He mentioned that many people in this country were born or had ancestors in Wales and Scotland.

Mr. Rostow also recognized these two types of opinion and mentioned how closely the party leaders follow the by-elections in an attempt to sense opinion. He also cited as an example the turnabout of the Labor party leaders over the Suez crisis. Mr. Herod brought up the point that some opinion is held with "intensity" that is hard to measure and also that when an Englishman reads his publications, he does so with a much deeper "sense of study" than his American counterpart. Mr. Epstein, on the question of "mass" and "elite" opinion, noted that there is a great deal of communication between the elite opinion makers and the masses. However, as regards public opinion polls, he questions their value; he does not believe, for example, that a garage keeper has formed an opinion on many matters unless they directly affect him for some reason.

Regarding the use of public opinion polls, Mr. Evans stated that he believed public opinion polls had their limitations, but they were useful in "quantifying" or measuring opinion more accurately than through any other device. He felt that the polls must be made by reputable organizations, if their findings are to be respected. He regards polls as a highly useful supplement to other forms of political analysis, not as a substitute for such other analysis. The polls give another tool to the

researcher. As an aside, he mentioned that he would put more trust in the results of a reputable poll than in press or journalistic assessments of public opinion, which are often erroneous.

The discussion then went on to the centralization of governmental and party power under a prime minister and the relative independence from mass opinion that he may or may not have. Mr. Mosely felt one advantage that the British prime minister has is that he sets the time of elections, whereas under our system, the president has to be extremely careful six months before each election. Mr. Stone noted that no press conferences were called by the British prime minister and he would guess that the press secretary of the prime minister was called on less than in our own country. Mr. Sirkin noted that the prime minister answers each week to Parliament; and that in a sense our presidential press conferences are the equivalent of the question period in the British Parliament.

Mr. Kristol felt that the prime minister was free from a great deal of mass opinion and that organized "lead opinion" would be more apt to influence him. An example of this was the question of capital punishment; the people were in favor of capital punishment, and yet a small elite opinion was against it and was able to exert an influence completely out of proportion to its size.

Mr. Evans felt that relatively the prime minister -- because he is head of the legislature of the executive, and of his party -- could be more independent of public opinion than could the American president.

Mr. Rostow felt that the president had more power, as he had an absolute mandate; whereas the prime minister had to depend on his delegates, and at this time the prime ministership is becoming more of a national issue in elections than previously.

Mr. Ernst brought up the subject of Ford's acquisition of its English affiliate and stated that a minister could speak on the subject and that the people would probably follow him and take his advice on it.

Mr. Davison felt that there were two types of "elite" opinion; one is an "elite" opinion with power and the other is an "elite" opinion of those who were listened to.

Mr. Stone asked, can the government lead public opinion? Exactly how would Macmillan be able to lead opinion under a certain set of circumstances? Would he, for instance, be able to direct England's position regarding the Common Market or would it become a popular issue over which he would have little influence? The consensus seemed to be that Macmillan would use all the media at his disposal in order to get his message to the people. Mr. Herod stated that the English people respected government and authority more than do the people of the United States. He referred to an article some years ago in the Atlantic Monthly which was entitled "The Innate Sense of Lawlessness." This referred to the American people who, after all, do not have as long a history of government and tradition to fall back on as do the people of England.

Using "summitry" as a case in point, did public opinion influence Macmillan's stand on urging a summit conference? Mr. Altschul made the point that the English people live with a fear of a sudden outbreak of war in which they will be involved. They are, therefore, in favor of almost anything which may avert such a catastrophe. In this respect, public opinion did influence Macmillan's position. Mr. Sirkin questioned whether Macmillan ever gave his personal viewpoint on "summitry" and whether he felt the same driving necessity for it that British public opinion did. Mr. Stone wanted to know who the British people blamed for the failure of the last summit conference. Mr. Evans stated that Britain anticipated, after the U-2 incident, that it would probably be a failure. Previous polls of public opinion indicated that 80 per cent of the people were in favor of having a summit conference, but only about half of those with opinions felt that a summit conference would be successful. Though the British put primary blame for the failure on the Russians, there was a strong feeling that the United States was also to blame.

Mr. Epstein believed that there was the undercurrent of opinion, which reflected itself in the polls, that a summit meeting would give Britain a chance to play the part of a great power: be an arbitrator between world powers. Mr. Stone then commented that this perhaps influenced and colored much of British thinking. As an example, he mentioned Macmillan's speech at the last session of the United Nations; the people of Britain felt that his speech was excellent and that more attention should be paid to British thinking and Mr. Macmillan's opinions. Perhaps this is a basic change in the attitude of Britain of which we should be aware in our propaganda efforts.

In connection with this, Mr. Mosely stated that the United States would be far smarter if it paid greater attention to British views and British sensibilities. Very often we seem to pull the rug out from under the British. The British announcement of their agreement to a U.S. Polaris submarine base in Scotland was an example of this. When Prime Minister Macmillan announced the agreement in the House of Commons, he said he was confident no American decision to use the missiles would be taken without the fullest possible prior consultation with Britain. Immediately, spokesmen in Washington, according to the press, denied that any such promise had been given. The import of this is that the U.S. government contradicted directly the British Prime Minister. It developed later that the truth of the matter appears to lie somewhere between the two positions, in that from British territory, the British will have a say in the use of the missile, but on the high seas, they may not. But Macmillan had never claimed more than "the fullest possible consultations." Mr. Boyd commented that perhaps in this country the tempo of public news is at a much faster rate than in England. For this reason, government officials feel under pressure to give immediate answers to questions from the press and no time is allowed for reflection and thought as to what the consequences may be.

Mr. Stone indicated that he felt we paid very little attention to what the British say. Mr. Evans gave other examples of this. In one case the U.S. government

announced that high-level flights along the air corridors to Berlin would be instituted; when the British questioned this position, an American official spokesman virtually accused the British of becoming soft on the matter. Mr. Aubrey felt it was obvious that there should be a great deal more consultation between the British and Americans.

Mr. Davison said the British considered us a little on the trigger-happy side, and that incidents of this sort simply increased that opinion. Mr. Kristol wondered whether any advance thought had been given to the impact on public opinion in Britain when the Polaris bases were planned. Mr. Stinebower noted that American government employees always are overly conscious of Congress and how it will react. In meetings between the two governments, the American is always prone to put off the matter or to give further thought to the effects on Congress, whereas the British representatives do not use this excuse and indicate that they will take care of public opinion.

Mr. Altschul said that our statesmen never seem to take into consideration how their remarks will affect other people. Mr. Stone agreed, hoping that under the new administration more thought would be given to this, and that there would be more consultation and more of an opportunity to hear others' views.

Mr. McKeever felt perhaps we should submerge our leadership in some instances and let other countries propose and take credit for matters. People will in reality know who is the leader and do not have to have it exhibited time and time again. He remembered how, at one time, in the United Nations, when certain matters were to be proposed, the United States would call press conferences with other countries to present a matter jointly.

Mr. Evans felt that consultation with the British had improved in recent years and was generally good. As regards Polaris, it may have been just a slip-up; in many, many other instances, matters had worked more smoothly. Mr. Sirkin pointed out that most public statements made in this country are for domestic consumption, and unfortunately, the people who make the statements do not take into consideration or give enough weight to the fact their words will go out all over the world. Mr. Hagerty

and other press secretaries have been guilty of this in the past.

The question was asked "To what extent does public opinion operate as a hobble on government action?" Mr. Stinebower felt that public opinion hobbles government action much more in the United States than in England. Mr. Stone wondered when China was proposed as a member of the United Nations and the United States was against her being accepted, England would be able to vote with us, or because of British public opinion, would not be able to; or whether the British government would be able to influence public opinion to make it agreeable to have England vote with the United States.

Mr. Epstein noted that the Labor party in England has already criticized the votes of the United Kingdom in the United Nations. The group compared this problem to the same problem in the United States. Will it be a loss of prestige if China is admitted and what action would the United States take? Many of the members felt that by this time U.S. officials should be conditioning American opinion to the fact that the admission of China was inevitable. Mr. Stone brought up for discussion the possible feeling in Britain today that there were two great powers, the United States and Russia; that there would be no nuclear war if it was a stand-off; and that, therefore, Britain stood in the middle.

Mr. Stone discussed the position of the United States in Britain and the question of "prestige." Mr. Rostow felt that there was no noticeable anti-American feeling; the young people of Britain are extremely interested in the United States and in all things from the United States. However, there is definitely jealousy where the United States is concerned. Mr. Kristol said he arrived in England while the Rosenberg case was in the news and at that time there was a decided feeling of anti-Americanism, which he felt had now declined tremendously. Mr. Epstein believed there was definitely envy regarding material wealth which was exhibited right after the war but that there was little anti-American feeling. Mr. Sirkin mentioned that the word "prestige" had not appeared in the analysis of the United States Information Agency. It was commented that the British no doubt enjoyed seeing Uncle Sam fall on his face and trip once

in a while. But few of the British would want the trip to be a permanent concussion.

Regarding U.S. "prestige," its meaning and whether it had declined, few suggestions were offered. The chairman asked the members to return with a better term, or better definition, at the next session, when the question could be raised again.

Mr. Altschul believes that public opinion in Britain will continue to watch our behavior and how it affects the British directly. Mr. Mosely felt that public opinion as regards the alliance would to some extent be based on the position that Britain occupies in the alliance, and the importance it is given in the alliance. Mr. Stinebower felt that the alliance would show strength at a time of threat and that prosperity would make it weak. Mr. Evans noted that Mr. Khrushchev sometimes appears to help the Anglo-American alliance, since his threats tend to keep the alliance strong and alert. Mr. Kristol, however, strongly felt that as the disarmament stalemate persisted, there would be a strong neutralist element in Britain, that it was a fact of life that the British would find themselves more and more out of a controlling position, and would therefore increasingly fall back on neutralism as an obvious position for them to occupy.

William A. Flanigan, Jr.
Rapporteur

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December 13, 1960

TO MEMBERS OF THE STUDY GROUP ON
BRITISH IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES:

Enclosed is a working paper on Problems in the Political-Strategic Area prepared by Mr. Evans to serve as the basis of discussion at the meeting on Tuesday, December 20th. Also enclosed is a despatch by Henry Hayward on "British Neutralism: True or False?" from The Christian Science Monitor, which should be of interest to the group.

As you know, the meeting on the 20th will begin at 5:30, with tea at 5:15, and will continue, through dinner, until around 10:00 p.m. If you have not done so already, please let us know whether you plan to attend.

The digest of discussion at the first meeting will be sent to you shortly.

Lorna Brennan
Administrative Secretary

Please call Miss White
at LEhigh 5-3300.

Working Paper Number 2
For Meeting of
December 20, 1960

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COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Study Group on
British Images of the United States

Problems in the Political-Strategic Area

by F. Bowen Evans

I. Introduction

The first working paper indicated that, whatever the difficulties, majority opinion in Britain is far from being anti-American *per se*, and that the British put considerable trust and reliance in their American ally, though it is an open question as to whether that trust and reliance are now diminishing. The present paper deals not with the factors which draw us together, but with problems and attitudes which are irritations within the alliance and tend to push us apart in our understanding and approach to one another and to our common defense effort.

The complexities of the Anglo-American relationship make it difficult to perform any tidy and orderly analysis. If this is true when only the substantive issues are under discussion, it is doubly true when we are interested both in substance and in the accompanying shadow or reflection in "the British mind." British attitudes toward their own role in the world and toward their connection with America are obviously conditioned in part by their own circumstances and by what is already present in the eye of the viewer. But they are also influenced by American policies, actions, and statements.

Thus this paper begins with the consideration of certain conditioners of British foreign-policy attitudes -- pacifism, ideological factors, and the British propensity for negotiation and compromise. It

then proceeds to two areas in which American policy (or its appearance) has been at odds with these British predispositions: alleged American "rigidity" over the question of negotiating with the Russians, and alleged American "trigger-happiness" or "brinkmanship." The U-2 case will be taken up as one which affronted British opinion on several counts. Questions about the possible future course of British "unilateralism" and neutralism come last.

II. Pacifism in Britain

Pacifism is of course a relative term and deals with relative values. Every sane person in the world today is certainly a pacifist in the sense that he must desire peace and dread the thought of nuclear war. The question is whether or not such considerations outweigh all others. Pacifism, in the more strict sense, implies the positing of peace as an absolute value which takes precedence over other values such as justice or freedom.

Pacifism in both senses appears to run more deeply in Britain than in America, though it may be only an appearance. Or it may be that for Americans, who have not suffered modern war on their own ground, the question has not really arisen in the same way that it has for the British. And before any invidious comparisons are made, it should be remembered that in World War I and again in World War II, after Britian was already fighting, majority opinion in America continued to be of a "pacifist" and "neutralist" coloration. British pacifism seemed to run high until the chips were down, when it virtually disappeared.

Current British pacifism certainly is directly related to British suffering under the bombardments of World War II; to the realization that nuclear war would be much more horrible and devastating;

and to the calulation that Briain is so particularly and peculiarly vulnerable that the country and its people could be literally and completely destroyed by a few nuclear warheads.

A British Gallup poll in October 1956 posed this question: "Everybody agrees that a world war fought with A-bombs and H-bombs would involve terrible cost, destruction, and suffering. Some people feel that such a war would never be justified in any circumstances. Others feel that in certain circumstances it would be justifiable. Which side do you agree with?"

	All	Cons.	Lab.	Lib.
Nuclear war never justifiable	72%	64%	78%	76%
Might be justifiable	19	28	13	19
Don't know	9	8	9	5
	100	100	100	100

A second British Gallup poll of relevance in this connection (as reported in Strausz-Hupé, United States Foreign Policy: Western Europe, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Study no. 3, 1959, p. 26) asked the following question in October 1958: "If relations between Russia and the West became so bad that the choice before us was either to come to terms with the Russians at any price, or to go to war with them, knowing that nuclear weapons like the H-bomb would be used, which would you choose?" The results were: Come to terms at any price, 47%; go to war, 25%; don't know, 28%.

However, surveys which posed the question directly in terms of enemy invasion or occupation of Britain brought quite different results. British Gallup, in September 1952, asked: "In case Russia tried to invade Britain, what do you think would be better for our country to do: to fight, or do something else?" Results were: Fight, 88%; do something else, 5%; don't know, 7%.

And the New York Herald Tribune's World Poll (with the British portion conducted by Research Associates, Ltd.), asked in August 1957, "Do you feel that occupation by a country like Russia is preferable to war?" Replies were: Yes, 18%; no, 70%; don't know, 12%.

Thus the results of opinion polls appear to be as mixed and inconclusive as the comments of various observers on the matter of pacifism in Britain.

Questions: How deep and how lasting is pacifist sentiment in Britain? Is it the chief factor underlying the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and the foreign policies advocated by the left wing of the Labor party? What is its effect on official British policy? How would one reason as to the appropriate role of the U.S. Information Service in Britain on the subject of British pacifism?

III. "Interdependence" vs. the Status of a Dependent Satellite

The feeling of being unduly dependent upon America, both economically and militarily, has been irksome to many of our allies but perhaps chiefly to the British because of the reversal of traditional roles. William Connor (Cassandra) of the London Daily Mirror wrote in a 1954 pamphlet: "The British hate being dependent on other people. The last century was theirs to a more triumphant extent than the present century belongs to the Americans. Britain mastered the world economically and militarily more completely than the Americans have so far succeeded in doing. And it is this background of success and rich experience which galls and mortifies the British when they have to accept American largesse, whether it comes in the form of cash or squadrons of jet aircraft. Objectivity and ordinary gratitude get lost in the deplorable but very human resentment at being done a

massive favor and then having the point made rather too clear to you." Many similar statements could be cited from other commentators.

From their meeting of October 1957 Eisenhower and Macmillan issued their "Declaration of Common Purpose" which gave formal expression to the principle of "interdependence." That term has been increasingly used by British leadership to describe the Anglo-American relationship, and certainly a chief reason has been the desire to allay the anti-American resentments arising from the "dependence" arguments.

But simultaneously, with the shift in the strategic situation arising from Russia's possession of long-range rockets, there have developed fears that Britain may be militarily "dependent" on an ally who may not be "dependable." A complex of attitudes now fairly typical on the Labor left was illustrated in a speech in the House of Commons on November 1, 1960, by Mr. John Rankin, the Labor member for Glasgow:

> The word "Alliance," in so far as it refers to this country and America, is a misnomer for many reasons. The United States of America has an economic and military strength which alone is equal to the power of all her NATO partners combined. All their forces are under the supreme command of an American general. In addition, on their territories she owns all the weapons of obliterative power and has the bases from which to deliver those weapons. The Pentagon and the administrative departments in America take all the decisions without consulting her allies. The proof of that was shown in the U-2 and RB-47 incidents.... Today we have heard the Prime Minister's statement on the Polaris base which is to be established in the Gareloch, which will turn the whole of the Clyde estuary into an American security area; and there is still no assurance that the movements of Polaris would in any way be subject to consultation between the Prime Minister and the responsible Americans. It is true to say that we are not really an ally of the United States; we are a satellite. We live on an expendable American base and we have no firm guarantee that in any part of Europe would America intervene on behalf of any of her NATO partners. The simple reason, as has been stated from the Opposition Front Bench, is that that intervention might prejudice the great cities and the population

> of the United States.... This is the situation that is causing grievous discontent in the country. It is manifested in many directions and that resentment is not coming from a handful of people who are pacifists or unilateralists, or bear any similar names. (629 H.C. Deb. 122).

John J. McCloy suggested over four years ago(in his foreword to Henry Robert's book Russia and America: Dangers and Prospects) that the nuclear arming of an effective European Defense Community, plus making Europe responsible for making its own decision on whether to respond to Soviet aggression, "might release Europe from the sense of a somewhat helpless dependence on American strategic decisions and put it in a better position to be an equal though more independent partner within the NATO community."

Britain of course still maintains its own nuclear deterrent. The Conservative position is that she should continue to maintain it, though (largely because of cost) the government has abandoned its own Blue Streak missile and will rely increasingly on America for delivery systems. The official position of the Labor party parliamentary leadership, and of the Liberal party, is that Britain should forego her independent nuclear deterrent in favor of a pooled NATO deterrent.

QUESTIONS: How important is this factor of "dependence" in Britain? What can the United States do to decrease the "satellite" charges? Apart from actual policy development and statements by the U.S. government, is there any appropriate role for the U.S. Information Service on this question?

IV. Political Ideology in Britain

The Communist party in Britain is very small. By 1958 the Daily Worker put the official membership claim at only 24,670. The Communists elected two M.P.'s in 1945, but have elected none subsequently. There are Communist members on some city or borough councils.

Membership in the Communist party and its front groups is proscribed by the Labor party, which publishes an equivalent of the U.S. Attorney-General's proscribed list. While it exercises some influence in certain of the trade-unions, and while it never tires of propaganda, communism is nevertheless almost insignificant politically in Britain.

But while the labor movement rejected revolutionary Marxism, it accepted Fabianism, or democratic socialism. Clause 4 of the Labor party's constitution, over which there has lately been much controversy within Labor's ranks, still theoretically commits the party to a policy of nationalization. Roughly one-half of British voters identify themselves as "Socialists." Except for the denationalization of steel and road haulage, the Conservatives have not sought to overturn the degree of nationalization which they inherited from the Labor government. The whole spectrum of British politics is thus leftward of the spectrum of American politics.

Britons of all parties (except Communists) still see the Communist bloc as the enemy or potential enemy. Polls have consistently indicated that only 1 or 2 per cent of the population believe Britain should be on the side of Russia. Russia is generally blamed for beginning the cold war and for prolonging it. Yet it is suggested that, particularly on the left, foreign-policy attitudes, both toward Russia and toward America, are colored by ideology.

<u>QUESTIONS</u>: In what ways, and to what degree, does ideology influence British attitudes toward Russia, toward America, and toward British foreign policy? Should USIS employ ideological arguments or output in its British program?

V. British "Softness" (?) vs. American "Rigidity" (?)

An article on "Recent Trends in British Foreign Policy" (International Journal, Summer 1960) by the British scholar P. A. Reynolds contains this suggestive paragraph: "The recent trend of British diplomatic action has thus been in harmony with her traditional methods and aims -- the seeking of peace through removing or diminishing causes of conflicts by negotiation, conciliation and compromise -- although in the present issue Britain's lessened power as compared with her nineteenth century situation has compelled her to attach herself closely to one of the two major protagonists, and thus her freedom of maneuver and the effectiveness of her activity have been markedly reduced."

The British Gallup Poll in June 1959 asked "What do you think Britain's role should be: To support America at all times, or to do all that can be done to bring America and Russia together?" Result: support America at all times, 24%; do all possible to bring America and Russia together, 65%; don't know, 11%.

The relative "hardness" or "rigidity" of U.S. policy as compared to the relative "softness" or "flexibility" of British policy has been frequently remarked. Occasional American accusations of British "softness" or "defeatism" have been bitterly resented in Britain whenever they have implied a lack of courage.

Dr. Arnold Wolfers recently suggested that it may not be a bad thing tactically for one of the partners to be "rigid" and the other "flexible" as the Anglo-American alliance confronts the Communist bloc.

QUESTIONS: Is it an accurate generalization that British policy today, over a whole range of issues, is "softer" than American

policy? Or does this contrast not exist on some issues while existing on others? Or is it that the contrast is always there but the degree varies according to particular issues -- such as disarmament, test cessation, summitry, Berlin, China, etc.? What are the respective merits of the American approach and the British approach? Is it useful or harmful to have a divergence of approach within the alliance? If the British lost their sense of being able to influence American policy from within the Anglo-American alliance, what would the effect be on British support of the alliance? Have the British in fact been successful in moderating American policy, and, if so, has that been desirable? (In this respect can Suez be regarded as a one-time aberration from the normal pattern of British restraint on America?) To the degree that there are differences of approach, what public position should the U.S. government take when it comments on such differences with its chief partner? What are the implications for the U.S. information program?

VI. Differences over Summitry

Prior to the 1955 summit meeting in Geneva, British public opinion had strongly favored such a meeting. A Gallup Poll in June 1954 showed 73% of the British favoring the proposition that Churchill and Eisenhower should meet with Malenkov, with 12% opposing and 15% undecided. But, according to a Gallup poll in March 1955, only 36% thought a summit conference would have much chance of success, as opposed to 36% who gave it little chance and 25% undecided. After the 1955 summit meeting and the subsequent meeting of the foreign ministers, there were regrets that the meetings had not accomplished more, mixed with some feeling that tensions had been relaxed. A Gallup poll in late November 1955 showed that 31% thought the meetings had resulted in

some improvement, as against 44% who saw no change, and 25% undecided. There had been a certain amount of skepticism beforehand, and certainly there was nothing like a great wave of disillusionment afterward.

Prior to the 1960 summit meeting in Paris, roughly the same pattern of expectations emerged. Overwhelming public advocacy of a summit was evidenced in poll after poll, beginning as early as May 1957. In December 1957 the News Chronicle published a Gallup poll showing 85% approving of a summit, with 4% against and 11% undecided. A Daily Express poll published the following month showed virtually the same findings: 83% in favor, 7% opposed, 10% undecided.

But again, public expectations of success were qualified. A Gallup poll of January 1958 indicated 31% felt that a summit meeting had much chance of success, as against 45% who felt it had little chance of success and 24% undecided. Later a Daily Express poll of March 1959 showed 64 1/2% expecting that a summit "would be likely to reach a good measure of agreement," with 18 1/2% to the contrary and 17% undecided.

Perhaps the prevalent British view was best summed up in a Gallup poll of April 1958 in which 76% registered the view that summit talks "might do a lot of good and couldn't do much harm," with only 7% feeling that they "might do a lot of harm and couldn't do much good;" 17% were undecided.

The official U.S. position in 1958 and most of 1959 was that no summit meeting should be held unless prior understandings at the ministerial level gave some prospect that the heads of government could manage at least some limited agreements. Perhaps differences on this score reveal most about the gap between U.S. policy and British opinion (in all parties), as evidenced by the following results of a Gallup poll taken in June 1959.

If the Foreign Secretaries fail to reach any real agreement, does that, in your opinion, increase or decrease the importance of having summit talks?	All	Cons.	Lab.	Lib.
Would increase importance	59%	67%	55%	74%
Would decrease importance	18	18	18	14
Don't know	23	15	27	12
	100	100	100	100

Do you think that top level talks should be held whatever happens at the Foreign Secretaries' meeting, or only held if the results of the Foreign Secretaries' meeting are sufficiently encouraging?				
Held whatever happens	69	76	68	74
Only if encouraging	17	20	15	20
Don't know	14	4	17	6
	100	100	100	100

At least one further Gallup poll question seems highly relevant. It was asked in March 1955 before the United States had agreed to attend a 1955 summit, and again in January 1958 before the United States had agreed to attend the meeting ultimately scheduled for Paris.

On the question of such /summit/ talks, should we keep in step with the U.S.A. or should we go ahead, even if they were not willing to join?	March 1955	Jan. 1958
Keep in step	29%	37%
Go ahead	56	53
Don't know	15	10
	100	100

The British enthusiasm waned only slightly after the breakdown of negotiations in Paris. Macmillan has subsequently indicated that he will still press for a summit, and the British press and British opinion seem to be strongly with him. Kingsley Martin of the New Statesman cannot speak for the British majority on many issues, but perhaps he does on this one. The New Statesman front-page editorial

of November 12, welcoming the new Kennedy administration with hopeful expectations of change on various fronts, concluded as follows: "But we do not know the answer to the central question: does Kennedy believe he can -- or should -- negotiate seriously with Khrushchev? For unless he grasps that the ending, as opposed to the winning, of the Cold War must be the object of U.S. policy, the elements of liberalism in his thinking will prove abortive."

QUESTIONS: What were the reasons for Mr. Dulles' reluctance to have a summit meeting? Were the stated reasons the real ones? Could we -- or should we -- have moved closer to the British position earlier than we did? What can USIS in Britain do when there is such an impasse between U.S. policy and British opinion? What should be the position of the new U.S. administration on summitry?

VII. "Brinkmanship"

The British have uniformly reacted negatively to any indications which they could interpret as American sword-rattling or trigger-happiness. In their eyes American military leaders (collectively "the Pentagon") have been unnecessarily provocative in many of their public statements. But they resented even more, during his tenure, some of the statements of Secretary Dulles, partly because of an expectation that while generals might sometimes appear bellicose, statesmen should not. In an article on January 15, 1956, James Reston summarized in The New York Times the objections as felt by the British (and others):

> He wrote into the President's first State of the Union Message the passage construed as "unleashing" Chiang Kai-shek to invade the China mainland.
>
> He "liberated" the Communist satellites first in the Republican Party's 1952 foreign affairs platform at the Chicago Convention, which he drafted, and later in several other prepared speeches.

> He announced that he was going to make an "agonizing reappraisal" of American foreign policy if France did not join the European Defense Community ....
>
> He put into a formal speech before the New York Council on Foreign Relations /on January 12, 1954_7 his threat of "massive retaliation" against the Communist world -- a threat which required a 2,000 word clarification and which has plagued him ever since ....
>
> He issued last month a formal statement describing Goa on the fringe of India as a "province" of Portugal -- just at the time when he was planning a trip to India to patch up our ragged relations with Prime Minister Nehru.
>
> And now this week he has been involved in another controversy because he claimed that he had three times carried the nation to the "brink" of war and scared the Communists off two of the three times by threats of atomic retaliation.

Drew Middleton has commented several times that while the effect of such statements on the enemy is not known, the effects on our British ally are known. The effects are fright, shock, and a vast irritation.

QUESTIONS: Are there arguments in favor of "tough" public statements? Assuming that on balance we would wish to avoid them, can we? Is there something endemic in the American character or the American governmental system which produces such statements? What is the role of the U.S. information program in this connection?

VIII. The U-2 Episode

From the standpoint of British opinion, the U-2 episode was doubly unfortunate in that it struck two sensitive nerves: (1) it was seen as "Pentagonitis," actions of the military (or military intelligence in cooperation with CIA) going forward without adequate civilian control; and (2) it jeopardized the already slim chances for success of the summit for which Macmillan and the British had labored so mightily. The fact that British public criticisms were somewhat muted should not be misinterpreted.

simple matter of one side being right and the other wrong. Nine in every ten, 89%, put at least part of the blame on the Russians, but only 18% put all the blame on them. Very few regard the Americans as solely to blame but the majority, 74%, hold them to be partially responsible." (Gallup Political Index, Report no. 5, May 1960.)

QUESTION: The U-2 incident has been so thoroughly debated that there may be no particular point in lengthy discussion by the Study Group. There is a related question, however. What are the difficulties of the U.S. Information Service in such a situation?

Drew Middleton has commented several times that while the effect of such statements on the enemy is not known, the effects on our British ally are known. The effects are fright, shock, and a vast irritation.

QUESTIONS: Are there arguments in favor of "tough" public statements? Assuming that on balance we would wish to avoid them, can we? Is there something endemic in the American character or the American governmental system which produces such statements? What is the role of the U.S. information program in this connection?

IX. British Neutralism

The U-2 incident, the collapse of the summit, the RB-47 incident, and the new Polaris submarine base in Holy Loch have all contributed to increased anxieties in Britain, and neutralism may be on the increase. The vote of the Labor Party Conference was deceptive, in that the large union bloc votes held by Cousins and his allies did not accurately reflect opinion in the Labor party. Nevertheless, the fact that the Labor Party Conference (though not the Parliamentary Labor party) could vote in favor of a resolution which was unilateralist and neutralist has given rise to considerable concern.

In various British Gallup polls dating from 1954, the British have been asked whether Britain should be on the side of the U.S.S.R., or on the side of the United States, or on neither side. With only minor fluctuations, until late May 1960 the results used to run along the following lines: about 33% opted for neutralism, about 2% for siding with Russia, about 55% for siding with the United States, with about 10% undecided. There was always a clear preponderance of pro-U.S. sentiment over neutralism.

In the survey conducted from May 21 to May 24, however, the results were: side with the United States, 42%; with the U.S.S.R., 2%; with neither side, 46%; don't know, 10%. This was the first time that neutralist sentiment was preponderant over "siding with the U.S." sentiment.

As to the possible future course of British opinion, observers differ. Eric Savareid (in an article distributed with the first working paper) already thinks there is a "sea change," with Europeans now regarding America "as a third party, almost as alien in spirit as Russia, almost as reckless a threat to their lives." Henry Hayward (in an article attached herewith) takes a more optimistic view. In the Sunday Times Magazine of December 11, Drew Middleton gives a lengthy analysis, saying "It is impossible to say how far the movement will go," but "the neutralist movement has not yet reached its apogee."

Middleton's article also points up, at its conclusion, a factor of which the U.S. Information Service in London has always been keenly aware, i.e., the influence of London's precept and example on the rest of the world. "This is the final importance of the growth of neutralism in Britain. Whether it succeeds or fails in changing the policies of

future British Governments, it cannot help but exert considerable influence upon the new nations of Africa and Asia. Indeed, if successful it would have considerable influence upon Western Europe as well.

QUESTIONS: Is neutralism in fact increasing in Britain? What are the prospects, short run and long run, of neutralism becoming official British policy? If neutralism should prevail in Britain, what would be the effects for the United States? What can the United States do to help diminish neutralist sentiment in Britain?

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
LEhigh 5-3300

November 17, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

On behalf of Mr. Shepard Stone and the Council, I should like to say how pleased we are that you will be able to participate in the work of the Study Group on British Images of the United States. I know that your advice and assistance will be most helpful and that we can look forward to some interesting sessions.

As you know, all meetings at the Council on Foreign Relations are off-the-record. It is our custom to prepare digests of discussions following study group meetings for distribution to members of the group, but we should emphasize that these digests, as well as any research memoranda, are for the use of group members only and should not be shown to or discussed with others. Unless the confidential character of our meetings is scrupulously maintained, participants in these sessions will not feel free to speak candidly and forthrightly on questions of public policy.

I am sorry you cannot be with us at the first meeting on November 21st, but I look forward to seeing you at subsequent sessions.

Sincerely yours,

Philip E. Mosely

Philip E. Mosely
Director of Studies

October 28, 1960

Dear Shep:

Delighted to serve on the Study Group, but cannot attend the first meeting because I will be on Quemoy.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Shepard Stone
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

ERM:gw

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
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October 20, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

We are sometimes inclined to take Britain and British public opinion for granted as a reliable partner and to be annoyed at differences in outlook. Yet, we have often gone divergent paths, for example, on such matters as the Near East, the allocation of strategic roles, and our attitudes toward European unification. We are sometimes not sufficiently aware of the diverse outlooks on world affairs which shape various currents of opinion within Britain, for example, within the Labor party at the present time, or in our policies toward Communist China.

For some years the Council has hoped to undertake a study of the various images which British opinion, and various segments of it, hold regarding the dominant American partner in this key alliance of the free world. To what extent are U.S.-British frictions an unavoidable but manageable consequence of a change in relative power? To what extent are different British opinions about America and American policies an important factor in shaping British decisions? What are the sources of the British images of America, and which of these images have a basic significance for U.S.-British cooperation? Through what channels is the American image projected to the British people, and in what ways, both official and private, can these relationships be clarified and strengthened?

In order to examine these complex problems, which involve not only public opinion in the technical sense, but also the strategic, political, and economic interests of the two countries, the Council on Foreign Relations has asked me to serve as Chairman of a Study Group, and Mr. F. Bowen Evans has agreed to serve as Project Director. I hope you will accept this invitation to serve as a member of this small Study Group in the coming months. We hope that out of its deliberations Mr. Evans will receive valuable comment and advice on the the role of British public opinion in shaping the British-U.S. alliance.

Bowen Evans has had an extensive experience in scholarship and in government service, with special attention to problems of information and public opinion. After wartime service in the U.S. Navy, Mr. Evans taught government at Columbia, and there his research was devoted to the study of the role of psychological and ideological factors in the formulation and execution of foreign policy. This bent was further strengthened by research service to the Department of State, beginning in 1951, where he served as Deputy Coordinator of Psychological Intelligence. After transferring to the U.S. Information Agency in 1953, Mr. Evans supervised the work of a staff of research analysts, with special attention to current international developments and Communist propaganda, becoming chief of the International Branch of the Office of Research and Intelligence in USIA. From 1955 to 1959 Mr. Evans served as research and public affairs officer in our London embassy, much of the time serving as Acting Public Affairs Officer, with a broad responsibility for U.S. informational and cultural activities. On leave from the U.S. Information Agency, Mr. Evans has been at work for several months on this study and is now ready to present some of the major policy issues to a small and carefully selected Study Group. During the course of his year at the Council, Mr. Evans will be preparing a book for publication under the auspices of the Council.

The Study Group will hold its first meeting on Monday, November 21st. At it Mr. Evans will outline some of the most critical problems and ask help of the Study Group in selecting the priority of problems for the later meetings. The group will, as usual, meet at 5:30 P.M. at the Harold Pratt House, with tea at 5:15, and will continue its discussions through dinner until 10:00. Discussions, as always, will be strictly off-the-record.

I feel that, in the rapidly changing international situation, this problem deserves a high priority and I hope that you will be able to contribute your own experience and insights to the work of the Study Group. Please let me know as soon as possible whether you can accept this invitation to become a member of the Study Group on British Images of America. Please let me know also whether you will be able to attend the first meeting on Monday, November 21st.

Sincerely yours,

Shep Stone

Shepard Stone

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

November 9, 1960

TO MEMBERS OF THE STUDY GROUP ON
BRITISH IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES:

Enclosed you will find the following material prepared by Mr. F. Bowen Evans for the first meeting of the Study Group on British Images of the United States, of which Mr. Shepard Stone is chairman and Mr. Evans is research secretary: a tentative list of subjects for consideration, and a set of questions for discussion at the first meeting.

As you know, the meeting will be held at 5:30 on Monday, November 21st, preceded by tea at 5:15. Dinner will be served at 7:00, and discussion will continue thereafter until around 10:00 p.m.

Lorna Brennan
Administrative Secretary

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
LEhigh 5-3300

November 16, 1960

TO MEMBERS OF THE STUDY GROUP ON
BRITISH IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES:

Enclosed you will find the following additional material for the consideration of the Study Group at its first meeting on Monday, November 21st: some data from British public opinion polls, assembled by Mr. Evans; an article by Eric Sevareid from the Washington Post of October 16, 1960; and a tentative outline of Mr. Evans' book, which he prepared in London in July of last year.

Lorna Brennan
Administrative Secretary

Tentative Outline:
"America through British Eyes"

F. Bowen Evans
July 21, 1959

(General Contents -- List of Chapter Headings)

PART I. THE BRITISH IMAGE OF AMERICA

Chapter 1. Introduction: April in London (Current press view of America).

Chapter 2. In a Glass Darkly (How the British get their information about America.)

Chapter 3. The Great Readjustment (The decline of British power has had its impact on national British psychology, including some basic resentments against that "new" power, America.)

Chapter 4. British Attitudes toward America (A summary drawn from the current British press and from British public opinion polls.)

Chapter 5. Does Public Opinion Matter? (The role of public opinion in current international relations; how much British Governments are influenced by British public opinion; effect on the alliance.)

PART II. THE OVERSEAS INFORMATION PROGRAM OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

Chapter 6. How We Got into the Business (History of U.S. overseas information.)

Chapter 7. How Information Policy Is Made and Executed (Current structure and procedure, in Washington and in the field.)

Chapter 8. The U.S. Information Service in Britain (Organization, objectives, procedures, problems.)

PART III. CASE STUDIES: INFORMATION PROBLEMS AND THEIR HANDLING

(Note: Cases shown here are suggestive and tentative.)

Chapter 9. Faith in the Summit (British public optimism vs. American "negativism")

Chapter 10. Be Fair in the Air! (British complaints on failure of U.S. Government to grant promised Tokyo-San Francisco route to BOAC.)

Chapter 11. Wattages and Woolens (Bitter criticism of U.S. "protectionism.")

Chapter 12. Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick British anger at "provocative" and "warlike" statements of American leaders.

Chapter 13. Let Robeson Sing Public campaign in Britian to persuade U.S. to give Paul Robeson a visa. Other criticisms of U.S. civil liberties.

Chapter 14. The Jimmy Wilson Case ("U.S. Negro Sentenced to Death for Theft of 14 Shillings." British views of U.S. racial problems.)

- continued -

(General contents - continued)

Chapter 15. The Sputniks and Their Aftermath (Soviet rocket successes damaged U.S. scientific prestige in Britain. America was criticized for giving inadequate support to education and science.)

Chapter 16. Suez (British public reactions to the fundamental split between British and American policy on this issue. Mending the Alliance.)

PART IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 17. What an Information Program Can and Cannot Do. (In evaluating an information program it is necessary to be realistic about potentialities and limitations. There are inherent limitations on what the U.S. Information Service can accomplish. It is the facts of American life and policy, as reported voluminously through commercial channels, which largely determine the image of America abroad -- quite apart from anything the information program might seek to do.)

Chapter 18. Recommendations (Ways of improving the image of America overseas are examined at four levels: (1) the machinery and content of the information program; (2) taking psychological factors fully into account at the time policy is formulated in Washington; (3) the enunciation of policy in Washington; and (4) the general tenor and fabric of American life.)

Tentative outline:
"America through British Eyes"

F. Bowen Evans
London, July 21, 1959

PART I. THE BRITISH IMAGE OF AMERICA

Chapter 1. Introduction: April in London

Britain is our chief ally. The Anglo-American partnership is the cornerstone of the Western Alliance.

With this in mind, an American reading the British press in a typical month such as April of 1959, for example, might well have been puzzled and distressed at the widespread criticisms of American life and policy. He would have seen, day after day, stringent editorial blasts at the "provocative statements" of "meddlesome American generals" who had "triumphed over the civil authorities in Washington" and seemed bent on war. The President was held to be "shilly-shallying" or "out of town." There was strong resentment at the prolonged delay of the U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board in granting to the British Overseas Airways Corporation a promised license for a San Francisco to Tokyo route. This had led BOAC to cancel its inaugural flight in righteous fury half-way around the world in Tokyo, and brought big black headlines "U.S. Trick Stops Latest British Jet Triumph."

A new American quota on the import of woolens, which heavily hit British producers, was deeply resented. This and the American government's disllowance of British low bids to supply heavy electrical equipment for the Greer's Ferry Dam in Arkansas brought strong denunciations in the British press and the editorial charge that America was "hypocritical" in preaching free trade while practicing restrictionism. --"Mob Drags Negro from Cell" was the typical headline in a mass-circulation paper reporting the lynching of a negro in Mississippi. Opinion polls showed some 80% of the British in favor of a summit meeting with the Russians, and editorials flayed Eisenhower and Dulles for their "negative" attitude toward the summit.

For the most part these criticisms were not confined to one section of the British press, but ran right across the political spectrum. Only occasionally was some small voice raised defending America on these issues. A closer look at the newspapers would reveal a number of articles which contained praise or admiration for other aspects of American life or policy. But such is the perversity of human nature -- and of newspapermen -- that good things don't make news, and rarely make headlines.

Was the press giving a reasonably accurate reflection of British criticisms? Did the criticisms merely reflect passing irritation with the immediate difficulties, or were they more deep-seated? Has the great shift of power and influence to America left in Britain a basic psychological resentment? If so, how far is this offset by the bonds of common language, tradition, values? How do the British today get their information about America? How much does the existence of such criticism matter to British policy, to American policy, to the Alliance? What does the government of

the United States do to offset criticism and misinformation? Is the U.S. Information Service doing an effective job in this field? What are the limitations on what an information service can do? Is the image of America abroad determined chiefly by American policies, or by the way in which they are advertised? These are the questions to which this book is addressed.

Chapter 2. In a Glass Darkly

For the vast majority of Britons the image of America is indeed an image only, being based not on first-hand observation but rather on the reflection of America in print or on the movie and television screen. Very few of the British have first-hand knowledge of America. In the first twelve years after the war, from 1945 through 1957, the total number of British travelling to the United States was about 470,000. That twelve-year total is less than one percent of Britain's population.

The British therefore get their image of America second-hand, and very largely through the mass media: newspapers, movies, radio and television. The volume of information and misinformation pouring through these commercial channels of communication is colossal.

Much of the image comes through the British national press -- great daily and Sunday papers whose tremendous circulations blanket the country. The reporting about America in the "serious" papers is often very good indeed, but these papers have small circulations. In the mass-circulation papers, the things which figure most largely about America are the things which are sensational or different. The picture of normal, average American life is seldom given. A regular column in the mass-circulation Daily Express, for example, constantly devotes itself to the doings of Hollywood stars, gangsters, juvenile delinquents, and to freaks or oddities in the news. Other papers do the same. This does not necessarily arise from any anti-Americanism (though it may sometimes have that effect), but rather because in its efforts to get mass readership the mass-circulation paper goes in for reporting the sensational about American life just as it reports the sensational about British life. At any rate, a very distorted image of America emerges.

About 65% of the films shown in British cinemas are American made. Some of them are good, some bad, some indifferent. They are the same films by and large which are shown in America. A great many of them are either "Westerns" or "Whodunits" or gangster films, or films about the love life of the rich. They cast a most peculiar image of America. Even "social message" films such as "Tobacco Road" or "Pinky" or "Baby Doll" -- praiseworthy enough for American audiences -- give very distorted views to a foreigner who cannot put their settings into perspective. "Blackboard Jungle" is still seriously discussed as really picturing American education.

There is a fairly heavy diet of American stuff on British television, partly old films and partly the same serials seen on

American TV screens. BBC television carries such serials as the Dinah Shore Show, I Married Joan, the Burns and Allen Show, the Thin Man, the Perry Como Show, Wells Fargo, and the Lone Ranger. The rival commercial network shows I Love Lucy, Wagon Train, the Cisco Kid, Gun Law, and the Sheriff of Cochise.

Only a small proportion of the British have actually known Americans beyond a passing acquaintance, if at all. Very few of them are taught much about America in their schools, at any level.

It should not come as a shock, therefore, to find that often we see ourselves one way, and the British see us through quite a different set of lenses.

Chapter 3. The Great Readjustment

An American reading the British press might with some reason ask "What's eating them?" It appears true that British attitudes can be explained only in part by irritation with current difficulties, and that the rest of the explanation is rooted in history. It is not easy to generalize about past British attitudes toward America. For example, British "leftists" of the 19th century generally approved of America, seeing there the forward movement of democracy and egalitarianism which came to Britain only later. British Conservatives of the 19th century, on the other hand, regarded the U.S. with suspicion as being vulgar, braggart, and even subversive. But as America became the land of the giant corporation and Britain became the Welfare State, these partisan positions shifted. In the mid-20th century it is the Tories who are generally pro-American and the Socialists who generally are most prone to criticize.

Along with this interesting shift was one of much greater significance. A hundred years ago Victorian England with her vast colonial empire led the world in education and culture, in industry and trade, in military power and political influence. The currents of history, and particularly two world wars, have changed all that. Preeminence has passed to America. In her reduced circumstances, what has been Britain's mental adjustment, particularly in her attitude toward America?

The following thesis must at least be examined: Briefly, Britain has a psychological complex about America. This is not said in any derogatory way. It is merely to say, as many Britons realize, that there is a discrepancy between the rational and conscious adjustment the British have made to their new status, and the irrational or subconscious resentments the shift has engendered. Some items:

Acceptance of dependence on America, or even "interdependence," does not necessarily mean a liking of it. The British generally are not happy to have to rely so much on America.

The British generally admire America's technical and industrial achievements, but along with the admiration, quite naturally, goes

a heavy tinge of envy and some hurt pride that Britain does not do as well.

For the Socialists --who constitute about half of the population -- an historical-ideological resentment appears. The continuing success of America's largely capitalist economy seems to contradict their dogma.

In most things British tastes have remained conservative. Many British complaints which appear to be anti-American are merely criticisms of the modern world, with America often cited as the example.

American jazz, movies, and TV programs have an obvious and cash-proved appeal to the British "masses." But British "eggheads," much like their American counterparts, dislike American "canned culture" and resent its commercial invasion of Britain.

Running counter to all these factors is an extremely strong pro-American feeling born out of kinships, common language, bonds of military alliance and comradeship in two great wars. This reservoir of good will seems in fact to outweigh all of the negative factors which have been cited. History has helped to shape the present ambivalence of feeling.

Chapter 4. <u>British Attitudes Toward America</u>

First of all, how does one discover what British attitudes toward America are? Conversations with individual Britons are a very unreliable measure, partly because one does not meet a representative cross-section of the people and partly because, particularly in talking to a foreigner, out of reticence or politeness the Briton might not give his real views.

The daily press provides a much better guide -- and in fact a really good one, but only if all major segments of the press are read and read fairly systematically. Reading just one or two papers gives one the opinion of those papers and the group or political orientation they reflect, but obviously does not give one what the whole nation thinks.

The most reliable assessment of opinion, by far, comes from scientifically conducted public opinion polls. When these use carefully prepared national samples, that is cross-sections which in microcosm truly represent the entire nation, and use carefully tested questions, the results are highly reliable. There are a number of polling firms in Britain and two or three of them have done numerous polls in the post-war years which have asked Britons their views about Americans as individuals, America generally, specific aspects of American life and American foreign policy, etc. The British Gallup Poll in particular has a rich mine of files on these subjects. (Most of this data is available, and a summary analysis of it would form the bulk of this chapter on current British attitudes.)

Current British attitudes toward America, as shown in the press and in the opinion polls, are notable first of all for the ambivalence already noted: the basic attitude toward "America" (in the most general sense) is highly favorable, even overwhelmingly favorable -- but set against this are many serious criticisms and dislikes which are fairly general throughout the population regardless of class or party or region. (Group breakdowns by party, socio-economic class, age, sex do often show variations of opinion as between such groupings, particularly on political questions but less often on general attitudes to America. Such group differences will be analyzed.)

A number of polls have consistently shown that the British think of Americans as being generous and friendly (good qualities) but at the same time loud, boastful, and immature (bad qualities). Questions posed in a different form, asking in effect for an overall judgment, have consistently shown that "on balance" the British give Americans a highly favorable rating.

Polls have shown that the British think of America as a nation as being peaceloving and democratic. But as many Britons think America is materialistic (with bad connotations) and domineering as believe America is cooperative and trustworthy.

Polls (and the press) have consistently shown that the aspect of American domestic life most disliked by Britons is what they regard as America's discrimination and ill treatment of Negroes. They also dislike any manifestation of the infringement of civil liberties in America, and on this score McCarthyism was and still is bitterly denounced.

When asked if they approved of U.S. foreign policy (in general) large majorities have expressed disapproval. An analysis of questions on particular aspects of American foreign policy shows the same strong disapproval on many fronts, but a margin of approval on others.

Chapter 5. <u>Does Public Opinion Matter?</u>

It is pertinent here to take a look at the role of public opinion generally in international affairs before looking at the particular case of Britain. -- Fifty years ago public opinion mattered little in the conduct of foreign affairs. Diplomacy and international negotiation was then a private matter for the diplomats. But since then, a number of revolutionary developments have occurred. There has been a tremendous growth of literacy and a parallel growth in political literacy, or at least political interest, in the sense that great masses of people all over the world are now interested in international affairs and have opinions on them. This development is of course related to the revolution in communications, and to the development of mass-communication media which rapidly bring news of happenings in faraway places by press, radio, television and newsreels. Statesmen now have to make their decisions and statements with one eye on the probable impact on

public opinion at home and abroad. All governments, large and small, have information or propaganda programs of one sort or another designed to influence foreign opinion. The television interview, the press conference, the calculated "leak," the radio programs beamed to foreign audiences are all a part of modern diplomacy, despite the nostalgic wishes of scholars like Sir Harold Nicolson and practitioners like John Foster Dulles that it were not so.

Public opinion matters in the long run even in authoritarian states. It matters much more directly, and in the short run, in democratic states.

British governments, which are accountable to the voters, must give heed to British public opinion. The amount of pressure a British government feels from public opinion, and its response, depends on a number of things: the weight and persistence of opinion on a particular issue, the distribution of that opinion as among various groups in the community (some opinions obviously count for much more than others), the size of the majority the Prime Minister enjoys in the House of Commons, the degree to which the Loyal Opposition is exploiting the particular issue, the amount of time left before a general election is mandatory. Under the British system, a Prime Minister newly elected with a large majority in the House and with disciplined support from his Parliamentary Party can securely withstand a good deal of adverse public opinion on a particular issue, though he is wise to watch it. With a lesser majority, or with a lesser time left before the next general election, a government must become much more responsive to public opinion if it hopes to remain in power.

Public opinion not only pushes governments toward certain positions (as with Mr. Macmillan and his advocacy of a summit meeting). It also circumscribes the range of possible policies open to a government. In the same way that American opinion would make it most difficult for the American government to recognize Communist China, British opinion would make it very difficult for the British government to withdraw its recognition.

Cases (drawn from the post-war years) will be cited in which British public opinion had a decisive impact on British foreign policy; and particularly cases in which British public opinion made it difficult or impossible for the British government to go along with American policy.

PART II. THE OVERSEAS INFORMATION PROGRAM OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

Chapter 6. How We Got into the Business

As the importance of overseas opinion became steadily greater, the government of the United States got into overseas information by jerkily responding to emergency situations (wars and cold wars) and then finally settling down to the concept that a peacetime program is also needed.

America had no overseas information program as such until World War I, when the Creel Committee did the job. Between the wars the only information work was that done in Latin America under the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. With the coming of World War II the Office of War Information was created in June, 1942, and America embarked on her first venture into worldwide propaganda. As soon as the war was over President Truman on August 31, 1945 abolished the OWI and directed the State Department to set up an interim organization. A small Office of Information and Cultural Affairs was accordingly set up in the Department. It shrunk and almost disappeared until the coming of the Cold War gave it a new lease on life. Under the new threat of Soviet expansion and ideological warfare, Congress in 1948 hastily enacted Public Law 402, the Smith-Mundt Act, which remains the statutory base of the present overseas information program, and gave the activity more money. The unit in the State Department was accordingly enlarged and strengthened. At the same time (1948) as Marshall aid got under way a new and separate overseas information program began to develop under ECA (later MSA), initially to explain the Marshall Plan but later getting involved in broad information programs overseas justifying American mutual security programs. The State Department's information program got adequate funds from Congress only after the Communists invaded North Korea on June 25, 1950.

The information functions in the State Department were reorganized in 1948, reorganized again in 1949, and again in 1952. In still another major reorganization in 1953 the function was taken out of the State Department (except for the Exchange Program), merged with the MSA information arm, and set up as the U.S. Information Agency, taking policy guidance from the State Department but having the status of an independent agency.

In recognition of the fact that the actions and pronouncements of numerous Federal departments had an impact overseas, an Interdepartmental Psychological Operations Coordinating Committee was set up within the State Department in 1950, pursuant to a directive of the National Security Council. A second coordinating body, the Psychological Strategy Board, was set up outside of State by a Presidential directive of June 20, 1951. In 1953 both of these were abolished and a new Operations Coordinating Board was established under the National Security Council, with enlarged authority, to coordinate all instruments of foreign policy having psychological impact abroad. The President, in the same year, brought into the White House office a special assistant to advise him on overseas information and serve as his link with the OCB. With minor modifications, this machinery of 1953 remains for coordinating the government's overseas information policy.

America had seemed reluctant to get into the business of overseas "propaganda." (Some reasons will be given.) But the program, though still attacked from some quarters, now seems to be generally accepted. It has also been relieved of the constant reorganizations which plagued it through 1953, and is beginning to find its way.

Chapter 7. How Information Policy is Made and Executed

This chapter would describe the present structure and function of governmental machinery at the center in Washington (National Security Council, Operations Coordinating Board, State Department Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Information Agency) and the organization and functions in the field (U.S. Information Service).

This chapter would also describe certain shifts in the purpose and tone of U.S. information output. For example, the formula of presenting a "full and fair picture of American life and of the aims and policies of the United States Government," recommended by Professor Arthur MacMahon in his 1945 (46?) memorandum to the State Department, held sway until 1950. Then, particularly with the impetus of the war in Korea, it gave way to the "Campaign of Truth" called for by President Truman to counter Communist lies. The "full and fair picture" was not removed but it was supplemented by ideological argumentation.

Chapter 8. The U.S. Information Service in Britain

The U.S. Information Service is part of the American Embassy in London and operates under the Ambassador in coordination with all other elements of the Embassy. Policy guidance comes from USIA Washington -- and since USIA has received its own guidance from the State Department, there is no conflict between the guidance received by USIS and that received by political elements of the Embassy.

The U.S. Information Service is not in Britain to propagandize the British. As the Smith-Mundt Act dictates, it is there to promote a better understanding of the United States and to increase mutual understanding between the people of America and the people of Britain. As the Act provides, USIS disseminates information about the United States, its people, and policies promulgated by the Congress, the President, the Secretary of State and other responsible officials, To do this it runs a press service; organizes press conferences for the Ambassador or visiting officials; publishes pamphlets and shows films and exhibits on various aspects of American life and policy; places programs on British radio and television; runs a speakers bureau which provides American speakers to requesting British organizations; runs a library and information center and reference service; answers public mail at the rate of 3000 letters per month and telephone queries at the same rate; cooperates in special programs with British organizations such as the Pilgrims and the English-Speaking Union; and performs a host of other services. In addition it administers the exchange program under the Fulbright Act and the exchange and cultural activities provided for under the Smith-Mundt Act. This includes running a cultural program of exhibits, films, concerts, lectures, etc. to show the British some of the best examples of American art, music and literature.

As USIS could not possibly reach all of the British population directly, and must use its limited funds as effectively as possible,

it concentrates on reaching "opinion leaders" -- politicians, editors, journalists, writers, broadcasters, professors, teachers, clergymen, leaders of trade unions and other organizations. Much of the work is done by personal contact with such British professional people.

This chapter would describe the structure and staffing of these USIS operations.

PART III. CASE STUDIES: INFORMATION PROBLEMS AND THEIR HANDLING

(Introductory Note: While the structure of the information program and the broad principles which govern it can be discussed in generalities, perhaps the most useful way to give a feel for the work and the problems involved is to get down to actual cases. The range of issues on which Britain finds fault with America is too great to permit easy generalization about causes. Similarly the various ways in which British criticism finds its expression and the different ways in which USIS seeks to meet quite different problems cannot be described in the abstract. It is felt, therefore, that an examination of a number of issues, case by case, will be fruitful. Each case study would seek to indicate just how a particular information problem evolved and how it was manifested, setting the problem against the broader background of basic British attitudes as they apply to the particular issue. In each case where it is relevant something will be said of the development of national policy in Washington as it concerned the issue. But the perspective will be largely from the point of view of the USIS officer in the field who finds himself confronted with an information problem and sets out to deal with it. It will be seen that on some issues USIS was able to do constructive work, but that on others there were inherent limitations on its effectiveness, which will be examined. -- The cases enumerated below are only suggestive of the possibilities. Others might be added, or better examples might be substituted for some those now shown. The conclusions and recommendations of the book will be deduced as directly as possible from the problems which are seen to emerge in this discussion of concrete cases.)

Chapter 9. Faith in the Summit

In the latter part of 1959 public demand began to grow in Britain for the holding of another "Summit" meeting along the lines of the 1955 Geneva meeting of heads of state. The press reflected this. Public opinion polls began to show that from 70% to 80% of the British wanted a summit meeting. Mr. Macmillan gradually came around. Whatever his views were on the merits, he could scarcely do otherwise with such a preponderance of public opinion urging a summit meeting and with the opposition party exploiting the issue vigorously. So he began to advocate a summit meeting, at first gently and then more firmly. The position of the American government, however, seemed to remain firm against a summit. The British press was filled with attacks against the "negative" attitude of Eisenhower and Dulles. As of July 1959 the British were still

strongly for a summit, the American government was most reluctant, and it was still a problem between the two countries.

Chapter 10. Be Fair in the Air

The British take great national pride in their development of modern aircraft, a field in which most of them feel they still excel. When the U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board seemed to dawdle indefinitely over a Tokyo-to-San Francisco license for the BOAC Comet, in effect already promised by a bilateral executive agreement between the two countries, the British government was most irritated and British public opinion was inflamed. Was not the treaty binding? Yes, America explained, but the CAB still had to hold its hearings as required by law and an American airline had intervened. The decision is still pending after many months. Case shows how complications of U.S. government procedures and jurisdictions can have unfortunate impact overseas.

Chapter 11. Wattages and Woolens

The British live on trade. Restrictions such as those the U.S. applied on the import of heavy electrical equipment and woolens deeply offended British opinion.

Chapter 12. Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick

Statements of U.S. military leaders in April of 1959 were regarded by the British as dangerous and provocative. The British have shown a consistent pattern of critical reaction to all such language: "liberation," "massive retaliation," "the art of going to the bring," etc., whether they come from the Pentagon, President or State Department.

Chapter 13. Let Robeson Sing

The long struggle over Robeson's passport fascinated the British, who organized a committee called "Let Robeson Sing." They were on Robeson's side not because they liked his political views but because they liked his voice, and because they disliked what they regarded as remnants of McCarthyism in the application of restrictions to people with unorthodox views. On the other hand, giving Robeson his passport seemed surely to be sending an anti-American propagandist abroad. What course would have been best for America?

Chapter 14. The Jimmy Wilson Case

In August 1958 a few British newspapers carried the stories about Negro Jimmy Wilson of Alabama saying that he had been sentenced to death "for the theft of 14 shillings." He had been tried in an Alabama court under Alabama law, and in the trial it was alleged that he had attempted rape as well as being guilty of housebreaking at night, a death offense under Alabama law. The American Embassy in London was flooded with mail and petitions from British subjects

who thought the sentence "barbarous" and asked if a white man would have received the same sentence. As the federal principle is not understood, much of the ire was directed to the American national government.

Chapter 15. The Sputniks and Their Aftermath

When the Russians jumped into the space lead, one early reaction of many British was, "Well, now the Americans have had what was coming to them." Partially in amusement and partially with concern the British watched America's frantic efforts to get going on a program to catch up. Just as in the American press, there were many criticisms in Britain of America's "starvation" of education and the sciences. The Sputniks dealt a great blow to America's prestige in the rocket field and by extension to America's scientific prestige generally.

Chapter 16. Suez

This issue was of course the gravest threat to the Anglo-American alliance in the post-war years. Once Sir Anthony Eden (with his French and Israeli allies) had embarked on the foolish venture, no doubt the American government had little choice but to condemn it. But could American policy have prevented events ever coming to that pass? The British were bitter. But contrary to some newspaper assessments at the time. it was not anti-Americanism per se, but rather a grave indictment of American foreign policy which they were feeling. The author believes that if the large measure of basic good feeling for America cultivated over the years had not existed, the Anglo-American alliance might well have snapped under the strain.

PART IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 17. What an Information Program Can and Cannot Do

An information program overseas can help to oversome ignorance or distorted ideas about American life or policy, it can provide perspective, it can in its long-range work develop friendship and sympathy for America. But on many issues there are great limitations on what it can do.

As they apply to Britain, these limitations arise from a number of circumstances: (1) The great bulk of reporting, writing and broadcasting about America and American policies is done by British correspondents resident in the United States. Compared to the torrent of words through these commercial news channels, the USIS information getting published or circulated is bound to be a mere trickle. (2) What matters most therefore are the facts of American life and policy (as viewed and interpreted by British newsmen), not what the U.S. Information Service may say about American life and policy. If a policy is bitterly unpalatable to British opinion, it is unlikely that anything USIS can say will make it

palatable. (3) United States polic cannot be framed solely with a view to making friends. A policy may be right and in the United States' national interest even when it is highly unpopular in Britain. (4) You can't please everybody on complicated issues where competing interests are involved. This applies as among nations, and also as among groups or parties within a particular nation. For example, an American policy which pleases France may displease Britain. And within Britain, a particular American policy might be popular with Conservatives and unpopular with Socialists.

Any serious attempt to evaluate the information service of the United States must begin with these limitations in mind.

Chapter 18. Recommendations (Tentative)

Given the limitations noted earlier, is there more that the United States government can do toward winning friends or keeping them for American policies in Britain?

One level of approach is to look at program content and machinery. Would one look for improvements by changing the program emphasis of USIS in Britain, for example? Should the United States finance more trips of leading American orchestras, theatrical and ballet groups, art exhibits -- or only facilitate American cultural bookings through the normal commercial channels and help to promote and advertise them? Should the program do more with television and less with pamphlets? Or should it eliminate book presentations in favor of bringing over more American lecturers? Should the tone of American information output be more aggressive, openly "propagandistic" in support of American policy? Should the level of expenditure be moved up? Can better personnel be recruited?

There is doubtless room for improvement in the mechanics and content of the program. But it should be realized that questions such as those raised above are under constant scrutiny already -- by USIA itself, by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information, and each year by the Congress. Adjustments and improvements at this level are constantly being made. -- A major organizational question which is still unresolved is whether the information program would do better if it were back in the State Department instead of operating as an independent agency.

But the author believes genuine improvements are to be sought by looking not so much to the mechanisms or program content (which already are being constantly reviewed), but by looking rather to: (1) the way in which national policy is formulated in Washington; (2) the way in which policy is enunciated in Washington, which is the center of the information goldfish bowl; and by looking, indeed, to (3) the whole tenor and fabric of American public life.

(1) Policy Formulation. It has already been noted that America's policies cannot be made solely with a view to public opinion abroad, and certainly not just with a view to courting

popularity in one particular country. But granting that, is foreign opinion given adequate consideration while policy is in the making -- or only as an afterthought when policy is already made? When the probable political, economic, military, or security results of a decision are weighed, are the probable public relations effects also assessed? Are they given due weight along with the other factors in the decision-making process? The author is aware that the machinery exists for such consideration and that progress has been made on this front in recent years. But the record is very spotty. This matter should be examined.

How about America's policy toward Britain as chief ally? Has Britain been taken too much for granted? Has she been consulted sufficiently in advance of decisions? There has been improvement recently.

Has America's foreign policy in general been sufficiently forward-looking and imaginative to command respect abroad? A great many Britons, in common with other Europeans, feel that the last great imaginative act of American foreign policy was the Marshall Plan of 1947! Since then many Europeans have an image of U.S. policy as being wholly defensive and completely absorbed with the Communist threat, which they think is being met only on a military basis and not adequately on the economic and psychological fronts.

(2) Policy Enunciation. It is not USIS handouts that make headlines abroad but rather the public words of the President, the Secretary of State, and other high officials. In fact the slightest word is likely to be reported abroad, it should be remembered, even when the speech is thought of as being for home consumption. Do the words of our leaders give a clear, forceful and convincing rationale, -- or are they often weak, hazy and ambiguous? Do they inspire confidence abroad or do they have the opposite effect? Does the government seem to speak with one voice, or with a confusion of voices? Unfortunately, in European eyes the answers to these questions are negative. Europeans tend to "like Ike," but they have listened in vain for any ringing phrase which could lift men's hearts and rally their efforts. They mostly respected Mr. Dulles, but they were frightened and shocked at his public advocacy of "liberation," "massive retaliation," and "brinkmanship." The European tributes, upon his death, to Mr. Dulles' courage and energy do not obscure the fact that quite as much for his utterances as for his policies he was widely disliked and mistrusted in Britain. As for the uncoordinated statements of various U.S. cabinet officers, generals, and admirals, quite apart from their "scare effect" in Britain they have often left the picture of a government riding off in three directions at once. This is not a partisan matter. Similar difficulties existed under President Truman's Democratic administration. Is there a cure?

(3) American National Life. Some of the most severe jolts to American prestige abroad in recent years have come not from the government or U.S. foreign policy but from various sores on the American body politic, such as:

(a) McCarthyism, a failure in civil liberties which made Europeans seriously fear that America was going "fascist" and immeasurably tarnished America's reputation abroad as "land of the free and home of the brave."

(b) Little Rock, as the most persistent symbol, among others, of racial discrimination and America's difficulties in solving her color problem. Millions of Britons saw on their television sets in their own living rooms newsreels of the mob scenes in Little Rock; a picture of white toughs kicking a Negro made the front pages of most of Britain's mass circulation national newspapers.

(c) The scandals of Jimmy Hoffa and even of Sherman Adams, which got lots of attention in the British press and led more than one British commentator to remark somewhat pontifically on "the built-in corruption" in American public life.

(d) The Sputniks' revelation of a complacent America which had its values twisted and seemed more interested in paying for flashier cars with bigger tail fins than in paying for the nation's educational and scientific needs.

There are other instances, but these should be enough to drive home tha point that the overseas image of America is determined in the last instance by what America does and is, rather than by any sort of information program that could ever be devised. The best thing that America can do to bolster respect and liking overseas is to be true to her own best ideals of liberty, equal opportunity, justice, civic duty, helpfulness and generosity to others. This is a task not just for the government, but for all Americans.

For meeting of
November 21, 1960

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COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Study Group on
British Images of the United States

Tentative Subjects of Meetings

by F. Bowen Evans

1. The Influence of Public Opinion on British Foreign Policy.

In the making of British foreign policy, how much does public opinion count? To what degree can it spur government action or hobble it, or limit the practical alternatives open to a government? How strongly does popular opinion in Britain support the alliance with the United States? Is "anti-Americanism" increasing in Britain? Is U.S. prestige declining in Britain? With regard to British foreign policy and the Anglo-American alliance, what directions is British opinion likely to take in the next few years?

2. The Political-Strategic Area.

How do the British view their political and strategic role in the contemporary world? How do they regard such factors and problems as the Soviet threat, collective defense, deterrence, disarmament, the United Nations, negotiations with the Communist bloc? In what respect do their views on such matters diverge from the American approach, and why? How strong is pacifism in Britain? Neutralism? With regard to U.S. diplomacy and strategic posture, what are the main lines of British criticism? Do such criticisms have merit? Should the United States pay more attention to Britain and her advice? Assuming that this would create a better image of America in Britain, could it be done without compromising legitimate U.S. interests, or without raising new complaints in other countries?

3. The Economic Area.

What has been the British view of American aid to Britain and to other countries? Of American trade policy since the war? Of trade with the Communist bloc? In cases where American protectionism has specifically hurt Britain (e.g. bicycles, woollens, heavy electric equipment), what have been the merits of U.S. policy? In such decisions, should the United States have given more weight to the negative effect on British opinion, or are the economic arguments bound to outweigh psychological considerations? If the United States continues to experience difficulties in its balance of payments, is U.S. protectionism likely to increase? What would be the British reaction? How is British opinion moving with regard to the Common Market? What has been British reaction to the U.S. position regarding the Six and the Seven?

4. American Society and Culture.

What is the attitude of Britons toward Americans as individuals, toward "the American character"? Toward the U.S. economic system? U.S. "materialism"? U.S. science and technology? U.S. education? Treatment of the Negro in the United States? Civil liberties in the United States? American literature, music, art? And the mass media of American culture? How do Britons feel about the impact of American culture on their own society -- the alleged "Americanization" of Britain? Do popular attitudes about American society and culture have any influence on broad attitudes toward foreign policy and the Anglo-American alliance? How do the British receive their image of America and American institutions? To what degree is the image distorted by communications channels? To what degree is the image conditioned by pre-existing attitudes which have no direct relation to America or

American policies?

5. The Role of the U.S. Government.

Among the various factors shaping the British image of America, what is the relative weight of (1) American policies and actions, (2) public pronouncements of American leaders, (3) the facts of American life as reported by commercial media, (4) the official U.S. information program? What are the appropriate objectives of U.S. official information policy in Britain? Is the scale of operations too large and costly, or too small? How can USIS resources in Britain best be employed as between "long-run" and "short-run" objectives, and as among different media and different types of programming? Looking more broadly at the U.S. government's organization, policy, and practice in the information field, what have been the typical criticisms? How valid are they? What are the inherent limitations of a governmental information program? Are they so stringent as to preclude its usefulness? What can it be expected to accomplish? How can its effectiveness be evaluated? What improvements can be made in the official program? Can the commercial media and private organizations do a bigger or a better job in this field than at present?

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British Images of the United States

Questions for Discussion

by F. Bowen Evans

Assumption: To simplify discussion, it is assumed at the outset that the maintenance of a vigorous and effective Anglo-American alliance is in the United States national interest; that the British government's support of basic U.S. aims and policies is a great asset; and that, per contra, the loss of British support or the breakdown of the Anglo-American alliance would constitute a major loss in terms of U.S. national interest. By taking this assumption as a "given," our discussions can focus on British public opinion, British "images of America," and the role they play in influencing British official policy and in sustaining the alliance.

A. The Influence of Public Opinion on British Governmental Policy

1. How much effect does public opinion in Britain have on the British government's foreign policy? Does the greater centralization of governmental and party power under a prime minister give him more independence from mass opinion than the U.S. president has? Does it vary with the size of the prime minister's majority in Parliament -- or with how soon the next election is coming up?

2. Are mass opinion and "elite" opinion different or distinguishable, in their content or in their influence?

3. Does opinion lead the government, or does the government lead opinion, or both?

4. To what extent does public opinion serve as a spur to government action? When opinion runs overwhelmingly in one direction over a period of time, is a democratic government not forced to adjust its policy accordingly? Is Macmillan's espousal of "summitry" a case in point? If the present minority opinion against the presence of U.S. bases in Britain became majority opinion, would the British government be forced to move toward their removal?

5. To what extent does public opinion operate as a hobble on government action? To what degree does public opinion limit the range of policies the British government may pursue, or put limits on the alternatives which are open to it? If we became involved in war over Quemoy and Matsu, would public opinion force Britain to be neutral? Or, at a different level, if the issue of seating Communist China in the United Nations comes to a direct vote, could the British government go against its own home opinion and vote against seating Communist China?

6. The British government, in the interest of presenting a "common front" with America, sometimes "goes along" with us on positions it would not otherwise favor. Is British public opinion similarly amenable to such concessions in the interest of maintaining solidarity? How strongly do the British people support the alliance with America? Does such support vary according to the degree of esteem or prestige which America enjoys in British eyes? This leads to the next group of questions.

B. <u>Currents of British Opinion</u>

7. What are the primary "likes" and "dislikes" the British feel about America today? Do they add up to general esteem, or rather to general disapproval? Is "anti-Americanism" increasing in Britain?

What is "anti-Americanism"? Are Americans as a nation overly concerned with being liked?

8. Is the prestige of America slipping in British eyes? What is "prestige" in this sense? What are its ingredients? Is there a relation between prestige and being liked? Is one more important than the other? Are the two incompatible?

9. If the stalemate on disarmament continues, and the situation of mutual deterrence persists, what will be the likely drift of British public opinion over the next few years? Will neutralist sentiment increase?

10. If Soviet power and military strength grow faster than that of the United States, or appear to do so, what influence is that likely to have on the currents of British opinion? Would that push Britain closer to the United States, or would it have the opposite effect of increasing neutralist sentiment in Britain?

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A London despatch from Eric Sevareid, published in the Washington Post, of October 16, 1960 (and in certain other papers), made a number of points which bear directly on our subject. It is reproduced here verbatim for members of the Study Group, with the thought that it may constitute a useful point of departure for portions of our discussion.

"They Say America Is Finished," by Eric Sevareid

(Washington Post, October 16, 1960)

LONDON -- As the British Labor Party conference ended after voting for a neutralized Britain the London columnist Cassandra wrote that "one of the uglier by-products was the continuous rumble of anti-Americanism. When some speakers were short of a gibe, they were fairly certain of a growl of approval if they sneered at the United States as a grossly materialist society with a taste for total war."

One of the ablest British correspondents in the United States informs his readers that "the United States is just another country." An English novelist, popular in New York and Washington salons, exclaims at London dinner parties, "America is finished."

These are the straws in the European winds that repeatedly sting the cheeks of those Americans abroad who dwell deeply enough in European thought and society to feel the currents of change. Week after week the attitudes reflected by such remarks as these are projected in the press and broadcasting of Britain and France, from sociological studies to the snide pinpricks of the quick-trip writers who incessantly portray America in terms of New York's juvenile thugs, Las Vegas stripteasers, race riots and Hollywood scandal.

THERE IS nothing new in all this. What is new is that this saturation has finally produced a sea change in the minds of millions of Europeans, who no longer think of America as one with them, as an integral part of the Western mosaic of life, the chief protector of their liberty.

They now think of America as a third party, almost as alien in spirit as Russia, almost as reckless a threat to their lives.

It is little wonder that Prime Minister Macmillan acts like an intermediary between East and West as often as he acts like USA's partner -- indeed, he winds more home applause in the former than in the latter role.

It is little wonder that Charles de Gaulle can drive American bombers off French soil and threaten the American-dominated NATO command structure while experiencing only murmurs of specialized criticism on his home grounds.

AND IT is little wonder that Khrushchev does all in his power to make the world believe that his quarrel is with America, and America alone. It is in this sense that his barbaric propaganda onslaughts are serving his purpose far more than is understood by those now pleased by his rebuffs at

the United Nations. He is not concerned with the waves, but with the current.

When high-minded Englishmen tell their people that "America is finished" or that "America is just another country," they mean that the American dream has died, that the vision and promise of the New World have withered away, that America is no longer the haven of the poor, the strong and simple defender of the oppressed abroad or even at home, that we have run our course and are no longer the last, best hope of man.

THIS IS what they truly believe, and so one constantly buffeted by this current is astounded to hear Vice President Nixon proclaim that American prestige in the world "has never stood so high."

An affronted American can tell himself that"gross materialism" has taken full possession of nearly every European society, that the beginning and the end of British foreign and domestic policy often seems to be the preservation of its present affluence, that the French are profoundly materialistic in spirit, that the Germans are in full lust for the flesh-pots of affluence, that every contemporary American curse from juvenile thuggery to sex magazine afflicts Europe, too, from Athens to Oslo.

One can tell himself all this, but it is not enough. An American must believe that new springs are coiling within his country, that strong voices are at hand to declare again the eternal meaning of the freest, best-hearted and most exciting human experience on this earth and to make the message convince those who were once convinced.

He must believe with one rare and lonely British writer, Peregrine Worsthorne, that an American cycle, not of smug complacency but of incubation, is now ending and that history will see President Eisenhower "as the model broody hen, sitting patiently, vacantly, but nevertheless indispensably on the eggs which are now about to be hatched."

An American wants to be able to remind European critics that at the time Walpole said, "Europe is finished! When Voltaire dies, we may say goodnight" -- that, at the time he said that, Europe was about to enter upon its greatest flowering in power, in the arts, in the humanitarian concerns of man to man.

For meeting of
November 21, 1960

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COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Study Group on
British Images of the United States

Some Data From British Public Opinion Polls

by F. Bowen Evans

Apart from the quotations given on Page 1 following, the balance of this section is culled from certain British opinion surveys which have a bearing on the particular topics set for the first meeting.

Some of this opinion data was from the outset in the public domain and published in the London News Chronicle, which (until its demise last month) was the chief journalistic client of British Gallup. Other parts of the data were in their raw form classified "Official Use Only" by the U.S. Information Agency, and classified "Confidential" when they were given interpretation and evaluation in a narrative report. Much of this came into the public domain during the recent political campaign when both the Washington Post and The New York Times obtained and published reports dealing chiefly with survey findings related to U.S. "prestige."

Other parts of this data are in their raw form still classified "Official Use Only," and permission has been given to use them in this Study Group only on the understanding that they bear the Council's normal "Confidential" label and that it be clearly understood that they are not for publication.

Members of the Study Group are advised, therefore, that no part of this section is for publication and that the material should be regarded as confidential.

Some Trends (?) in British Anti-Americanism As Reported by Publicists

1947: "There has been an alarming increase in anti-Americanism [in Britain] since the war, and particularly during recent months." -- Tom Harrisson in the Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall issue, 1947.

1953: British resentment against American policies, "and worse, against American people, is so deep and has grown so fast of late that statesmen hardly dare to discuss it in public." -- Bruce Hutchison, Life, October 12, 1953.

1954: "Today the relations between the two peoples [British and Americans] are bad and are getting worse." -- William Connor (Cassandra) and Sydney Jacobson, columnist and editor of London Daily Mirror.

1956: In this year of Suez any number of quotations could be cited to the effect that Anglo-American relations were worse than ever.

1957: "Anti-American feeling in Britain has risen steadily in the last ten years even though the partnership has been operating." -- William Clark, an editor of the London Observer, in his book Less than Kin.

1958: There has grown up in Britain "a new mood of sometimes bitter anti-Americanism." -- Sir Norman Angell, London Daily Telegraph, November 28, 1950.

1958: In Britain "there probably exists more smouldering anti-Americanism than anywhere else in Western Europe." -- Robert Coghlan, Life (International Edition), February 3, 1958, p. 154.

1960: "In recent months" relations between Britain and America have "reached the lowest ebb in decades." -- Rt. Hon. Emanuel Shinwell, London Sunday Express, March 6, 1960.

1960: "Anti-U.S. Feeling Grows in Britain." -- Headline in The New York Times, June 5, 1960.

Trends in British Attitudes Toward America as Charted In Successive Surveys by the British Gallup Poll

WHICH COUNTRY, OUTSIDE OF THE COMMONWEALTH, DO YOU REGARD AS BRITAIN'S BEST FRIEND?

	Oct. 1956	Dec. 1956	Mar. 1957	June 1957	Apr. 1958	Oct. 1958	Sep. 1959
America	42%	38%	35%	43%	55%	54%	62%
France	12	20	18	20	13	9	5
Russia	1	--	--	1	1	1	1
Others (scattered)	8	6	8	12	9	11	5
Don't know	37	36	39	24	22	25	27
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Size of quota sample	2,000	2,000	2,100	2,000	2,000	2,000	1,000

It might be noted that even at the point of America's lowest popularity on this scale (March 1957, when the differences with America over the Suez crisis in November 1956 had fully "sunk in"), America still held a commanding lead over France, the ally of Britain in the Suez affair. The survey of September 1959 was taken during the week immediately following President Eisenhower's visit to Britain, which perhaps explains the exceptionally high figure in that month.

In a 1948 poll for UNESCO the British Gallup Poll had asked "Which foreign people do you feel the most friendly toward," and had not excluded the Commonwealth. The results put America first with 29 per cent and the Commonwealth second with 11 per cent. (Buchanan and Cantril, How Nations See Each Other, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953, p. 140.) This suggests that in the 1956-1959 surveys America would have led as "Britain's best friend" even if the question had not been so worded as to exclude the Commonwealth.

"PLEASE USE THIS CARD TO TELL ME YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT THE U.S.A."

	Oct. 1954	Aug. 1955	Apr. 1956	Nov. 1956	Nov. 1957	Oct. 1958	Nov. 1959	Feb. 1960	May 1960
Very good opinion	10%	24%	20%	16%	13%	15%	18%	18%	12%
Good opinion	39	38	40	38	35	46	45	48	39
Fair opinion	28	28	25	31	35	19	21	18	30
Bad opinion	7	3	4	6	6	8	7	5	11
Very bad opinion	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2
No opinion (don't know)	14	6	9	8	9	11	8	10	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable	40	58	54	47	40	52	55	60	38

The "net favorable" figure shown at the bottom of each column is an index equalling "good" and "very good," minus "bad" and "very bad." The "fair" reply is taken to reflect a noncommittal midpoint and so, like the "don't knows," is omitted in calculation of the "net favorable" index.

Interviewing in the last survey shown was conducted between May 21 and May 24, 1960, after the U-2 spy plane incident and the collapse of the Summit Conference in Paris. It should be said that the sampling method for the May 1960 poll was different from the others, so that the results are not strictly comparable with the previous surveys. The May 1960 survey employed a quota sample of 1,150 respondents; the other surveys shown in the table had employed probability samples ranging in size from about 600 to about 1,200 respondents.

One striking thing about this "trend" table is the relative stability of the opinion pattern. The changes from one survey to another, and from the first to the last, are generally small. A second notable point is the consistent and continuing preponderance of favorable opinion. But perhaps most striking of all is the very small proportion of "bad" opinion, and the virtually insignificant measure of "very bad" opinion. How do these findings square with statements about "anti-Americanism" in Britain?

British Attitudes toward Countries Other than the United States

The indexes of British attitudes toward the United States are meaningful in themselves, but they become more meaningful when compared with how the British feel about other countries. Taken as a first example of such comparison are the following data from a British Gallup Poll of August 1955, of additional interest because it includes attitudes towards the two Chinas.

	U.S.A.	France	West Germany	Communist China	Nationalist China
Very good opinion	24%	5%	4%	--%	--%
Good opinion	38	25	15	2	4
Fair opinion	28	42	42	13	23
Bad opinion	3	9	10	29	21
Very bad opinion	1	3	3	26	12
Don't know	6	16	26	30	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable	58	18	6	-53	-29

The question has also been put, at different times. as to the British attitude toward a number of other countries, with results as follows:

	Italy Oct. 54	Sweden Apr. 56	Holland Apr. 56	India Nov. 56	Israel Nov. 56	Egypt Nov. 56
Very good	1%	13%	21%	4%	7%	--%
Good	8	36	42	23	21	4
Fair	34	14	12	32	32	16
Bad	16	1	1	9	8	37
Very bad	4	--	--	3	3	25
Don't know	37	36	24	29	29	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable	-13	48	62	15	17	-58

And the British attitude toward the Soviet Union stands in stark contrast to the attitude toward America. Attitudes toward Russia as registered in a series of surveys of the British Gallup Poll:

	Oct. 1954	Aug. 1955	Apr. 1956	Nov. 1956	Nov. 1957	Oct. 1958	Nov. 1959	Feb. 1960	May 1960
Very good	1%	2%	2%	--%	2%	1%	3%	1%	1%
Good	5	12	12	3	11	9	21	19	12
Fair	24	44	32	10	25	28	30	30	33
Bad	21	16	20	24	25	27	22	25	35
Very bad	23	7	13	55	19	19	11	9	12
Don't know	26	19	21	8	18	16	13	16	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable	-38	-9	-19	-76	-31	-36	-9	-14	-34

Some British Gallup Results on U.S. vs. Russian Achievements

A number of polls in Britain have shown that the great majority of the British feel that Russia is ahead of the United States in space development. They also feel that Russia is ahead in science generally, except when the question specifically excludes space science; in science other than space science, opinion divides about evenly as to whether the United States or Russia is ahead. Russia is believed to be ahead in military strength. In other fields such as social welfare and living standards the overwhelming majority believe the United States to be ahead.

Figures from many polls could be cited; but one set of questions from a survey in February-March 1960 perhaps gives the best overview. Respondents were asked, "Please indicate, for each of the following, which country -- the United States or Russia -- do you think is ahead at the present time; and secondly, regardless of who is now ahead, who do you think is likely to be ahead ten years from now?" About half (608) of the respondents were asked their opinion with regard to the first list of achievements shown below. The other half (613) were asked about the second list shown below.

	Ahead at Present Time				Ahead 10 Years From Now			
Asked of first group:	U.S.	Russia	Neither	DK	U.S.	Russia	Neither	DK
Scientific development	25%	58%	4%	13%	25%	40%	7%	28%
Space developments	6	84	1	9	18	52	6	24
Social welfare	62	14	6	18	50	16	5	29
Scientific and technical education	34	40	5	21	28	34	6	32
General nontechnical education	53	13	4	30	41	14	6	39
Cultural field -- music literature, arts	31	38	7	24	25	33	5	37
Medical science	62	11	7	20	48	13	7	32
Athletic achievements	19	55	8	18	14	45	7	34
Asked of second group:								
Space developments	4	83	3	10	18	49	7	26
General scientific development apart from space	38	36	7	19	30	29	8	33
Total military strength	15	59	4	22	14	43	7	36
Developing peaceful uses of atomic energy	44	10	16	30	35	11	13	41
General living standards	86	2	1	11	67	6	4	23
Providing economic aid to other countries	68	7	7	18	48	8	9	35
Industrial production	48	22	4	26	30	24	7	39
Agricultural production	36	31	6	27	25	30	6	39

Some Results From Various British Gallup Polls

"Who, would you say, is winning the Cold War: Russia or the West?" (Quota samples, 1,000.)

	Dec. 1957	Apr. 1958
Russia	36%	34%
The West	9	8
Neither	28	34
Don't know	27	24
	100%	100%

"If the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia settle down to competition without war for the next twenty or twenty-five years, which of the two do you think will end up as the stronger? (Probability samples, 600 to 1,200 cases.)

	Apr. 1956	Nov. 1957	Oct. 1958	Feb. 1960
United States	35%	37%	36%	25%
Russia	25	34	34	44
Both equal (volunteered)	15	11	11	10
Don't know	25	18	19	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net stronger (U.S.)	10	3	2	-19

"Who would win if it came to a war between the West and Russia?" (Quota samples, 1,000.)

	Dec. 1957	Jan. 1958	May 1959
The West	23%	21%	24%
Russia	10	11	9
Neither	27	24	24
Don't know	40	44	43
	100%	100%	100%

"How much confidence do you have in the ability of the United States to provide wise leadership for the West in dealing with present world problems -- very great, considerable, not very much, or very little?" (May 1960: Quota sample, 1,150 cases.)

Very great	8%
Considerable	27
Not very much	35
Very little	16
Don't know	14
	100%
Net confidence	-16

"Who do you think has greater faith in their basic principles -- the Russian people or the people of the U.S.? And who do you believe is willing to work harder to have their country lead the other in national achievement?" (February 1960, Quota sample, 613 cases.)

	Greater faith	Will Work Harder
Russian people	39%	62%
People of the U.S.	28	14
Both the same	15	11
Don't know	18	13
	100%	100%
Net U.S. advantage	-11	-48

Some Polling Data on British Views of the Anglo-American Alliance

"In your opinion, are the basic interests of Britain and those of the United States very much in agreement, fairly well in agreement, rather different, or very different?" (British Gallup Polls, Quota samples of 600 to 1,200 cases.)

	Nov. 1956	Nov. 1957	Oct. 1958	Feb. 1960
Very much in agreement	20%	22%	24%	25%
Fairly well in agreement	57	56	55	54
Rather different	10	13	9	9
Very different	3	3	2	2
Don't know	10	6	10	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net "in agreement"	64	62	68	68

"Do you think Britain and the U.S.A. can cooperate closely together as nations or are there bound to be conflicts in the long run because their aims are different?" (British Gallup Poll, October 20-November 4, 1956, Quota sample 2,000. The Anglo-French ultimatum to Egypt occurred on October 30 while polling in progress.) Results were: Can cooperate 66%; bound to conflict 25%; don't know 9%.

"In case of war, to what extent do you think we could trust the U.S.A. as an ally -- a great deal, up to a point, or not at all?" (British Gallup Polls. The 1952, 1955, and 1957 polls used national probability samples. The 1959 poll used a probability sample limited to jurors.) (The 1957 poll was after Sputnik I and also after Sputnik II, with Laika, on November 3. Polling was November 15-24.)

	Sept. 1952	Dec. 1955	Nov. 1957	Jan. 1959
A great deal	79%	72%	56%	50%
Up to a point	13	20	37	35
Not at all	2	2	4	4
Don't know	6	5	3	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net: (Great deal minus not at all)	77	70	52	46

"In international disputes, to what extent do you think we could rely on the United States to side with us -- a great deal, up to a point, or not at all?" (Gallup Polls, probability samples of 605 in 1956 and 1,232 cases in 1957.)

	Nov. 17-29, 1956	May 4-19, 1957
A great deal	40%	25%
Up to a point	52	56
Not at all	6	10
Don t know	2	9
	100%	100%
Net (Great deal minus not at all)	36	15

Polling Data on British Views of the Anglo-American Alliance (Con't)

Just after the United States voted against Britain and France in the United Nations over the Suez invasion, the Daily Express conducted and published a poll, in November 1956, using a quota sample of about 2,000 cases.

"Do you feel the U.S. attitude to Britain was reasonable or unreasonable?" Replies were Unreasonable 62 1/2%; Reasonable 23%; Don't know 14 1/2%.

"Do you think Anglo-American relations have been permanently damaged or will soon be restored?" Replies were: Will soon be restored 75 1/2%; Permanently damaged 8 1/2%; Don't know 16%.

Just after the Suez difference the British Gallup Poll, using quota samples, twice asked: "In view of the American position on Suez, what course do you feel we should follow in our alliance with the U.S.A. generally?" and showed respondents three alternatives from which to choose.

	Oct. 20-Nov. 4 1956	Dec. 13-17 1956
We should continue the alliance as before	38%	48%
We should continue the alliance while relying less on it	43	39
We should discontinue the alliance completely	5	4
Don't know	14	9
	100%	100%

British Gallup Polls using probability samples of 800 cases and 611 cases respectively twice asked: "In view of current developments, do you think Britain should work more closely or less closely with the U.S. in its political and military policies?

	Nov. 1957	Nov. 1958
More closely	67%	59%
Less closely	8	19
About the same (volunteered)	16	9
Don't know	9	13
	100%	100%

The British Gallup Poll in June 1959, using a quota sample of 1,000 cases, asked: "What do you think Britain's role should be: to support America at all times, or to do all that can be done to bring America and Russia together?"

Support America at all times	24%
Do all possible to bring America and Russia together	65
Don't know	11
	100%

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JOHN H. WILLIAMS

November 3, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Events over the past several months have emphasized the deepening crisis in world affairs, and the long-run struggle we are in to assure that the world can grow in a way compatible with our own values and institutions. Never before in our history has there been greater need for new insights and ideas, particularly on long-range problems of United States foreign policy. The Council on Foreign Relations is perhaps the country's leading private institution dedicated to this purpose.

I am writing to request your continued financial help for the Council and its activities. The Council's success in the past has been due to the outstanding support we have received from the membership both intellectually and financially. For the fiscal year 1960-61 the Council has assumed a budget of $925,000. We hope to raise $80,000 of this amount, the same goal as last year, from individual contributions over and above the regular membership dues. We are grateful for the $100 you gave the Council in Dec., 1959. May we count on your generous support again this year?

I believe the Council has continued to make an outstanding contribution to thinking on foreign policy issues. During the past year our program included study groups on some of the broadest and most important problems confronting this country, as well as groups dealing with more specialized subjects. One group under the chairmanship of James A. Perkins examined the broad field of United States military policy. Another group, made up of some of the Council's directors and other leading members, under Jack McCloy's chairmanship, considered such questions as disarmament, the organization

of the West, and the future of the United Nations. A third dealt with the foreign financial policy of the United States. Among studies published during the year were A. Doak Barnett's Communist China and Asia, which has been widely hailed as an outstanding analysis of one of our most difficult foreign policy problems; a revised edition of John C. Campbell's much praised Defense of the Middle East; Edwin Lieuwen's Arms and Politics in Latin America, which one reviewer described as "political writing on the classical level" and "in the tradition of Edmund Burke and the best of the Federalist papers"; and Edgar Furniss' volume on France, Troubled Ally, which The New York Times deemed of sufficient importance to warrant a front-page review in its Book Review section of January 10, 1960.

The other principal aspects of the Council's program are, of course, familiar to you and I shall not review them here. In the years ahead the Council will continue to have a special role to play in American public life. But we cannot succeed in this without the active participation and support of our uniquely qualified membership. I am happy to say that members of the Board of Directors have already given substantially to the Council's budget for the current fiscal year, and I hope that we may continue to count on your support as well. Gifts to the Council are, of course, tax deductible.

With appreciative thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Frank

Frank Altschul
Chairman
Finance and Budget Committee

Joseph Barber

July 7, 1960

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

Mr. Murrow has asked me to apologize to you on his behalf for the delay in sending you a decision on the applicants for the Council's press fellowship. He has been very occupied with convention preparations and with the Governors' Conference which preceded them. He is now in Los Angeles and has just had a chance to read through the material on Mr. Helitzer and Mr. Schulte. He has asked me to tell you that he places them in the following order:-

(1) Mr. Helitzer

(2) Mr. Schulte

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I turn to you as a member of our Advisory Committee on Fellowships to ask that you review the qualifications of two applicants for the Council's press fellowship.

The applicants are:

Morrie S. Helitzer -- Bureau Chief, Bonn, McGraw-Hill World News
Henry F. Schulte -- Manager for Spain, United Press International

The mimeographed enclosures give their backgrounds and experience, indicate what they would do with a fellowship year, and include the customary letters of reference. I also enclose a copy of the Council's pamphlet describing the objectives and requirements of the fellowship program.

After you have reviewed the enclosures, will you please give me your rating of the men in order of your preference for appointment? Others were interested in applying but they did not seem to us to possess the requisite qualifications for consideration.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Fellowship for an American Foreign Correspondent

THE Council on Foreign Relations offers a resident fellowship to an American foreign correspondent for the academic year, September 15, 1960, to June 15, 1961.

The fellowship is for study and research at the Council in New York City, and at a nearby university.

American newspaper, radio and magazine correspondents who are now serving abroad, or who have recently served abroad and who plan to return to foreign posts, may submit applications.

All applications should reach the Council by May 16, 1960. The fellowship will be awarded by June 30.

* * *

THE purpose of the fellowship is to help the correspondent to increase his competence to report and interpret events abroad.

There are no set study requirements. The fellow may concentrate on a specific area which he expects to cover in the course of his work abroad, or he may select general subjects about which he wishes to learn more. The intention is to give a correspondent who has been preoccupied with meeting deadlines an opportunity to broaden his perspective by means of a coordinated program of reading, study and informal discussion.

The stipend normally will be equivalent to the salary relinquished during the period of the fellowship. Academic charges for registration and tuition will be met from funds made available for the purpose.

Among previous holders of the Council's foreign correspondent fellowship, and the posts they held at the time of appointment, have been the following:

Henry R. Lieberman, correspondent of *The New York Times* in China.

Hal Lehrman, free lance foreign correspondent and specialist on Eastern Europe and Palestine.

Alpheus W. Jessup, chief of the Tokyo bureau of *McGraw-Hill World News.*

Irving R. Levine, Tokyo correspondent of the *National Broadcasting Company.*

David B. Richardson, Middle East correspondent of *Time.*

John H. Rich, Jr., correspondent in Japan and Korea for the *National Broadcasting Company.*

William J. Jorden, correspondent in Japan for *The New York Times.*

John M. Hlavacek, correspondent in India for the *United Press.*

Whitman Bassow, correspondent in Moscow for the *United Press.*

Kennett Love, correspondent in London for *The New York Times.*

The Council on Foreign Relations

The Council is a non-profit institution devoted to study of the international aspects of American political, economic and strategic problems. It was established shortly after World War I, and is now composed of about 1,300 men who have an active interest in foreign affairs and whose experience or training qualifies them for membership.

The Council takes no stand, expressed or implied, on American policy. It is supported by membership dues and contributions, and receives grants from leading foundations for special projects. Funds for the fellowship are provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The Council brings together regularly groups of experts to consider specific foreign issues affecting American interest. It carries on a program of research and publication. It publishes the quarterly review, FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Among its other publications are annual volumes, *The United States in World Affairs, Documents on American Foreign Relations* and the *Political Handbook of the World,* and many specialized works on various aspects of international affairs.

Members of the Council's supervisory Committee on Studies are as follows: Henry M. Wriston, Chairman, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Arthur H. Dean, Byron Dexter, Caryl P. Haskins, Joseph E. Johnson, Grayson L. Kirk, August Maffry, Willard L. Thorp and John H. Williams.

The Council occupies the building at the corner of 68th Street and Park Avenue, New York. Facilities include meeting rooms, offices, and a library which houses one of the outstanding private collections of books, pamphlets and documents in the field of international affairs.

Council Activities

Holders of the fellowship have office space at the Council and participate in such Council meetings, group discussions and other activities as assist them in their work.

In the course of each year, men who carry heavy public responsibilities visit the Council for the purpose of leading or participating in private discussions with members. During the fall and winter of 1959-60 they included: General Pedro E. Aramburu, Abdel Kader Chanderli, Morarji Desai, Henry Cabot Lodge, John A. McCone, Major General John B. Medaris, Maurice Couve de Murville, G. Frederick Reinhardt, Sékou-Touré, Jacques Soustelle, Paul-Henri Spaak, General Maxwell D. Taylor and Pierre Wigny.

Many men who were less well known, including other Council members who were concerned with the formation or administration of national and international policies, also discussed their special problems at Council meetings during this period. In addition, Council groups, composed of members who are especially qualified, were holding meetings regularly to consider specific issues affecting American interests abroad.

The correspondent who attends Council meetings during 1960-61 will have exceptional opportunities to supplement his own knowledge and otherwise to profit from group discussion and informal contact with members of the Council.

University Work

Fellows are not required to take university courses for formal credit toward an advanced degree, but may do so if they desire. Arrangements can be made with nearby institutions so that they may carry on such academic work as will meet their needs.

Upon appointment, the Council will advise the correspondent of available opportunities for study in chosen fields, and will assist him to pick university courses which should be most useful to him. Among

the institutions at which fellows in the past have found programs of particular value are: the Russian, European, East Asian Institutes and the School of International Affairs at Columbia University; the Yale Department of International Relations and Institute of International Studies; and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton.

Selection

The fellowship holder for 1960-61 will be chosen by the Council's Advisory Committee on Fellowships, which is composed of Gardner Cowles, *Look;* Emanuel R. Freedman, *The New York Times;* Grayson L. Kirk, Columbia University; Edward R. Murrow, Columbia Broadcasting System.

Candidates under 40 years of age will be considered for appointment. The Advisory Committee will take into account their past performance, experience and education, but the award will be based largely upon apparent promise of future achievement in the field of foreign correspondence.

Since there will be competition for appointment, each candidate should provide full information about himself, including the following biographical details:

Name, address, date and place of birth, nationality (if naturalized, when and where);

Formal education (schools attended, dates of attendance, major and minor fields of concentration, degrees received, other pertinent information);

Previous employment (names and addresses of employers, duties performed, periods of employment);

Name and address of present employer, exact nature of duties, date of employment, present salary;

War service, publications, awards;

References (names and addresses of five persons who may be called upon for further information).

Each application should be supplemented by:

1. A letter from the applicant's employer granting leave of absence in case of appointment (to be sent directly to the Advisory Committee);
2. A statement by the applicant of roughly 500 words summarizing and appraising his experience as a foreign correspondent, and describing the use which he would make of a fellowship;
3. Approximately ten samples of the applicant's journalistic writing from abroad.

* * *

Applications and requests for information should be addressed to Joseph Barber, Secretary, Advisory Committee on Fellowships, Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York.

Morrie S. Helitzer
39 Mittelstrasse
Bad Godesberg, Germany

Born: June 8, 1925 New York City

Formal Education:

Townsend Harris H.S., NYC Diploma	Sept. 1939-Jan. 1942
Cornell University, Ithaca, NY B.S. in Electrical Engineering	Sept. 1942-Feb. 1945 (Feb. 1945)
University of Chicago Major: Public Opinion Minor: Labor Relations M.A. in Political Science President, Graduate Political Science Assn.	Mar. 1947-June 1948 (June 1948) 1947-48

Previous Employment:

American Broadcasting Co., NYC	Newswriter	Mar. 1955- Sept. 1956
National Broadcasting Co., India	Correspondent (Stringer)	Nov. 1953- Dec. 1954
Douglas Aircraft Co. Santa Monica	Draftsman	Aug. 1953- Oct. 1953
Ajax Co., Engineering Div. Los Angeles	Technical Writer	May 1953- July 1953
Free Lance Writer, Los Angeles		Oct. 1950- May 1953
International News Service, Europe Bureau Chief: Vienna and Belgrade Correspondent: UN, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris		Oct. 1948- Sept. 1950
INS, Chicago	Reporter, Desk	Mar. 1947- Aug. 1948
United Press, Madison, Wisc.	Reporter	Oct. 1946- Feb. 1947

Previous non-journalistic employment includes Teaching Asst. in Mathematics at Cornell University; photostater at U.S. Life Insurance Company, NY and a page at the NY Public Library.

Present Employer:

McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc.
330 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Technical Editor, London Bureau — Oct. 1, 1956-Mar. 31, 1957
McGraw-Hill World News

Bureau Chief, Bonn Bureau — Apr. 1, 1957-Present
McGraw-Hill World News

Duties: Reporting and writing for Business Week, Aviation Week, Chemical Week, Product Engineering, Electrical World, and International Management Digest

Supervisory responsibility for three other bureau members who report and write for the 30-odd magazines published by McGraw-Hill

Salary: $9500 annually plus $1000 - $1500 from other journalistic activity

War Service:

U.S. Navy, Apr. 4, 1945-Oct. 20, 1946 (Honorable Discharge)
Electronics Technicians Mate 3/c
Duty in Pacific (Bikini Atoll Tests) and in the U.S.
No combat duty.

Publications:

Articles in Neue Zuercher Zeitung and Swiss Review of World Affairs on India (1954,1955)
One-hour dramatic play on Kraft Television Playhouse, "Vienna Dateline" (1951)
Feature articles in American Weekly Magazine from Vienna and Paris (1949,1950)

Statement:

During the post-war period, U.S. businessmen have played an unprecedented role in forming U.S. foreign policy. Yet, to my knowledge, no analysis of the reasons for or the results of this activity has been made.

The emergence of the American businessman as a foreign policy maker at the highest levels raises a series of provocative questions: For example, has the businessman's approach to and treatment of issues been significantly different than that of his predecessors? What are his incentives and qualifications for entering government? What types of problems are likely to confront the U.S. government most critically in foreign affairs in the 1960's and are these problems best handled by businessmen-diplomats?

As a Council Fellow, I'd like to explore this subject with particular focus on West Germany, a country in which I've worked for nearly five years. I first arrived in Berlin as a reporter for INS in 1948 during the blockade, in time to observe and report on a political-military Air Lift and a less publicized but effective economic counter-blockade which saved the city. Meanwhile, the Marshall Plan had been initiated, providing the basis for the revitalization of West Germany and all of Western Europe.

When I returned to Germany in April, 1957 the success of early post-war American planning was obvious. Less obvious, perhaps, was the fact that the use of economic measures as the principal weapon in the Cold War almost certainly depended for conception

and execution on the presence in government, at the time, of specially qualified men like Paul Hoffman, Robert Lovett, William Draper, William C. Foster and others. Moreover, in the past three years through my political, economic and technical reporting for the specialized McGraw-Hill publications I think I have gained a fuller picture of the extent of the American businessman's continuing involvement, commitment and influence in U.S. foreign affairs and the strong impact he has had on domestic German policies as well.

Although the area of investigation is sizeable, I think as a Council Fellow a useful beginning could be made, perhaps resulting in two or three articles during the tenure of Fellowship. If warranted, I would try in time to sum up my findings in a book.

Primary sources of information, I believe, should be those businessmen who are and were engaged in the nation's foreign affairs; leading members of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees of the Congress; senior State Department officials; educators. Many who played important parts in American foreign policy formation since World War II are still active and it would be sensible to obtain their views first-hand while they are available. As a supplement to raw material gathering, I would propose taking a number of graduate courses at Columbia University on American foreign policy, international politics, U.S. foreign economic policy and international business.

I intend to remain active in foreign correspondence. Half of nearly 14 years of reporting and writing has been spent abroad and its diversity has been valuable in establishing a broad base. Nevertheless, as I approach age 35, I want to sharpen the focus of my work. Because American business and industry has accepted a substantial role for itself in the nation's foreign affairs, I believe the area which I have staked out should be an expanding one, one worth specialization.

#

References:

The Hon. David K. E. Bruce
1411 34th Street, N.W.
Washington 7, D. C.

Nedville E. Nordness
Deputy Asst. Secy of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

Dr. Henry Tasca
Minister for Economic Affairs
U.S. Embassy
Bad Godesberg, Germany

Howard Whidden
Foreign Editor
Business Week Magazine
330 West 42nd Street
New York36, New York

Ernest Leiser
Columbia Broadcasting System
270 Koblenzer Strasse
Bonn, Germany

or

485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington

May 26, 1960

Dear Mr. Barber:

Your letter of May 13 was awaiting me when I arrived in Washington a few days ago to take up my new assignment. I know Mr. Morrie Helitzer of McGraw-Hill World News very well and was aware of his application to the Council's resident fellowship for American foreign Correspondents.

Mr. Helitzer is a well-rounded foreign correspondent, having previously reported on diverse spot news events before entering the McGraw-Hill organization to specialize in economic, business and trade matters.

I found Mr. Helitzer a serious-minded correspondent who pursued his work with meticulous care and consideration. His reporting was the result of much leg work and discussions with persons of authority in the area of Mr. Helitzer's interest. He was respected by the economic and commercial experts of the American Embassy as well as by those German authorities - both official and private - with whom he came in contact. His articles were considered thorough and objective.

Mr. Helitzer had an unfulfilled curiosity which he constantly attempted to satisfy in his professional field by keeping abreast of current events, reading books of authority in his professional field of interest and, again, maintaining constant contact with those persons who were instructors as well as news sources in the sense that they contributed to his total effectiveness.

Mr. Helitzer's personal behavior was sound. He lived quietly with his wife and two small children. He was an excellent host and a popular guest. He could be considered a model for the American who lived abroad. We found him to be an extremely modest man albeit persistent and courageous in his pursuit for a story.

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary,
Advisory Committee on Fellowships,
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.,
58 East 68th Street,
New York 21, New York

He was not only respected by the American community in Bonn but more particularly by his colleagues, the other members of the foreign press.

I believe Mr. Helitzer would feel highly honored if his application for a resident fellowship were accepted. I believe also that the Council on Foreign Relations would never regret the choice.

If I can be of further help to you in this matter, please do not hesitate to call on me again.

Sincerely,

Nedville E. Nordness
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Mutual Security Information

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McGRAW-HILL WORLD NEWS

330 West 42nd Street, New York 36, N.Y.

March 28, 1960

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Joe:

I understand from Morrie Helitzer, chief of the Bonn news bureau, that he wishes to apply for one of the Council's fellowships for the forthcoming year.

We think very highly of Mr. Helitzer, and he has been one of our very best correspondents on the International scene in general, and in Germany particularly, having served in both our London news bureau and Bonn.

If it happened that Mr. Helitzer were to be offered one of your fellowships, the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company would be pleased to give him a year's leave of absence to accept it, with the understanding that his status with the Company would in no way be impaired, and that he could look forward to returning to an equivalent job within this Company on completion of the fellowship.

Cordially,

John Wilhelm
Director of News Bureaus
MCGRAW-HILL PUBLISHING CO.

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DAVID BRUCE
1411 34th Street, N.W.
Washington 7, D.C.

May 14, 1960

My dear Mr. Barber:

I am in receipt of your letter of May 13, 1960, regarding the application of Mr. Morrie S. Helitzer of McGraw Hill World News for a resident fellowship.

During a stay of two and a half years in Bonn, I had frequent opportunities to meet Helitzer, and to arrive at a personal judgment concerning him.

I believe him to be conscientious, thorough, inquiring, imaginative, intelligent, observant, and a man of fine character. I would, if in a position to pass on his qualifications for a Council fellowship, be satisfied to vote favorably on him.

Very sincerely yours,

David Bruce

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy - Bonn,
Bad Godesberg, Germany
May 19, 1960.

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary,
Advisory Committee on Fellowships,
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.,
58 East 68th Street,
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have known Mr. Morrie Helitzer for several years in my capacity of Minister for Economic Affairs. He has visited my office frequently and we have discussed all aspects of German and European problems.

After considerable reflection, I am persuaded Mr. Helitzer would profit greatly from a resident fellowship with the Council on Foreign Relations. He has a keen, inquisitive mind with a marked bent for exploring problems deeply, including their more elemental components. In addition, I have the impression he has the intellectual apparatus from his university work and subsequent experience to deal effectively with modern problems. He can see the outlines of a problem symmetrically, analyse and conclude.

It would be a fine thing for him and our free press if he could have the advantage of a year's resident fellowship in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Henry J. Tasca
Minister for Economic Affairs

BUSINESS WEEK
330 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

May 25, 1960

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Joe:

After our telephone conversation yesterday there is little more of value that I can say about Morrie Helitzer's application for the Council's resident fellowship for American foreign correspondents. But perhaps a brief recapitulation would be of help to you.

Helitzer has proved to be an able and responsible correspondent during his assignment in Bonn for McGraw-Hill World News. He has a very fine flair for political reporting, both domestic and international, and handles his writing well in this area. His business and economic reporting has not been of quite the same high calibre, nor has his writing in these fields.

I am sure that Helitzer would profit greatly from the kind of opportunity that you offer at the Council. It would give the right kind of discipline to his thinking and, in some degree, to his writing as well.

Sincerely,

Howard Whidden
Foreign Editor

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NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, Inc.

Berlin W 15
Kurfuerstendamm 26A

May 21, 1960

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
New York

Dear Joe:

I'm glad to hear from you that Morrie Helitzer has applied for the Fellowship at the Council.

I have known Morrie for some time, but in the past 2½ years here in Germany I have had the opportunity to get better acquainted with him and to have a better appreciation of his work.

I should think he would be an excellent Fellow for the Council. Personally he is a charming gentleman and professionally I give him very high grades as a correspondent.

Morrie has always impressed me with being a careful newsman and a serious worker. He has done a fine job here in Germany. I should think there's no question that he would put a lot into a year at the Council and get a great deal out of it.

As a former Fellow myself I realize that not every year do personal and other considerations fall into line so that a correspondent is in position to get the most out of a Fellowship. I think that for Morrie Helitzer this is the year, and I wholeheartedly support his application.

With best wishes to you and your selection committee,

Sincerely,

John Rich

Henry Frank Schulte

Biographical resume...Page One

Name: Henry Frank Schulte

Present position: Manager for Spain, United Press International

Age: 35

Date and place of birth: Sept. 24, 1924. Lincoln, Nebraska.

Marital status: Married. One child; a daughter.

Business address: United Press International, 3 Plaza de las Cortes, Madrid, Spain.

Home address: Vallehermoso 24, Madrid, Spain.

Education: From September 1941 through May 1943, I attended the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, where I studied English, Spanish, German, history and psychology. A serious family illness forced me to interrupt my studies during those years and was later responsible for the fact that I left the University of Nebraska before completing my undergraduate work.

From November 1947 through June 1948, I studied at Bemidji State Teachers College, Bemidji, Minnesota, where I continued work in history, psychology and English.

I completed my undergraduate education at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, in the period from September 1948 through May 1951. At McGill, I majored in English and philosophy, graduating "cum laude" with a Bachelor of Arts degree.

In September 1951 I entered the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, New York, and was granted a Master of Science degree in June of 1952.

During my stay in Europe I have learned to read, write and speak Spanish and have acquired a working knowledge of French.

Previous employment: During the 1951/1952 school year, while attending the Graduate School of Journalism, I worked as weekend assignment editor for the National Broadcasting Corporation, Television Newsreel, 105 East 106 Street, New York City. The duties included coordinating newsreel coverage of news events, assigning cameramen to breaking stories and directing the flow of exposed film to processors and then to producers of various TV news shows. My immediate superior was David Klein.

From July 1952 through July 1953, I reported and wrote features for The Ann Arbor News, Ann Arbor, Michigan. My "beat" was the University of Michigan, which gave me the chance to cover a wide variety of stories. My immediate supervisor was William Mullendore, then city editor. During most of that year, I served as "stringer" for The New York Times.

In late 1953, my wife and I sailed for Europe, where we spent eight months studying languages and traveling. During that time, we lived for several months in Switzerland and visited Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, Italy and Spain.

In July 1954, I went to work in the London, England, bureau of United Press as editor-reporter-rewriteman. I served in London, part of the time as chief editor on one of two news desks, until February 1956, when I was sent to Spain as news editor in the Madrid bureau. From then until December 1957, I was editor of both the incoming and outgoing news services in Spain. I worked under the direction of H. Roger Tatarian, the European News Manager for UPI, and Peter E. Knox, my predecessor as Spanish manager.

Present position: In December 1957, I was appointed Manager for Spain. As a national manager, I perform the duties of chief correspondent as well as director of photo and television services and business manager. In addition, I supervise the work of a staff that includes two American, two Australian and four Spanish newsmen as well as teletype and radio operators and technicians and an administrative assistant. My salary, at the moment, is $135 per week plus commissions. In this job, I have

worked under Mr. T. R. Curran, UPI Vice-President for Europe, and Mr. Tatarian.

War service: I entered the service (Army) in August 1945 and was honorably discharged in December 1946. I did clerical and administrative work.

Miscellaneous: I have contributed articles to English-language magazines in Spain and have helped on special assignments for Time-Life publications during the past four years.

References: (1) Mr. T. R. Curran, Vice-President and General Manager for Europe, United Press International, 8 Bouverie St., London E.C.4, England.

(2) Mr. H. Roger Tatarian, General News Manager, United Press International, 220 East 42nd St., New York 17, New York.

(3) Sr. Manuel Aznar, Director of the newspaper La Vanguardia, former director of the Spanish national news agency, Agencia EFE, and Minister in the Spanish United Nations delegation. Address: c/o La Vanguardia, Pelayo 28, Barcelona, Spain.

(4) Prof. Richard T. Baker, The Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

(5) Mr. Owen Hutchinson, Press Attache, United States Embassy, Serrano 75, Madrid, Spain.

A Summary and Appraisal of Experience as Foreign Correspondent.

During more than four years in Spain, I have observed and reported a nation undergoing vast -- and even dramatic -- social, economic, and political changes. It has been a challenging and rewarding "beat".

I came to Spain in early 1956 as news editor of the Madrid bureau of United Press International and brought to my job a command of the basic tools of my trade -- learned as a student, as a reporter on a Midwestern daily, and as an editor-rewriteman in UPI's European Headquarters in London.

In December, 1957, I was named manager for Spain and charged with directing UPI's business, photo and television interests as well as serving as chief correspondent.

The experience here has had a four-fold result:

It has fostered a deep sense of responsibility to my profession and, in turn, a recognition of my profession's responsibility to our society. The absence of a free press here emphasizes its importance to a nation. At the same time, Spanish arguments for a controlled press show how imperative it is that media of mass communication strive for the highest standards of integrity, objectivity and maturity.

It has allowed me to accumulate a fund of knowledge about Spain -- its history, psychology, culture, politics, and even exports -- while the news facilities available (a UPI leased wire runs into Madrid) have enabled me to keep abreast of world events.

It has taught me how to report under difficult conditions. Spain is a dictatorship in which the lower echelons of government are riddled by fear of decision and the upper levels treat newsmen with a polite contempt born of 20 years of press censorship. Since public criticism of the regime and open political activity are outlawed, one must dig hard for information.

It has honed my perceptions and judgments. The government, straining to conceal anything detrimental to its interests, deals out information with all the candor of a professional card sharp. The opposition, struggling to damage the reputation of the regime, swings wildly, often without reference to fact. Under such conditions a newsman must be wary, well-informed and able to distinguish the true from the false. Otherwise, he is in danger of becoming a tool of the propagandist.

I believe I have avoided that pitfall, but the experience has shown me that I could and should be better informed in economics and international relations. I would like to concentrate on economics, a subject that looms ever larger in reporting as much foreign policy is dictated by economic considerations and the cold war is fought out, in many instances, on economic battlefields.

Should time permit, I would like to relate those studies to the specific question of U.S. policy in Spain, investigating the background of our ties with the Franco regime. U.S. policy has raised Spain from the role of social and economic outcast to that of respected member of the community of Western nations. Was it done purely because of strategic expediency or was U.S. military and economic aid motivated by other considerations, including the knowledge that it was modifying the form of Franco's rule?

Such research, however, would be secondary to the program of general studies, which I hope could be designed to prepare me to do a more authoritative and comprehensive reporting and interpreting job in my present post or in any future assignment.

#

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

8, Bouverie Street,
London, E.C. 4.

Harry Ferguson
General European News Manager

London, April 29, 1960

Mr. Joseph Barber,
Secretary, Advisory Committee
on Fellowships,
Council on Foreign Relations,
58 East 68th Street,
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

Mr. Henry F. Schulte, Madrid Bureau Manager of United Press International, is applying for a Fellowship with your organization. This is to state that we will give him the necessary leave of absence in the event he is successful.

May I add a personal note that Mr. Schulte is an extremely able newspaperman and is held in the highest regard by everyone in our organization.

Sincerely,

Harry Ferguson

C
O
P
Y

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

8, Bouverie Street, London, E.C. 4

Thomas R. Curran
Vice President &
General European Manager

Paris, France.
May 9, 1960

Dear Mr. Barber:

Henry Schulte is one of our most promising young correspondents. He has been manager of our Madrid bureau for the past two or three years and was second in command before that.

He is hard-working, intelligent and I believe would benefit greatly from the resident fellowship your Council offers.

I recommend him without reservation.

Cordially,

Thomas R. Curran.

Mr. Joseph Barber,
Secretary,
Advisory Committee on Fellowships,
Council on Foreign Relations,
New York, 21, N. Y.

C
O
P
Y

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy
Madrid, May 20, 1960

Dear Mr. Barber:

In answer to your letter of May 3, 1960 asking for comments about Mr. Henry Schulte's capabilities in connection with his application for the Council's resident fellowship for American foreign correspondents, I can say without equivocation that he is an excellent candidate and extremely well qualified.

He is an alert young man, with good news sense and a serious sense of responsibility. He is friendly, a hard worker, has a good sense of humor, and completely reliable. He and his wife are an attractive couple and have adapted to Spanish customs without any trouble.

I think he would benefit from the fellowship if he received it. From what I have seen of him for the past three years that I have been Press Attache in Madrid I am positive he would work real hard. He is ambitious and would take full advantage of the opportunity, if offered.

Sincerely,

Owen R. Hutchinson
Press Attache

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
General Offices
New York City

Roger Tatarian
Managing Editor

4 May 1960

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am happy to give the highest recommendation to Henry Frank Schulte in his application for a CFR Fellowship.

He worked for UPI in both London and Madrid while I was General European News Manager and proved himself always to be an able and conscientious person.

Sincerely,

Roger Tatarian

C
O
P
Y

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
in the City of New York
New York 27, New York

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

May 12, 1960

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am happy to comment on the candidacy of Mr. Henry Schulte for one of your Council's fellowships. He is a mature, responsible, cosmopolitan young man who will be devoting his life and career to international and inter-cultural communications.

Mr. Schulte and his wife were both members of the Class of 1952 in The Graduate School of Journalism. His record with us, both as a student and as a civilized human being, was excellent. He is a large, healthy specimen, son of "Indian" Schulte, once a famous Middle Western football coach. Mr. Schulte was a McGill graduate, and when he left us he joined The United Press and has been with that organization in Madrid for several years. I know his work is good, and I know he would profit greatly from a chance to participate in your fellowship program. Mrs. Schulte is the daughter of a Swiss diplomat; they have languages, travel and a depth of experience in international affairs.

I most heartily endorse his candicacy for a Council on Foreign Relations fellowship. Best personal regards.

Faithfully yours,

Richard T. Baker
Secretary of the Faculty

RTB:kp

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

December 22, 1959

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have just learned of your generous contribution to the Council and I do appreciate it. It means a lot to have your continued support and approval.

We have a number of important studies under way this year and they seem to be developing well, though it is still too early to be certain about the final results.

With best wishes for a merry Christmas,

Sincerely,

George S. Franklin, Jr.
Executive Director

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Council

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, ~~INC.~~
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

July 7, 1959

Dear Mr. Murrow:

You will, I am sure, be interested to know that Mr. Kennett Love of the New York Times has been awarded the Council's newspaper fellowship for 1959-60.

I do appreciate the trouble you have taken to go over the candidates for us, particularly in view of the many calls on your time.

Very sincerely,

George Franklin

George S. Franklin, Jr.
Executive Director

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Council

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

June 19, 1958

E.R.M.
F.T.S.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I thought you would like to know that the collective decision, in the matter of awarding the press fellowship here for the coming year, favored the appointment of Whitman Bassow, of the Moscow staff of United Press International. Accordingly, we have informed him of the award. Announcement of it will be made next Monday.

Very many thanks indeed for helping us with the selection.

Sincerely yours,

JBC

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

June 10, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Two letters have come in late in support of applications of the press fellowship here at the Council. I attach a copy of the letters and will ask you to add them to the dossiers, which were mailed to you some days ago.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

Dan Kurzman

Morning Evening Sunday

T H E S U N

Baltimore 3, MD.

Washington Bureau

June 3, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Joe:

I thought I had written a letter a year ago highly recommending Dan Kurzman for a fellowship.

I have known him for several years and am well acquainted with his reporting on Japan, which has been generally excellent.

He also has a pleasant personality and is industrious.

In short, I think he will make the most of it if he gets a fellowship, and the Council will have reason to be proud of him.

Sincerely yours,

Philip Potter

Whitman Bassow

From Irving R. Levine

May 24, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Joe:

Thank you for your letter of May 9th, and I am pleased to be among the endorsers of Whitman Bassow's application for a Council on Foreign Relations fellowship.

I have had the pleasure of working with Whit Bassow during my tour in Moscow. He is an able correspondent, well-versed in the Russian language and Russian history. He is a serious student of Soviet affairs and would, I know, use the fellowship to the very best advantage to build on his experience and to prepare himself for further work as a foreign correspondent.

I can tell you with pleasure, too, that Whit is a man of pleasant humor, even temper, and a genial companion besides his talents as a student and correspondent.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Irving R. Levine

Council

June 12, 1958

Dear Mr. Barber:

Answering yours of June 3 regarding the fellowships for Foreign Correspondents, I will list them in the following order:

(1) Frank Bourgholtzer

(2) Dan Kurzman

(3) Whitman Bassow

(4) Jeremy Main.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

fc

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

June 3, 1958

E.R.M. What say you?

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

May I ask you, as a member of the Council's Advisory Committee on Fellowships for American Foreign Correspondents, to review the enclosed applications for a resident fellowship for the period, September 15, 1958, to June 15, 1959. You recall that the purpose of the fellowship program is to help correspondents to increase their competence to report and interpret events abroad. This year, there are three candidates whom we think it worthwhile to bring to your attention. They are:

3 Whitman Bassow - Moscow correspondent of the United Press.

1 Frank Bourgholtzer - Vienna correspondent of the National Broadcasting Company.

4 Jeremy Main - Berlin correspondent of the International News Service.

The enclosures describe the fellowship program, and the background, professional experience and aspirations of the applicants. It will be helpful to us here at the Council, if you indicate your order of preference for appointment.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

P.S. 2 To the above, please add a fourth application - that of Dan Kurzman - Tokyo correspondent of McGraw-Hill World News - whose papers have just reached us.

Whitman Bassow

UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS

Furmanova 5, KV. 17

Moscow

Henry Shapiro
Bureau manager

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, N.Y.

May 26, 1958

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have mixed feelings about recommending Whitman Bassow for a Council fellowship.

I am certain you will understand my reluctance to lose a valuable associate for one year, which, as you can judge from his frequent dispatches in the American press, Mr. Bassow has been. On the other hand, I feel the balance is in favor of supporting Mr. Bassow's application. I discussed this question with Earl Johnson when I was in New York last month and we reached the conclusion that the UP and American journalism in general can only benefit if Mr. Bassow were given the opportunity to avail himself of your program of studies.

As you know from the record, Mr. Bassow has been with the Moscow bureau almost three years, Prior to that he had limited experience as a foreign correspondent, although he had considerable freelancing experience and for some time had been a serious student of Soviet affairs. It took Mr. Bassow a very short time to master the technicalities and subtleties of Moscow coverage and he has served our organization with considerable distinction. For many months during my frequent travels abroad, Mr. Bassow carried the full responsibility of the Moscow bureau and did so quite creditably.

I am certain that a year of study under your program will enable Mr. Bassow to reorganize his thinking on Soviet affairs and fill some of the lacunae in Sovietica which inevitably occur when one is absorbed in the daily routine of reporting from here. Mr. Bassow has an academic background unusual among foreign correspondents, but I understand that he is anxious to expand his research into other fields of communist activity for eventual assignment to areas politically related to the Soviet Union, especially China.

Personally, and on behalf of our organization, I would like to say that the year of study Mr. Bassow proposes to do under Council auspices would be of great profit to his career as a foreign correspondent.

Sincerely,

Henry Shapiro
Bureau Manager

Whitman Bassow

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

June 2, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
New York City

Dear Joe:

I am glad to have an opportunity to comment on the capabilities and promise of Whitman Bassow, for I have a very high opinion of him. I first came to know Mr. Bassow before World War II, whn he was a very bright and attractive student at Cornell. In the first two years after the war I saw a good deal of him and supervised his master's essay at Columbia, while he was also teaching at Hunter College. Even at that time Mr. Bassow had chosen professional journalism of a high order as his career interest, even though he also had every opportunity to pursue the academic line. Unlike some cases, this was a definite choice of love and dedication.

Mr. Bassow's master's essay compared the treatment by Izvestiia of United States strengths and weaknesses in two contrasting periods, the first half of 1945, when our two countries were allies in a common war effort, and the first half of 1947, when the Cold War was rapidly deepening. The study was carried out with meticulous care and showed great insight as a case study of Soviet manipulation of symbols of strengths and weaknesses in its attempt to influence domestic and foreign opinion. The findings of the study were published in 1948 in Public Opinion Quarterly and attracted a good deal of attention.

I was also concerned with Mr. Bassow's plans for entering the field of journalism full-time and recommended him to the UP. Prior to that he had done extensive writing of features for the Paris Tribune, and while in Paris, at first under a Fulbright Scholarship and later on his own, he completed his Ph.D. at the University of Paris with a study of Pravda as an organ of the Bolshevik Party, 1912-1914. This study is an excellent one and ought to be published.

I saw Mr. Bassow at some length in Moscow in July 1956 and had a brief chat with him on his subsequent leave in the United States, about May, 1957. I was greatly impressed by his detailed knowledge of the Soviet system, his ability to penetrate behind words to the facts and by his skill in presenting his findings vividly and effectively.

We are certainly going to need journalists who are well equipped to interpret Communist China for sooner or later the country is going to be opened up. Some of the "old China hands" will not be willing or able to return, and we must have able younger people equipped with the language and the background to interpret Communist Chinese developments. A detailed knowledge of international Communism and the Soviet system is invaluable in understanding and interpreting the Chinese developments of today, as Hank Lieberman has said more than once in reflecting with gratitude on his year at the Council. Considering the unusual talent for languages which Bassow has demonstrated in learning almost perfect French and Russian, I believe he will make good progress in Chinese.

With his wide background in both systematic academic work and lively journalistic investigations, Mr. Bassow will have a great deal to contribute to Council groups, as well as learning a great deal from them. It is fortunate, in case he is appointed, that we will be having at least two major studies on East Asia in 1958-59: Communist China and U.S. policy in Asia, and Japan's economic problems and prospects and U.S. foreign policy. I am happy to recommend favorable considration for this application, but of course cannot rate it in comparison with other possibilities for the coming year. I have no question but what Bassow would rate a little above the average of these appointments, though not as high as Lieberman.

Sincerely yours,

Philip E. Mosely

Whitman Bassow

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Russian Research Center

William L. Langer, Director
Marshall D. Shulman, Associate Director

May 27, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Joe:

I am sorry to have delayed so long in replying to your inquiry about Whitman Bassow. I have been away from my desk because of illness in my family, and have unfortunately been delayed in making this reply.

I have known Mr. Bassow for about ten years, off and on. There is no doubt in my mind that he is a serious student of Soviet affairs, and will be likely to make a useful contribution. The only knowledge I have of his competence as a newspaperman is from his superior, Henry Shapiro, who has felt that Bassow lacks competitive drive as a newspaperman, but since Shapiro himself is extremely energetic in this respect, it is difficult to evaluate this judgment of his. I know that Shapiro is intense about his job and lives for it completely, and probably regards it as a shortcoming that Bassow allows his personal life (he was recently married) to interfere with his work. In any case, the United Press spot in Moscow is an intensely competitive one, because it is working agains a much larger AP Bureau, and each man has to do double duty. So, although the report may cast some doubt about his competitive zeal as a newspaperman, I would be inclined not to hold it against him in considering his suitability for a Council fellowship.

I would also give some weight to the general desirability of encouraging men who have competence both as newspapermen and as Soviet specialists, because our need is very great for such people. Especially, if Bassow is committed to a return to newspaper work upon completion of his fellowship from the Council, I think this would be a useful thing to do. If, however, it is intended as a transition away from newspaper work, I would be somewhat less enthusiastic.

On all the usual considerations - personality, character, etc. - I think he is a good man and am aware of no negative factors.

Best regards,

Marshall D. Shulman

Whitman Bassow

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy,
Moscow,
May 20, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

In reply to your letter of May 9, 1958, regarding Mr. Whitman Bassow's application for a Council's resident fellowship, I am glad to inform you that I have a very high opinion of Mr. Bassow's character and capabilities. Due to the peculiarities of life in Moscow the Embassy has very frequent contacts and close relations with the American correspondents here, and although I have known Mr. Bassow for slightly less than a year I have had frequent occasion to talk with him and believe that he has a high degree of intelligence and an inquiring mind. I understand that he is interested particularly in preparing himself for eventual specialization in Chinese affairs and I believe that with his background of experience here he would be well equipped for such an assignment. With this in mind I believe that he would be in a position to profit greatly from the Council's fellowship.

With best regards I am,

Sincerely,

Llewellyn E. Thompson

Whitman Bassow

BUSINESS WEEK

A McGraw-Hill Publication

May 22, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Joe:

This will be a hurried reply to your request of May 19 for information about Whitman Bassow, who is now a UP correspondent in Moscow. I am leaving for Europe tomorrow and I am in something of a dither.

I have known Bassow for at least five years and have always found him intelligently interested in foreign affairs, especially in Soviet developments. I saw quite a lot of him in Moscow just two years ago and got the impression that he was doing a perceptive job there.

My only doubt about his abilities would be on the side of economic interpretation. I feel there may be some gap in his training and interest, perhaps as a result of the fact that his background in Russian affairs was academic and then when he joined the UP he was trained in part as a photographer and pretty strictly as an agency man. This, of course, suggests that a year on a Council resident fellowship would be just the thing that Bassow needs to round himself out.

On balance, then, I can honestly recommend him as a good candidate for one of your fellowships.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Whidden
Foreign Editor

Frank Bourgholtzer

Born: October 26, 1919. New York. United States citizen

Schooling: Grade and High schools, Staten Island, N.Y.
A.B. Political Science, Indiana University

Employment:

Pekin Banner (weekly). Pekin, Indiana. 1940
Salem Democrat (weekly). Salem, Indiana. 1940
Evansville Courier, Evansville, Indiana. 1940-41
Free-lance. New York. 1941-43
Wall Street Journal. New York, Washington. 1943-46

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY. 1946 to Present

Washington News Desk. 1946-47
White House Correspondent. 1947-53
Paris Bureau chief. 1953-55
German Bureau chief. 1955-57
Vienna, Central and Eastern Europe. 1957-

Salary: (with fees) Average $18,000 annually

War service: Physical disqualification

Awards: Headliner's Award for National Reporting, 1953.

Frank Bourgholtzer

(Among the foreign news stories covered during my experience as a correspondent, were the following):

Truman-MacArthur meeting on Wake Island. October 15, 1950

Eisenhower visit to Korea. 1952

East Berlin Uprising. June 17, 1953

Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. June 2, 1953.

Big Four Conference in Berlin. Jan. 25, 1954.

Asian Peace Conference (Indochina). April 26, 1954.

Defeat of E.D.C. in Paris. August 30, 1954.

Creation of Western European Union in London. Oct. 3, 1954.

Critical illness of Pope Pius in Rome. December, 1954

British General Elections. May 26, 1954

Summit Conference, Geneva. July 18-23, 1955

First Atomic conference, Geneva. August, 1955.

Adenauer visit to Moscow. Fall, 1955.

Poznan Uprising. June 28, 1956.

Hungarian Revolution (From Budapest). October-November 1956.

Polish elections, January 1957.

Bulganin-Krushchev visit Czechoslovakia. July, 1957.

Gomulka visit to Tito. September, 1957.

Frank Bourgholtzer

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

The prospect of a year of study under Council auspices, now that I have permitted myself to consider it seriously, is so exciting that I must restrain myself from making too extensive and detailed plans of what I would like to do.

As Irving Levine may have told you, the Council fellowship has intrigued me for several years. While I was home for our year-end television show, I arrived at the decision to apply for it.

The things I would like to do fall into three categories, all of them activities that somehow elude a working correspondent.

First, I would like the time to study languages. I have learned, as a correspondent does, passable French and German. I have tried to learn Russian. All of my language study has been sporadic, because work schedules have never permitted concentrated effort over a sufficient period of time. I would hope that in a year off, I could acquire a basic knowledge of Russian. I would hope to find the possibility, in the same year, of bringing my French and German to a point of respectability, rather than mere usability. This study, if it gave me the ability to communicate in French, German and Russian, as well as English, would vastly improve my equipment for doing my job.

Secondly, I would like the opportunity to study the historical, political and philosophical aspects of communism. I have acquired a good deal of working knowledge of the subject, but it is in the same category as my language ability - - strictly tuned to the daily contingencies. I would like to give it an academic rounding out, by means of the reading and discussion that can be done only when they, and not a deadline, are the prime consideration.

These two lines of study, as you can see, are acquisitive, involving the absorption of knowledge and information.

The third line of interest which I would hope to explore under a Council fellowship has more the nature of expression. I would hope to have the opportunity to experiment with methods of presenting news on television. This desire is subsidiary to the first two, but would be an

important factor in my selection of a place to study. That is to say, other things being approximately equal, I would choose a university where I would have access to experimental or educational television facilities.

I have been a foreign correspondent for approximately five years, covering Western and Eastern Europe, with a couple of months in Russia. I have moved around quite a good deal, and have acquired something of a taste for European politics, not in the sense of liking it, but in the sense of being able to savour much of it with my eyes closed. Certainly, the most prominent strain is communism, and to me it is the most intriguing. I have reached the point of being able to identify it under its many forms and guises. Now, I would like to be able to further classify and define it.

I have the notion that, for all the publicity it gets, communism is widely misunderstood, that the stereotypes of communism are not all true, and that reporting of international politics often tends more to the stereotype than to the truth. I feel it is tremendously important to report communism truthfully, not only because truth is the standard of our profession, but because the national welfare may depend upon it.

This consideration, which I feel quite strongly, combines with my basic curiousity, and gives the shape I have outlined to the study program I would pursue under a Council fellowship.

I am enclosing the details of my personal background, and I believe this letter will serve as the statement of roughly 500 words which the prospectus requests. My immediate chief, William R. McAndrew, vice president in charge of News, has assured me that he will give your committee the necessary assurance of leave whenever it may be appropriate to do so.

It will take me a little time to gather together the samples of my work which also are required. If you think the committee would like to have samples of tape recordings and film on which I have worked, please let me know so that I may take the necessary steps to get them from N.B.C. library files.

Thank you for your letter of January 16, and for your offer to help me in making my application. I would appreciate your advice on further steps I should take. I have not included the names of Irv Levine and John Rich in my list of references, but it goes without saying that I would be pleased to have you check with them to any extent you may desire.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Bourgholtzer

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, Inc.

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20

William R. McAndrew
Vice President
News

April 1, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have your letter of March 17th regarding Frank Bourgholtzer's application to become a candidate for the Fellowship.

We would certainly be willing and happy to grant him the necessary leave of absence should he be fortunate enough to be appointed.

Sincerely,

William R. McAndrew

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY

(Joseph C. Harsch, Senior European Correspondent)

London Office
2 Mansfield Street, W.1

March 21, 1958

Dear Joe:

After reading your folder I am almost attempted to apply for the fellowship myself, except when I note your age qualification.

Since I am not eligible let me say of Frank Bourgholtzer that I regard him as one of the brightest and ablest of the younger members of the NBC News staff.

He has done such a good job in maturing as a news man that it almost forces me to abandon my prejudiced presumption that all real news men emerge from newspapers.

Frank emerged from radio announcing. I having come from a newspaper cling to my theory that radio announcing is a wrong avenue entrance into the news profession. But I am prepared to concede that Frank is at least the exception that proves the rule. I covered the Polish elections in Warsaw last year with Frank. We worked as a team. He did what I regarded as a really superb job.

He is young, eager, enormously hard working and thorough. I think that he has an excellent sense of proportion and perspective. I think that his capacities are great and that he would certainly profit enormously by a chance to sit back at the Council and think and study away from the daily pressure of spot news reporting.

You ask also about his state of mind and outlook. On these points I must remain silent as I simply do not know anything worth submitting. The last and only time I worked side by side with him was furing the Polish elections. He is not a close or intimate personal friend. I simply am not qualified to express an opinion on these points except to say that I know of no reason to doubt a stable state of mind and a healthy outlook. But please be guided by what other and closer associates of his have to say on these points.

I think my main reaction to his candidacy is that he is a young man who has come ahead very fast in a very short period of time, that he has great promise, and that he would substantially benefit from the fellowship.

Cordially

Joseph C. Harsch
Senior European Correspondent

National Broadcasting Company, Inc.

R C A Building, Radio City , New York 20, N.Y.

Irving R. Levine
Moscow Bureau
National Hotel
Miscow, USSR

April 27, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Joe:

I am writing to support in the most enthusiastic terms the application of Frank Bourgholtzer for the Council on Foreign Relations fellowship this year.

I have known Frank for the past six years and can testify to his ability, his competence as a foreign correspondent and his serious approach to his work. During my absence from Moscow last year he filled in for me here and in a remarkably brief time he acquired a considerable first hand knowledge of the complex Soviet situation. As you may know, Frank distinguished himself by his coverage in Hungary during the Revolution there in October 1956.

You will find Frank Bourgholtzer the sort of person who will apply himself earnestly to making the most of the Council fellowship and whose efforts during and after the academic year will reflect great credit on the Council. He is a man of sensitivity, wisdom, fine manners and intelligence.

In short, may I strongly recomment that Frank Bourgholtzer's application be given the most serious consideration, and as an "alumni" of the fellowship I would consider it a wise choice indeed if he were selected.

Sincerely,

Irving R. Levine

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

Bloomington, Indiana

Ministers

W. Douglas Rae, University Church Pastor
Charles Gordon, Minister of Education
William Webster, Minister to Students

March 20, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am writing in reference to Mr. Frank Bourgholtzer's application for the Council's resident fellowship for American foreign correspondents.

I have watched the development of Mr. Bourgholtzer with great interest beginning with his attendance at high school in New York City. Here at Indiana University I had many informal conversations with him as well as numerous personal counselling opportunities. Since his graduation my opportunities for visiting have been greatly limited but I have been in correspondence with him and have watched his progress with the National Broadcasting Corporation.

I am sure there are many others making application for this particular fellowship with equally fine records of achievement. I think Mr. Bourgholtzer deserves serious consideration with these others because of the evidence I have seen over a twenty-seven year period of his ability to maintain a growing mental edge. It appears to me that now in his late thirties he has an unusual freedom from the stereotypes which are often characteristic of so many of us. When I see him now and remember his childhood and high school days, I see the same intellectual curiousity plus a man equipped with a fine set of tools for his job as a correspondent. This, I believe, is the kind of man who will profit greatly from such a year of study.

Sincerely yours,

W. Douglas Rae.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 19, 1958

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have your letter of March seventeenth, and I am delighted to know that Frank Bourgholtzer, Vienna correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company, has given my name as reference in making application for the Council's residence fellowship for American foreign correspondents.

I do not know of any foreign correspondent whom I would recommend more highly than Frank. I have worked with him professionally, and have known him personally as a friend for more than ten years.

His reporting is the kind of reporting that I have always admired. He reports the news as it occurs, factually and accurately; he does not go in for reporting what he thinks occurred or what might have occurred.

As a friend, I have also known Frank personally and think that he would be a very worthwhile recipient for one of your fellowships. I am only too happy to recommend him highly.

Sincerely,

James C. Hagerty
Press Secretary
to the President

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Independence, Missouri

May 7, 1958

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am very pleased, indeed, to recommend to you Mr. Frank Bourgholtzer of NBC News in Vienna.

Frank is an inspired and able foreign correspondent, and there is no doubt in my mind that, having had the benefit of a Council on Foreign Relations fellowship, he would be a great credit to your organization.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Truman

Mr. Joseph Barber
58 East 68th Street
Council on Foreign Relations
New York 21, N.Y.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

235 East 45th Street
New York 17, N.Y.

May 10, 1958

Dear Mr. Barber:

Frank Bourgholtzer, and applicant for the Council's resident fellowship, is to my mind one of the finest reporters on either side of the Atlantic. Anything that could be done to expand his sphere of knowledge and activity would be to the benefit of the public in general. I last saw Frank the day -- last November -- the Hearst Task Force reached Vienna after the Khrushchev and Malinovsky interviews. His questioning of Frank Conniff and me, for NBC, made a deep impression on both of us.

Sincerely -

Bob Considine

Dan Kurzman

Name	Dan Kurzman
Permanent Address	14-Hiroo-Cho, Azabu, Minato-Ku, Tokyo, Japan
Birth	March 27, 1922
Nationality	U.S.
Education	B.A., University of California, at Berkeley 1940-43 - 1946 - Political Science Major, History Minor. University of Pittsburgh, Army Specialized Training Program, 1943-44. Russian language and area -- Diploma. Diploma in French Civilization, 1946-47, Sorbonne, Paris.
Employment	Correspondent, Paris Bureau of International News Service, 1947-48 Feature Editor, Information Division, ECA Mission to France, 1948-49. Middle East correspondent for National Broadcasting Company, 1950-52. Free Lance Radio and TV commentator, Magazine and Newspaper writer, 1953-54
Present Employment	Far East Bureau Chief, McGraw-Hill World News, 1952-
War Service	Army specialized training program in Russian language and area; Infantry in France, Germany (Purple Heart). Edited company news sheet during rest periods - 1943-45.
Publications	Nation's Business, Think, Toronto Star Weekly, Wall Street Journal, Business Week, Aviation Week, The Reporter.

Dan Kurzman

My experience as a foreign correspondent began when I joined the Paris bureau of International News Service in 1947 after receiving a diploma in "French Civilization" at the Sorbonne. Though this was my first professional journalistic job, I found my self covering from the start such important stories as the Marshall Plan and the post-war political rise of General DeGaulle.

A year later, I switched to a job as Feature Editor in the Information Division of the ECA mission to France, which required me to travel around France with a photographer writing features on how Marshall Plan aid was helping the French people. This position gave me a unique opportunity to observe and study France and its problems from the grass roots up.

In 1950, I headed for the Middle East as a correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company. I delivered broadcasts from Israel for more than a year, then visited the Moslem states. Among the stories I covered was the assassination of Jordan's King Abdullah, the "Black Saturday" Cairo riots, the oil conflict in Iran, and the nationalist uprising in Tunisia. This experience covering the labor pains of infant nationalism in the Middle East and North Africa helped give me an invaluable insight into the thinking of this little understood region.

In 1952, I embarked on a year-long global free-lance trip, bouncing in native buses from Morocco through Afghanistan, in trains throughout the Indian continent and from Singapore to Saigon, finally ending up in Japan. While on this tour, I made broadcasts for NBC and contributed articles to the Reporter, Toronto Star Weekly, London Daily Express, and other publications. In travelling overland from village to village the lenght of the Afro-Asian world, I further enhanced my understanding of the root problems of this vast area in ferment.

Returning to the U.S. in 1953, I made a several months' lecture tour of universities, Foreign Affairs Councils, and clubs throughtout the country. I also continued my free-lance reporting -- broadcasting for NBC (Ray Henle's "Three-Star Extra") and contributing interpretative pieces on foreign affairs to such publications as the Toronto Star Weekly, Wall Street Journal (editorial page), Nation's Business, Think, and Commonweal.

I accepted the job of Far East Bureau Chief for McGraw-Hill World News in 1954, grateful for this chance to extend my knowledge of a region which intensely interested me. Thus, for the last two years I have been headquartered in Tokyo and have revisited the countries of Free Asia many times.

I have not, of course, had the opportunity to enter Communist China, though I was among the original group of American correspondents invited to tour that country. In the belief that too few Americans know too little about this vital segment of Asia, I intend to center my research around Red China if I win a fellowship.

Dan Kurzman

I have had the opportunity to study various aspects of Peking policy from boundary vanatage points. But to evaluate the information I have thus acquired in proper perspective, I feel I should have a deeper academic knowledge of China. Such knowledge would, of course, be of particular value should I eventually get State Department permission to visit the country. I am especially interested in background material that would help me interpret with greater authority present and future Chinese policies as they affect the Free Asian nations.

With this interest in view, my study program would be geared to clarify the following facets of Communist China's emergence as a world power:

* The nation's historical ties with the Free Asian countries, in political and economic terms.

* The roots of Chinese communism: the factors that brought it to power.

* The pattern of economic development in China since the revolution.

* The pattern of political evolution in the same period.

* The effect of these development patterns on China's relations with the Soviet Union.

To investigate these questions, I would enroll in appropriate courses in Chinese history, political science, and economics, supplementing this with study of the latest books and publications bearing on present-day China.

######

Dan Kurzman

McGraw-Hill World News

May 15, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I would like to reapply for a Council Fellowship this year. My desire to engage in academic research for several months is still as strong as ever, and I am convinced that such study would be of great benefit to me.

I will stand on the project of China, which I proposed to the Council last year. Too few people have an adequate understanding of China today. As a foreign correspondent, I would like to equip myself to help improve this situation.

In the year since I last applied for a Fellowship, I have continued in the capacity of McGraw-Hill Tokyo Bureau Chief. At present, I am on home leave and am doing some lecturing.

Very truly yours,

Dan Kurzman

Dan Kurzman

McGRAW-HILL WORLD NEWS
330 West 42nd Street, New York 36, N.Y.

19 May 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Chairman of the Committees
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am informed that Dan Kurzman, who, as you know, has been chief of our Tokyo News Bureau for three years, and is currently in the United States on regular "home leave", has again applied for a Council on Foreign Relations Fellowship this year.

As I wrote you last year, Mr. Kurzman is an outstanding foreign correspondent, and has certainly served McGraw-Hill well in covering the Far East for us.

We thing the Council on Foreign Relations could make no finer selection that Mr. Kurzman, and naturally winning such a Fellowship would in no means change his status with McGraw-Hill, nor would it interfere with our plans for him in the future. In past year, another McGraw-Hill correspondent, A.W. Jessup, won the award, and the Company, indeed, was happy to take him back at the end of the Fellowship.

Very truly yours,

John Wilhelm, Editor
McGraw-Hill World News

Dan Kurzman

THREE-STAR EXTRA

Ray Henle
Editor in Chief

Commonwealth Building
Washington 6, D.C.

May 23, 1957

Mr. Melvin Conant
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Conant:

You phoned to ask about Dan Kurzman.

Dan once did some broadcasting for us, and would be doing work for us now except for the fact that he must not do any broadcasting while employed by McGraw-Hill.

We had a pleasant association; we found Dan earnest and eager; his work uniformly was of high caliber; he was always pleasant and gentlemanly.

It is a pleasure to recommend him without reservation.

Sincerely yours,

Ray Henle

Dan Kurzman

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tokyo Bureau
Asahi Shimbun Bldg.

Mr. Melvin Conant
Council on ForeignRelations
New York 21, N.Y.

24 May 1957

Dear Mr. Conant:

I am glad to recommend Dan Kurzman for the Council Fellowship. I believe he will make the most of the opportunity, if he is chosen, and will also make a contribution of his own to your gatherings in New York. Also, I understand that these awards are intended to go to men who will remain in foreign correspondence, and I believe that this is Dan's intention.

If we judge a foreign correspondent by what he writes, Dan is pretty sound. He sometimes, at press conferences, tends to ask more than his share of the questions, but I don't know whether that is good or bad. I do know that he cultivates his news sources with great assiduousness, and I think it pays off for him. I also know that he works extremely hard, and usually gets all there is to know about a story. He has, as you are aware, and extraordinarily wide background of travel and contacts. He has met many important personages.

All intensive course of study over an academic year would be likely, in my view, to give Dan a fill-in on his background that should have a salutary effect on his future work as a foreign correspondent. In this, the aim of the Fellowship would be accomplished.

I hope this brief estimate will be of aid.

Sincerely,

Robert Trumbull
Chief of Bureau

Whitman Bassow

Date of birth: Jan. 7, 1921
Place of birth: New York, N.Y.

Education:

City College of New York, 1937-41

B.S. in Social Science.
History major, English and Art minor.

Columbia University, 1946-48

M.A. in Political Science.
Major field: Public law and government with concentration in Russian studies. Majority of credits taken at Russian Institute. One year of Russian language.

Thesis: "The Coverage of American Domestic News in Izvestia."

University of Paris, 1948-53.

Doctorat d'Universite (Sorbonne).

Dissertation: "A History of the Pre-Revolutionary Pravda."

War Service, Publications and Awards:

U.S. AIR FORCE, 1942-45, Radio operator, Night-fighter squadron and direction finding stations. Overseas 2½ years: England, North Africa, Italy.

"Coverage of American Domestic News in Izvestia," Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1948.

"The Pre-Revolutionary Pravda and the Tsarist Censorship," American Slavic and East European Review, Vol. XIII, 1954.

Fulbright scholarship for study in France, 1949.

Whitman Bassow

Languages: Russian, French - Read and speak fluently.
German, Italian - Read and speak fair.

Previous Employment: Instructor in Political Science.
Hunter College, New Hork, 1946-48.
Part-time, while studying at Columbia.
Taught American and Comparative Government (Russia, Germany and Italy).

Economic Cooperation Administration, Paris, 1948-52. Part-time job as Soviet press analyst. Prepared weekly reports on what the Soviet press was publishing on the Marshall Plan and west European labor movement.

Present Employment: Staff correspondent, United Press, Moscow bureau. From December, 1955.

As staffer, cover all newsworthy events of general interest and special requests from clients all over the world. Read 20-odd Russian papers, magazines daily, take pictures for UP Newspictures, films for UP Television.

Prior to Moscow assignment, worked in UP Boston, UP Cables in New York, beginning July, 1954.

Present salary: $12,000 including income from UP Television.
Basic UP: 9,100
UP-TV: 3,000 (payment for used footage)
1957 total.

WHITMAN BASSOW

My experience as a foreign correspondent has been limited to the Soviet Union, which can hardly be considered typical. A small bureau in a large and important country must produce more, and more varied copy than anywhere else.

Since I arrived here in December, 1955, I have covered the most diverse events, practically everything except earthquakes and fires. This includes the top political stories such as the 20th Party Congress, the Tito and Millet visits, Bulganin's departure from the government. Then the vast gamut of news and features ranging from Isaac Stern's triumphant recital at the Moscow Conservatory to coverage of the first Soveit-American ice hockey match in Moscow, from the Mike Todd and Bob Hope invasions to Botvinnik-Smyslov and their eternal chess games.

In addition, I have been able to write a large number of features on thenumerous facets of Soviet life which illustrate how the Russians live, what they think, their relations with each other, their problems, etc.

All this in fulfillment of what I consider the principal task of a correspondent in the Soviet Union: to cover the spot news, to report not only what happens but also what it means, to present the reader with a detailed and comprehensible picture of this country and its people.

In addition to reportorial duties, I also took photographs and movies for the United Press.

In the Soviet Union, the main sources of news and information are offical sources: TASS, the press, press conferences. This is supplemented and sometimes even supplanted, by information obtained from a large number of Russian friends and acquaintances. It is from these people that I learn about actual living conditions, what youngsters want out of life, the problem of finding decent clothes for children, the everyday, down-to-earth realities of Soviet existence that you can only learn from the people who have to cope with it.

Previous study of Russian language and Soviet affairs were invaluable preparation for the Moscow assignment. It is impossible to do more than a superficial job here without a reading and speaking knowledge of the language. Familiarity with Russian history, Soviet institutions and ideology and equally indispensable.

Living and working in the Soviet Union has been a unique and valuable experience. I have seen how this system works from the inside, tasted it and smelled it. I've been exposed to its bureaucracy, its red tape, have talked with its ideologists, its supporters and opponents and

have known the indifferent ones whose only interest in life is pursuit of the almighty ruble.

I've seen how brave and independent-minded individuals retain their dignity and souls in a wilderness of conformity and acceptance: the artist who refuses to paint "socialist realism" although this means starvation for himself and his wife, the young pharmacy student who stoutly defends abstract art because he believes an artist should paint whatever he wants, the taxi driver who never reads Pravda because it's filled with "nonsense."

I've witnessed the cruel and merciless struggle for power among the mighty, where defeat means degradation, obscurity and possibly "liquidation."

Moscow is the fountainhead of a dynamic communist movement that has already seized power in many parts of the world. A firsthand knowledge of the Soviet system is indispensible for understanding and evaluating what is happening inside the communist orbit.

In China, Russia's most important partner, the Communist Party controls the destiny of almost 600,000,000 people. The paramount influence here is Soviet: ideological, political and economic. It seems to me that a China assignment is the next logical step for one who has a Moscow stint behind him. A newsman with a Moscow background would already be familiar with the mechanics and the jargon of the model and could discern similarities and differences between the Russian and Chinese approach. He would be capable of detecting ideological frictions that might be a key to serious political differences.

If I win the fellowship, I would like to utilize my Moscow experience as preparation for an assignment to China. I know that such an assignment is not likely in the near future because of the political problems involved but I think that American newsmen will get to Peking sooner or later.

I would like to take some language training, courses in Chinese history and politics, Sino-Soviet relations and do some reading in the field.

The fellowship would also give me time to digest my Soviet experience, put it into perspective, something impossible to do on a job where there's a deadline every minute.

UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS

News Building
New York

Earl J. Johnson
Vice President
General News Manager

April 17, 1958

Dear Mr. Barber:

This is to confirm that we are willing to grant a leave of absence to Whitman Bassow of our Moscow staff in the event that he should be awarded a fellowship by the Council on Foreign Relations.

Sincerely yours,

Earl J. Johnson

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, New York

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA, INC.

35 East 39 Street, New York 16, New York

May 12, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have known Whitman Bassow for a considerable period. I am familiar both with his work as a scholar and newspaperman. I can heartily recommend him for the Council on Foreign Relations Fellowship for an American foreign correspondent. I would particularly stress in this that Mr. Bassow has the academic training and background which would permit him to make particularly fruitful use of this fellowship. In addition he now has an extensive first hand acquaintance with the Soviet Union derived from his years there as an UP correspondent.

I first came in contact with Mr. Bassow some five years ago when he was seeking an opportunity to go to the Soviet Union as a foreign correspondent -- despite the fact that at the time he had not had extensive experience in journalism. I have known of many students of soviet affairs who have had this idea but none except Bassow who had the persistence to realize it. He went to work for the UP to learn the news trade, stuck at the assignment the UP gave him in Boston as an ordinary junior newsman, then worked steadily at the UP foreign desk in New York. He took journalism seriously as he had taken scholarly work and finally the UP did send him to Moscow. He has done an excellent job of news coverage in Moscow for the UP. I think this demonstrates great perseverance in the face of no few difficulties and obstacles.

I believe that Mr. Bassow has a great future as a journalist and a scholar, and may I say that at the present time there are all too few people who combine these two fields.

I hope these comments will help you in making your choice.

Sincerely,

Thomas P. Whitney
President

Jeremy Main

1. PERSONAL Born in Buenos Aires, May 26, 1929.

(Foster Jeremy Main
International News Service
9/10 Savignyplatz
Berlin - Charlottenburg 2
Germany

Naturalized U.S. citizen at Lebanon, Pa., (formerly British citizen)
April 28, 1952.

2. EDUCATION

1. Secondary school
   - Trinity College School, Port Hope, Ont., Canada

2. University
   - Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
     Graduated June, 1950, magna cum laude in Politics.
     Senior thesis topic: "Coverage of the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia by the New York Press."
     President of University Press Club during senior year.

3. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

1. International News Service, Washington, D.C. (1950-51).
   - For ten months was reporter assigned to cover Latin American news, primarily for INS Latin America, working pretty much on own responsibility. Employer was Mr. Wm. K. Hutchinson, Bureau Chief, International News Service, Suite 348, Pennsylvania Building, Washington 4, D.C.

2. U.S. Army (1951-53).

3. International News Service (1953-56)
   - After returning briefly to Washington, was appointed INS bureau chief in Mexico City and, after six months there, bureau chief in Madrid, where remained for three years.
   - Positions in Mexico and Madrid consisted principally of reporting and writing the news, but also involved supervising other correspondents, handling incoming wire, some responsibility in sales and photo work, and general administration.
   - I was appointed to both positions by Mr. Barry Faris, Editor-in-Chief, International News Service, New York.

Jeremy Main

4. PRESENT EMPLOYMENT

Bureau Chief, International News Service and International News Photos, Berlin, since January 1957.
- duties similar to those in Mexico and Madrid
- reporting involves some news originating from Berlin itself and its four-power status, but principally concerned with Eastern Europe, mainly East Germany
- salary, $120 weekly
- supervisor is Mr. John Martin, Foreign Editor, International News Service, New York.

5. SERVICE

Drafted into the Army in 1951, served as enlisted man in U.S., Japan, Korea, honorably discharged in 1953.

6. REFERENCES

Mr. Kingsbury Smith
General Manager
International News Service
New York, N.Y.

Mr. John Martin
Foreign Editor
INS, New York

Hon. John Davis Lodge
United States Ambassador
U.S. Embassy
Madrid, Spain

Mr. John Rich
National Broadcasting Company
Berlin, Germany

Mr. Barry Faris
Editor-in-Chief
INS, New York

Jeremy Main

I first did newspaper work while an undergraduate at Princeton University, where I was for three years a "stringer" for a number of news outlets. In this period, I came to really love newspaperwork for itself and to have the ambition of being a foreign reporter. This was a fairly logical ambition, since I spoke fluent Spanish and had spent a good deal of my youth traveling with my parents. I decided to join a news agency because, being relatively small, it offered more responsibility to junior members.

When I graduated from Princeton University in June 1950, I was employed by the Washington bureau of INS to cover Latin American news, principally for our Latin American service. After ten months of this, there followed a two year interruption in the Army, the latter part of which was most fruitful from the professional point of view as I was on the staff of the Pacific Stars and Stripes in Tokyo, serving first on the copy desk, editing copy, writing headlines and doing make-up, and then spending a final period as a correspondent in Korea.

I returned briefly to my beat in Washington and then was appointed bureau manager for INS in Mexico City, where I spent six months. I had the same position for three years in Madrid. During this "Spanish period in Washington, Mexico City and Madrid I had a fine opportunity to develop my professional abilities without too much pressure or competition. But for a reporter who wanted really active assignments these posts were rather quiet. I wanted to report events closer to the main stream of world affairs.

My impending frustration was broken by the Hungarian revolution, when I was placed temporarily in charge of our bureau in Vienna. When the volume of news from Hungary diminished, I was appointed bureau manager in Berlin, where I have been now for 16 months.

In Vienna and Berlin I have observed for the first time one of the two major stories in the world, which is developments in communism and the Soviet bloc. (I think the other story is the emergence of Asia.) Despite my studies of international affairs and history in college, fairly extensive reading since then, and what information I have acquired as a reporter, I feel that my knowledge of communism and the countries where it is in power, is inadequate. I have the ability to spot a story in a popular vein and to see overt news. I try to go a good deal deeper. But I feel I lack the fundamental knowledge which is needed to form independent judgments and to observe with perceptiveness and originality the Communist bloc.

Jeremy Main

My program of study would be based on the facts that my career is foreign correspondence and that I want to report on the main stream of world events. Inevitably, I will return time and again to two major fields: the Communist bloc and Asia. Granted that the needs of a newspaperman are considerably different to those of a scholar, I feel I could make general studies of both these areas in one year. Perhaps that is too much to expect, but compared to the skimming of fundamentals, if even that, that a working correspondent can find time to do, a year's uninterrupted study of these subjects would be a really extraordinary opportunity. I would concentrate on history rather than current affairs. As an example, I might take modern histories of Russia, China, Japan, India and the Communist party. I would also like to study something of the philosophies and ideologies of these areas. Basically, I would like to study the long-term, significant events in these areas without having to discard hurriedly any information which does not contribute to the story at hand.

Jeremy Main
Berlin
May 3, 1958

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

General Offices

235 East 45th Street, New York City

Office of
the Editor-in-Chief
(Barry Faris)

May 7, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

Replying to your letter of May 6th concerning Mr. Jeremy Main, Berlin correspondent of International News Service. I am happy to advise you that I hold a very high regard for Mr. Main's capabilities, and I think he would make an excellent selection for the fellowship awarded to an American foreign correspondent.

Mr. Main has been with International News Service for a great many years joining us upon his graduation from Princeton University. After gaining experience in Washington, Mr. Main was sent to Mexico City, and later to Madrid before going to Germany on his present assignment.

I understand that Mr. Main is most anxious to follow a program of study concerning Communism and the Soviet bloc and also the emergence of Asia into the world picture.

He will, of course, be given the leave of absence required if he is selected for the fellowship.

Sincerely yours,

Barry Faris
Associate General Manager &
Editor-in-Chief

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

General Offices

235 East 45th Street, New York City

Office of General Manager
(Kingsbury Smith)

May 6, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber

I am taking the liberty in writing this letter in connection with the application which I understand has been made by Mr. Jeremy Main for the Foreign Relations Fellowship.

Mr. Main, who has been with this organization, is well qualifies to fulfill the objectives of the Fellowship grant. Nearly all of his time with this organization has been devoted to writing and reporting international affairs. He started working for us in Washington and in 1953 was assigned as manager of our Mexico City bureau. In 1954 he was transferred to Europe and became manager of the Madrid Bureau. After three years in Spain, he was transferred to our Vienna bureau and later assigend as manager of the Berlin bureau, where he is at present. He is thouroughly familiar with news agency work and I am sure that you would find him a conscientious student. His record with this organization shows him to be a man of good character, high integrity and worthy of a Fellowship such as the Foreign Relations Fellowship.

Sincerely yours,

Kingsbury Smith

Jeremy Main

American Embassy
Madrid, Spain

May 19, 1958

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am very happy to comply with your request for my comments on the qualifications of Mr. Jeremy Main, International News Service correspondent, who is seeking a resident fellowship from the Council on Foreign Relations.

I knew Mr. Main quite well for two years in Spain prior to his transfer as INS correspondent to Berlin. He is, first of all, a young American whom we can be proud to have as a representative abroad. He is cultivated and charming and is, I am told, an excellent linguist. Mr. Main was graduated from Princeton and his newspaper career in INS, interrupted by a two-year stint in the Army, has included assignments in Mexico City and Washington as well as in Spain and Germany. I recall also that just prior to his transfer to Berlin he was on duty in Vienna and distinguished himself in covering the Hungarian revolution. All of us in the Embassy who had frequent professional and social contacts with him were sorry to see him leave this country. He is an accurate observer and a good reporter with a serious, broad view of what he sees. Certainly in his various assignments in Europe he has had an opportunity to observe the changing pictures, especially in the light of Communist maneuvering.

I am glad to give you these comments on Mr. Main's capabilities. In reply to your request I am glad to say also that I think Mr. Main would profit greatly from the opportunity for serious study offered by the Council on Foreign Relations. The result would, in my opinion, be beneficial not only to him but to those readers who will be following his reports in the years to come.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Davis Lodge
Ambassador

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

235 East 45th Street

New York 17, N.Y.

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I appreciate the chance to recommend our Berlin correspondent, Jeremy Main, in his application for the Council's resident fellowship.

I've known Jerry Main for about five years. He's one of our better men in the foreign field, having served in Washington, Mexico City, Madrid, and briefly in Vienna before his assignment to Berlin.

His reporting for us has been excellent, showing good judgment, balance, and initiative. He is sober and industrious.

If he is so fortunate as to obtain a fellowship I believe it would be mutually beneficial.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Martin
Foreign Director

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

John Rich
NBC Correspondent - Germany

May 14, 1958

Fellowship Committee
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

This is a letter in support of the application of Jeremy Main for a Council Fellowship this current year.

I've known Jerry for almost a year now, ever since I came to Berlin. We've worked together on stories so I've become familiar with him professionally. I also know him and his wife Pat socially.

I think Jerry is an ideal candidate for a Fellowship. In fact, it was I who brought it to his attention.

Jerry is the type of fellow who will get the utmost from a year at the Council. I speak from my own background as a former fellow. He's a good reporter and a very pleasant fellow to be with. He is intelligent and thoughtful, and, I feel sure would profit greatly from a chance to study for a year.

For one thing, he's been out of the country for many years and needs to get back in touch with things in the States, I'm sure that after the year he plans to go back to foreign reporting as a career.

I have not the slightest hesitation in recommending him highly.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Rich, Jr.

Council

June 15, 1959

Dear Joe:

I have your letter of June 1st concerning the candidates for fellowships at the Council.

I have not had an opportunity to work with any of the young men you name, but some of my colleagues have, and, based on what they have to tell me, I would recommend placing them in the following order:

(1) Murray Fromson

(2) Kennett Love

(3) John Richard Starkey

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68 Street
New York 21, New York

mcc

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

6/5/59

Ed

1 Fromson
2 Love
3 Starkey

June 1, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

You will recall that in years past you have helped us to select American foreign correspondents for fellowships here at the Council. I turn to you now as a member of our Advisory Committee on Fellowships and ask that you review the qualifications of applicants for the press Fellowship for the period September 15, 1959 -- June 15, 1960.

This year there are three men whom we wish to call to your attention and their papers are enclosed. The men are:

Kennett Love -- London Bureau, New York Times
Murray Fromson -- Los Angeles Bureau
Associated Press
John Richard Starkey -- New York Herald Tribune
European Edition, Paris

I am also enclosing a pamphlet describing the objectives and requirements of the Fellowship program. We have here in the office samples of each applicant's dispatches.

After you have considered the applications, will you please let me have your comments about the men, rating them in order of preference for appointment.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

Jessie Jasmer
Wouldst have a look?
thanks!
EM

THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

at this Christmas Season

cordially invites

Council members and their wives

for tea and cocktails

The Harold Pratt House

58 East Sixty-eighth Street

Monday, December Nineteenth

5.00 to 7.00 P.M.

R.S.V.P.
LEhigh 5-3300
Meetings Office

Council on For. Rel.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

September 12, 1958

Dear ~~Mr. Murrow~~ Ed.:

Council meetings are by definition private and off-the-record. By accepting membership in the Council, members, of course, accept the obligation to abide by its rules. The integrity of the Council's program, its usefulness as an organization for profitable discussion and study, depends on the observance of this policy. The purpose of this letter is to remind you of the Council's policy, and to ask your fullest assistance in maintaining it.

To add to the assurance of our speakers that they are indeed speaking off-the-record, and to give our members a further sense of security in asking questions freely, and making comments themselves, we are instituting a new system of checks for meetings. The names of those attending will be checked at the door against the list of acceptances. We regret the slight inconvenience that this may cause, but feel that the added security for both speakers and members will be ample compensation.

Sincerely yours,

WHMallory

Walter H. Mallory
Executive Director

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

June 16, 1958

File

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am writing you as Chairman of the Council's Membership Committee.

As you may know, the Board of Directors has set a ceiling of 700 on the Council's resident membership. We believe that this ceiling is necessary if the Council is to serve the present members properly. Unfortunately, however, this means that the membership situation is exceedingly tight. For example, at a recent meeting of the Committee, there were only 5 vacancies in the resident category and there were 55 names to consider, excluding in this count a very large backlog.

The Council's by-laws provide that membership be "by invitation of the Board of Directors." Selection is intended to be made on the basis of the usefulness of the candidate to the particular purposes of the Council rather than on his other qualifications. In this respect the Council differs from a club or other social organization.

Past experience indicates that there will be approximately 30 resident vacancies to be filled each year -- a very small number in relation to the number of nominees. It is proposed, therefore, that members be as selective as possible in suggesting candidates and not write letters for candidates they do not know very well. Candidates must have a real interest in international affairs and an ability to contribute substantially to the Council's discussions and other work. Furthermore, in writing both proposing and seconding letters, which should be detailed, candor about a candidate's qualifications will be particularly appreciated and will greatly aid the Committee in making its difficult choices. In future the four additional endorsing letters by members, formerly required, will not be necessary. In lieu of endorsing letters, however, the proposer in his letter is asked to list those Council members known to the candidate. This less formal procedure will, I hope, save embarrassment both to members and to our Committee. I am enclosing a small leaflet giving the new procedure for admission to Council membership, as well as the criteria.

The pressure is not as great in the non-resident category. In fact, there are still some vacancies for men living and having their place of business 50 miles or more from New York. Nevertheless, the Committee is concerned that the quality of the non-resident list be kept at the same high standard as the resident.

I shall much appreciate your help and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur H Dean

Arthur H. Dean
Chairman, Membership Committee

Council on Foreign Relations

Procedure for Admission to Membership

One of the principal assets of the Council on Foreign Relations is the quality of its membership. Not only do members participate in Council meetings, in its discussion groups, and in its study projects; they are also the authors of most of its books and of many of the articles in *Foreign Affairs*. The outstanding quality of the members and their able and vigorous support are responsible for the Council's effectiveness and standing.

Number of Members

In order to maintain this quality and not overtax the Council's facilities, the Board has limited the number of resident members to 700 and non-resident members to 700. Because the number of resident can-

didates is always much greater than the number of vacancies, the Committee on Membership hopes that members of the Council will recommend only men whom they believe to be *especially qualified.*

Criteria for Membership

In considering a candidate, the Committee on Membership and the Board of Directors give particular attention to the following qualifications:

1. Experience abroad or in dealing with questions of foreign policy.
2. Native ability.
3. Ability to contribute to discussion.
4. A business, professional, or official position having to do with international problems.
5. Interest in foreign affairs.

Procedure for Election of Members

Membership in the Council is restricted to American citizens and is by invitation of the Board of Directors, following recommendation by the Committee on Membership. The Board has adopted the following procedure for election to membership:

1. A candidate, to be considered for resident or non-resident membership, should have a proposer and a seconder, who are members of the Council, and should, if the Committee on Membership requests it, be introduced to one of its members.
2. The proposer, in addition to outlining the qualifications of the candidate, shall supply the Committee with a list of Council members known to the candidate.
3. All letters pertaining to membership should be addressed directly to Miss

Lorna Brennan, who is Secretary of the Committee on Membership.

In proposing a candidate, as much information as possible about his background and knowledge of foreign affairs should be supplied. Also, please include the candidate's age and, if foreign born, the date of his naturalization. The members of the Membership Committee are as follows: Messrs. Arthur H. Dean (Chairman), Frank Altschul, August Heckscher, Pendleton Herring, Devereux C. Josephs, Oscar M. Ruebhausen, Whitney H. Shepardson, and Charles M. Spofford.

June 1958

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

October 2, 1957

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

In case you did not see it, I am sure you will be interested in the enclosed editorial which appeared recently in the New York Times. It is a nice tribute to the Council and a recognition of the quality and influence of "Foreign Affairs" in which we all take pride.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Mallory

Walter H. Mallory
Executive Director

The New York Times
September 19, 1957

"FOREIGN AFFAIRS"

In an age and a society that so frequently measure value in terms of quantity alone, it is pleasant to be able to point to a publication distinguished not for size but for quality, not for popular appeal but for rigidly high standards, not for circulation but for influence—all achieved without benefit of fanfare or self-advertising. The plain blue-gray covers of that publication are recognized throughout the world as containing authoritative articles on every aspect of international relations, contributed by leading statesmen, politicians, thinkers and writers from the four corners of the globe.

From this description it is clear that we are talking about the quarterly "Foreign Affairs," which with its current issue is celebrating the thirty-fifth anniversary of its founding. For all thirty-five of those years Hamilton Fish Armstrong has been connected with the magazine, first as managing editor and then for nearly three decades as editor. He can look on his work with deep satisfaction; and the Council on Foreign Relations, publisher of "Foreign Affairs," can take well-justified pride in this constantly recurring contribution to American scholarship.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

June 24, 1957

Dear Mr. Murrow,

After careful review, the Council's Committee on the Fellowship for an American Foreign Correspondent voted to make the award to John M. Hlavacek whom, we had been informed, was your choice after Mr. Pastore. I would like to have discussed the matter further with you but the closing date was on us. We look forward to having him here. As you well know, we appreciate your suggestions and interest greatly.

Sincerely yours,

Melvin Conant
Acting Director
Committees on Foreign Relations

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Ststem, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Mrs. Crissan June 6,

Done yesterday

Mr. Conant from Council on Foreign Relations called and said that since you could not attend the meeting on June 6th would you please look over these applications and pick one, and then pick another one for second choice in the event of a tie.

Jerri —
Couldn't give a hoot?

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Council on Foreign Relations

June 3, 1957

Called Regrets 6/4/57

No.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I am enclosing with this letter digests of the three applications for the Council's annual foreign correspondent fellowship. Since you are a member of the Council's selection committee, I have ascertained earlier if you would find it convenient to meet at the Century at 12:30 this Thursday and it is my understanding you will be able to do so.

In the next few days I expect to receive further information on these applicants and this additional information will be brought to the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Melvin Conant
Acting Secretary,
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Have called Conant, F.C.

NAME: Arthur Ralph Pastore

Permanent Address: 4 Bis Rue de la Grande Chaumiere, Paris, France

Birth: April 22, 1922, New York City

Nationality: U.S.A.

Education: Polytechnic Preparatory Country Day School - 1940; Union College, Schenectady, N.Y. - 1940-41; Yale University, B.A., 1946, honors in English; Columbia University, M.A. 1948 - Journalism; Sorbonne, Paris, Candidate for Doctorate in Literature - 1950-51; also courses at University of Geneva, Switzerland (international relations) - 1951; University of Vienna, 1951-52.

Employment: Feature writer, Fairchild Publications; Foreign Correspondent, Far East and South America, Fairchild Publications; writer-editor, U.S. Department of State, on staff of U.S. High Commissioner's staff, U.S. Embassy, Vienna, Austria - 1951-52; Editorial Department of weekly newspaper of International Business Machines; editor for Radio Free Europe, N.Y.C.; correspondent for International News Service, Paris, France, North American Newspaper Alliance, Universal Trade Press Syndicate.

Present Employment: Free Lance Correspondent.

War Service: U.S. Army Medical Department and Transportation Corps attached to Infantry - 1943-46.

Publications: Newspapers: N.Y. Times; N.Y. Herald Tribune; Christian Science Monitor; Le Monde(Paris); Toronto Star (Canada). Magazines: This Week; UNESCO World Features; Travel Magazine; Popular Mechanics; Nation's Business. Syndicates: North American Newspaper Alliance; McGraw-Hill World News. Books: Co-Author - "Where to Eat in Europe" (Crowell and Company, 1954); Author - "Mexico and Cuba on Your Own" (Garden City Press, 1954); Author - "Fodor's Guide to Ireland" (1955); Author - "Herald Tribune's Guide to France, Italy and Spain" (1957).

References: Harry Heintzen, 302 West 79th Street, New York City
Benjamin Bradlee, European correspondent, Newsweek, Paris
George Williamson, Paris Bureau, Wall Street Journal
Edward Miles Ford, Paris Bureau, International News Service.
Robert Sage, Travel Editor, New York Herald Tribune European Edition, Paris.

STATEMENT OF APPLICATION

Arthur Ralph Pastore

While living and traveling abroad for various periods during the past eight years, mainly in Europe, but also around the world, to Africa, the Near and Far East and to South America, I have reported in many fields of writing, specializing in travel, business and economic and science articles.

I have filed a number of bylined, freelance stories to the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, TORONTO STAR (Canada), THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, UNESCO WORLD FEATURES, McGRAW-HILL WORLD NEWS, TRAVEL MAGAZINE, POPULAR MECHANICS MAGAZINE, THIS WEEK MAGAZINE, NORTH AMERICAN NEWSPAPER ALLIANCE, THE VOICE OF AMERICA (international radio programs beamed to Latin America), NATION'S BUSINESS MAGAZINE, LE MONDE (Paris) and other publications.

Also, for a year, I was on the staff of NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE, attached to the European Edition in Paris. And, I have worked for the Paris Bureau of INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE.

In addition, I have been employed in the Eastern European Section of RADIO FREE EUROPE, and for the U.S. State Department Foreign Service as an Editor-Writer attached to the Office of the Ambassador, American Embassy, Vienna, Austria. My knowledge of French, German and Italian, largely acquired by study in European universities, qualified me for both of these posts.

This opportunity to observe first-hand conditions in foreign countries and recent developments in the world of international affairs has opened my eyes to the growing importance of other nations whose voice is being heard in today's world.

Sociological and political problems of peoples have always been of prime interest to me, ever since I minored in Sociology at Yale University, and continued my studies abroad in foreign languages and at the School of International Affairs, University of Geneva, Switzerland.

Now, I feel, I would like to move away from the confining limitations of the narrow frame of travel writing, and the broad point of view of general reporting, to delve much deeper into international problems and concentrate on political subjects.

In order to have a sharper focus on significant events, I would like to return to the United States at the present moment for a re-orientation period to survey America's prime objectives in

the world of international affairs. I would like to study more of the background of vital sections of the world I have seen, such as Southeast Asia, or the countries of Africa, places where the political problems of tomorrow can only increase in time.

I would prefer to choose an area where my French proficiency and knowledge of Italian and German, might serve as an aid in reading the languages of these peoples, and help me in future reporting.

With this specialized background knowledge, I may be qualified to move into the field of international reporting and interpretation of important news events, particularly as they affect the total world picture.

Arthur R. Pastore, Jr.
4 Bis Rue de la Grande Chaumie
Paris, France

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM
For the confidential use of Newsweek's staff

To: Melvin Conant, Acting Director
From: Ben Bradlee

Date: May 25, 1957
Subject: Art Pastore

Art Pastore would seem an ideal candidate for a Council Fellowship. He has traveled widely; he has worked with great interest and energy in many countries.

I would say he lacks only one thing: the cohesiveness which a year of concentrated study could give him.

You know the problems of finding a steady job as foreign correspondent for a responsible publication abroad. The good ones hire in America. Art Pastore has chosen to live abroad, and since he had to work, he took a variety of jobs. Too many varieties, I personally think, but that is the system's fault and not his. With a year in New York, he could afford to narrow his field without surrendering the enthusiasm and interest which characterize him.

It seems to me a fellowship like yours is made for such a purpose. A Harold Callender doesn't need one; he has been able constantly to increase his competence to report and interpret events abroad by virtue of the job he holds. An Art Pastore does need one; he has been unable to increase his competence always because he has had to take too much time out to do a book for Fodor on the virtues of vacationing somewhere (often in the less significant corners of Europe, viz. Ireland).

I have known Pastore since 1951 when I first came to Europe. His impressive determination to better himself in the field of foreign reporting has never left him, and I sincerely hope he gets the opportunity you offer.

Benjamin C. Bradlee

Paris, France

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL New York

20, Place Vendôme
Paris (1er)

13 May 57

Mr. Melvin Conant
Acting Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Conant:

In reply to your letter of 30 April 57 requesting comment on Arthur Pastore, who has applied for a fellowship, I would like to give him my highest personal recommendation.

Although I have known Mr. Pastore first-hand only a few months, I have known him at second-hand through our mutual friend Harry Heintzen, one of your fellowship awardees, for several years.

Through this I have learned to know him as a person of integrity and with an unusual tenacity and diligence.

Unfortunately I am not well enough acquainted with his professional record to offer comment on it.

Sincerely yours,

George Williamson
Paris Correspondent

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE
235 East 45th St.
New York 17, N.Y.

Paris Bureau
37, Rue Caumartin

36-30
Teleph. Opera 36-31
Cable Address: Internews Paris Telex 21-904

Paris, May 6, 1957

Mr. Melvin Conant
Acting Secretary
58 East 68th St.
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Conant;

Your letter of the 30th of April has been received and contents noted.

In regard to your query I do not hesitate to recommend Mr. Arthur Pastore, Jr. for the Fellowship Award as mentioned in your letter.

In a ten year acquaintanceship and part-time association with Mr. Pastore I found him to possess most of the qualities I am sure you require of your applicants.

Personally, I can vouch for his reportorial ability, his political and social astuteness, and diligence.

I have had occasion to observe Mr. Pastore at work and have read much of his material. He is objective and concise... a serious man with a flexible mind.

Knowing what I do of your organization, and Mr. Pastore's capabilities, I warmly recommend him for consideration. I sincerely feel that the association would be mutually profitable.

Please do not hesitate to call on me for any other information you may feel is pertinent to the subject.

Very Sincerely,

Edward Miles Ford

V

NAME: John Mathew Hlavacek

Permanent Address: Cecil Hotel, Dehli 8, India.

Birth: March 13, 1918, Chicago, Ill.

Nationality: U.S.

Education: Lyons Township Junior College, 1935-37, La Grange, Ill. Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, 1937-39. B.A. Degree, Major subjects: Mathematics Education, Chemistry.

Employment: English teacher in China - "Carleton-in-China," extension of Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, 1939-41. Truck driver on Burma Road for International Red Cross, later International Relief Committee at Kweiyang, China - 1941-42. Civilian code clerk for military attaché, American Embassy, Chungking, China, June 1942 to March 1944. War correspondent for United Press in China, March 1944-January 1945. Assistant Bureau manager for United Press, Bombay, India, February 1945-January 1946. Bureau manager, Bombay, January 1946-July 1948. Chief correspondent and regional manager FO United Press, stationed in New Delhi, from 1948 to present.

Present Employment: U.P. -(resigning - see attached letter).

War Service (if any) None apparent.

Publications: UP and its member papers.

References: Don Anderson, publisher, Wisconsin State-Journal, Madison, Wis.
Wilbur Elston, editor, editorial page, Minneapolis Star and Tribune, Minneapolis, Minn.
David Winton, 3100 West Lake Street, Minneapolis 2, Minn.
Lowell Thomas, Hammersley Hill, Pawling, N.Y.
F. F. McNaughton, publisher, Pekin Daily Times, Pekin, Ill.

Cecil Hotel
Delhi
April 25, 1957

Mr. Melvin Conant
Acting Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Conant:

When I first decided to apply for the Fellowship I was the Chief Correspondent and Regional Manager for the United Press in the India-Pakistan-Ceylon area.

Since that time, for many reasons, the United Press and I have agreed amicably to separate. This separation is now in progress and will take some time because I have been with the organization for thirteen years.

Under the circumstances I am not able to ask the United Press to send a letter to you granting me leave of absence in case of appointment. However, I am asking the United Press to send you a letter regarding my experience and ability.

If the supporting letter for a leave of absence is a qualifying requisite then I hope the selecting committee will allow me to ask another news organization to sponsor me.

I have been considering two promising offers, both for overseas positions. But I have not wanted to commit myself to any new organization until after the announcement of the committee's selection.

I am writing this letter with the knowledge that I may be eliminating myself from a long dreamed of honor and opportunity. But I want my United Press position clearly understood.

Please advise me of your decision as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) JOHN M. HLAVACEK

I have lived most of my adult life in Asia and in the course of these eighteen years have seen, with the intimacy of day to day association, the decline of colonial power and the rise of nationalism resulting in a Communist China and and Independent India.

Graduating from Carleton College in 1939 I spent five years in China: First, on a teaching fellowship with Carleton-in-China; then as a Burma Road truck driver; later as a civilian employee of the Military Attaché, American Embassy, Chungking; and, finally as a war correspondent for the United Press.

In China I lived and taught in Japanese-occupied territory in the North as well as in West China, under Chiang Kai-shek's Government. I went to language school in Peking and later studied with private tutors until I became fluent in both written and spoken Chinese.

For the past twelve years I have been a resident correspondent in India. During this time I have handled just about every kind of assignment for UP. I began as a war correspondent in 1944, and a year later was working as assistant bureau manager in Bombay, processing and editing the UP news report for distribution to Indian newspapers. Taking over as bureau manager in 1946 I added administration of Indian personnel and sales promotion to my responsibilities. I was made Chief Correspondent and Regional Manager in 1948 with supervision of UP activities in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Afghanistan and Nepal.

Within the past three years I have become a qualified news photographer and cameraman, taking news photos and shooting television film for UP's photo and TV divisions.

Should I be so fortunate as to be selected for the Fellowship I would like to study the history, methods and tactics of the Soviet Union, including a study of the Russian language.

Next to Asian nationalism the most powerful and significant force at work in this area is Russian Communism. I feel that a mature, intensive study of the Soviet Union would be of great importance to me an American newspaperman specializing in Asia.

UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS

General Offices
New Building New York City

Joseph L. Jones
Vice President and
General Foreign Manager

May 16, 1957

Dear Mr. Conant:

We have been advised by Mr. John M. Hlavacek, until recently our manager for India, that he has applied for a newspaper fellowship offered by the Council on Foreign Relations.

I feel that Mr. Hlavacek has all the necessary qualifications for a newspaper fellowship, and recommend him. He proved himself a competent foreign correspondent in China and India. His departure from the United Press was entirely amicable.

Sincerely

(signed) JOSEPH L. JONES

Mr. Melvin Conant
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, N.Y.

WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL

115 South Carroll Street
Madison 1, Wisconsin

May 8, 1957

Mr. Melvin Conant
Acting Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Conant:

I am very happy to give you a reference on John M. Hlavacek - and it will be a good one.

I know a great many foreign correspondents, but cannot think of anyone who would benefit more from a year of study under your fellowship. He will be a credit to the Council.

Hlavacek went to China right after the war on a teaching fellowship from Carleton College. I have talked to people who knew his work there and they said he did an outstanding job. Not the least of his accomplishments was learning the language. His newspaper work the past few years in India has been outstanding. Three years ago I had a chance to see him in action in New Delhi actually covering stories and filing his reports. I was tremendously impressed with his skill, his integrity, and his deep understanding of Indian problems. Shortly after that experience he was one of the reporters covering the Goa incident, and was decorated by Nehru for his courage in carrying wounded Indians off the battlefield.

You undoubtedly have all of his record and the details of his education and experience, so I will not try to repeat. However, I assure you that should you select John Hlavacek for this fellowship he will acquit himself well.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) DON. ANDERSON
Publisher

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR
Evening
and
THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

Wilbur E. Elston
Editor of Editorial Pages

May 8, 1957

Mr. Melvin Conant
Acting Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Conant:

It is a pleasure to recommend John M. Hlavacek of the United Press for a Carnegie foreign correspondent fellowship.

I met Mr. Hlavacek in India last year and found him to be an extremely well informed, intelligent man. He is serious and mature and possesses a broad range of interests in world affairs and politics. He knows many of the Indian leaders on a personal basis, and is a keen observer of events in that country. I have had a rather extensive correspondence with him since I returned from India, and I found him to be very perceptive in his observations about the future of that great country.

As you know, he is a graduate of Carleton college here in Minnesota. Although the United Press does not finance home leave for its foreign correspondents unless they are being transferred back to the United States, Hlavacek and his wife have returned to this country several times in order to keep in touch with developments in this country, as well as to visit relatives. I mention this fact to emphasize that he has not become an expatriate, unlike some foreign correspondents I have met.

He writes well, is an excellent reporter, and is highly regarded by superiors in the United Press. As you know, the responsibilities of a foreign correspondent are heavy ones. That is especially true in India because, as bureau chief in New Delhi, Hlavacek must keep in touch with events in remote parts of the country through native stringers.

I am sure Mr. Hlavacek and the United Press would benefit greatly from the opportunities he would have to broaden and up-date his educational background during a year of study and research at the Council in New York City, and at a nearby university.

Sincerely,

(signed) WILBUR ELSTON

LOWELL THOMAS

Hammersley Hill
Pawling, New York

May 10, 1957

Dear Mr. Conant:

Regarding John Hlavacek, as you of course know, he is head of the United Press Bureau in India. I have known him for many years and regard him as one of the ablest American correspondents.

I have had a special opportunity to watch his work. Not only is he a top flight journalist but he is also a particularly fine person. So, it's a great pleasure to write this letter in his behalf.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) LOWELL THOMAS

DAVID J. WINTON
3100 West Lake Street
Minneapolis 16

Dear Mr. Conant:

I would like to further John M. Hlavacek's application to the Council on Foreign Relations for the annual Carnegie Foreign Correspondent Fellowship award.

Carroll Binder introduced me to John Hlavacek in New Delhi two years ago when I was traveling around the world with Carroll. John was then, and still is, in charge of the UP in that area. You are familiar with the responsibilities of a UP representative, as distinguished from an AP representative. Both Carroll and I felt after visiting with John and watching him perform, that he was fulfilling not only the responsibilities of a journalist extremely well, but that he was fulfilling the business requirements that accompany such an assignment.

I know Carroll thought highly of John and his potentials, for he talked about him a number of times before he died. In New Delhi we spent our time constantly for a little over a week with newspaper people, and during that time we saw more of John Hlavacek than any other person. This, I am sure, was because of Carroll's confidence in John's judgment as a reporter and in his accuracy in putting facts into proportion against the Indian background.

Since that time John and his wife have visited with my wife and me in our home. We found him, as we had in New Delhi, to be a person of vision on the happenings of the world, analytical in his conclusions, and a man - in my opinion, of capabilities beyond the position he was filling, particularly if given an opportunity for growth in such a background as the Council on Foreign Relations Fellowship.

John is a very earnest person and he is still young enough so that I feel sure he would get more from such a Fellowship and from the experiences that would occur at the Council than most journalists.

You can see from this letter that I have great confidence in John Hlavacek's ability, integrity and potential growth. I believe he is worthy of your careful consideration for the Carnegie Foreign Correspondent Fellowship.

If there are any further questions you wish to ask me about John, please do so.

Sincerely,

(signed) DAVID WINTON

Mr. Melvin Conant, Acting Director
Committees on Foreign Relations
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

PEKIN DAILY TIMES

Pekin, Illinois

May 4, 1957

Mr. Melvin Conant
Council on Foreign Relations
New York City

Dear Mr. Conant:

It pleases me to be asked to say a few words about John (and also Peggy) Hlavacek of Delhi, India.

Mrs. McNaughton and I travel widely - hope to shove off for Russia again this month. On a 1955-56 round world trip we visited many countries, but, because of India's growing importance in tipping the free and non-free world scales, we spent most time in India. So we saw a lot of John Hlavacek.

As a cub reporter on the old N.Y. Tribune, I covered the swing shift; and it amazed me to note that John has all of that great sub-continent of India as neatly in his hand, as I thought I had New York City.

Fortunately John is a big healthy fellow with no timidity nor fear. I'm sure you have seen pictures of him carrying the dead and wounded back across the International line at Goa. That initial act of alertness in news coverage plus the resulting act of bravery in halting what could have been all out massacre, gained millions of friends for America in India; and at a time when an illy spoken word had put us in need of friends.

John's responsibility includes the fierce hatred between Hindu and Moslem that already has cost a million lives; the Pakistan split-off; Kashmir; Goa; communist riots; Red bigwig triumphal tours; Himalayan expeditions; and the quiet effort of America thru experienced, level-headed U.S. county farm advisers to lift the living level of India - slowly, to be sure, but surely enough that they don't want communism. I know of nobody whom I would prefer over John Hlavacek in that difficult task, for John has the good will of Indians from Nehru down to the sweepers.

I think the Council would be doing the U.S. a favor if it gave John an opportunity to broaden his contacts and increase his training.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) F. F. McNaughton, publisher
The Pekin Daily Times

3

NAME: Dan Kurzman

Permanent Address: 14 Hiroo-Cho, Azabo, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Birth: March 27, 1922

Nationality: U.S.

Education: 1) B.A. University of California, At Berkeley 1940-43, 1946, Political Science Major, History Minor. 2) University of Pittsburgh, Army Specialized Training Program, 1943-44, Russian Language and Area - Diploma. 3) Diploma in French Civilization, 1946-47; Sorbonne, Paris.

Employment: Correspondent, Paris Bureau of International News Service, 1947-48. Feature Editor, Information Division, ECA, Mission to France, 1948-49. Middle East Correspondent for National Broadcasting Company, 1950-52. Free Lance Radio and TV Commentator, Magazine and Newspaper Writer, 1953-54.

Present Employment: Far East Bureau Chief, McGraw-Hill World News 1954 -

War Service: Army Specialized Training Program in Russian Language and Area; Infantry in France, Germany (Purple Heart) Edited Company News Sheet during rest periods - 1943-45

Publications: Nation's Business, Think, Toronto Star Weekly, Wall Street Journal, Business Week, Aviation Week, The Reporter

References: Henry Cassidy, N.B.C. New York
Philip Potter, Washington Bureau, Baltimore Sun
Robert Trumbull, N.Y. Times Bureau, Tokyo, Japan
Ray Henle, Three-Star Extra, Commonwealth Building Washington, D.C.
Keyes Beach, Foreign Correspondent's Club Tokyo, Japan

Dan Kurzman

Professional Background and Proposed Study Program

My experience as a foreign correspondent began when I joined the Paris Bureau of International News Service in 1947 after receiving a diploma in "French Civilization" at the Sorbonne. Though this was my first professional journalistic job, I found myself covering from the start such important stories as the Marshall Plan and the post-war political rise of General DeGaulle.

A year later, I switched to a job as Feature Editor in the Information Division of the ECA mission to France, which required me to travel around France with a photographer writing features on how Marshall Plan aid was helping the French People. This position gave me a unique opportunity to observe and study France and its problems from the grass roots up.

In 1950, I headed for the Middle East as a correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company. I delivered broadcasts from Israel for more than a year, then visited the Moslem states. Among the stories I covered was the assassination of Jordan's King Abdullah, the "Black Saturday" Cairo riots, the oil conflicts in Iran, and the nationalist uprising in Tunisia. This experience covering the labor pains of infant nationalism in the Middle East and North Africa helped give me an invaluable insight into the thinking of this little understood region.

In 1952, I embarked on a year-long global free-lance trip, bouncing in native buses from Morocco through Afghanistan, in trains throughout the Indian continent and from Singapore to Saigon, finally ending up in Japan. While on this tour, I made broadcasts for NBC and contributed articles to the Reporter, Toronto Star Weekly, London Daily Express and other publications. In travelling overland from village to village the length of the Afro-Asian world, I further enhanced my understanding of the root problems of this vast area in ferment.

Returning to the U.S. in 1953, I made a several months' lecture tour of universities, Foreign Affairs Councils, and clubs throughout the country. I also continued my free-lance reporting -- broadcasting for NBC (Ray Henle's "Three-Star Extra") and contributing interpretative pieces on foreign affairs to such publications as the Toronto Star Weekly, Wall Street Journal (editorial page), Nation's Business, Think and Commonweal.

I accepted the job of Far East Bureau Chief for McGraw-Hill World News in 1954, grateful for this chance to extend my knowledge of a region which intensely interested me. Thus for the last two years I have been headquartered in Tokyo and have revisited the countries of Free Asia many times.

I have not, of course, had the opportunity to enter Communist China, though I was among the original group of American correspondents invited to tour that country. In the belief that too few Americans know too little about this vital segment of Asia, I intend to center my research around Red China if I win a fellowship.

I have had the opportunity to study various aspects of Peking policy from boundary vantage points. But to evaluate the information I have thus acquired in proper perspective, I feel I should have a deeper academic knowledge of China. Such knowledge would, of course, be of particular value should I eventually get State Department permission to visit the country. I am especially interested in background material that would help me interpret with greater authority present and future Chinese policies as they affect the Free Asian nations.

With this interest in view, my study program would be geared to clarify the following facets of Communist China's emergence as a world power:

*The nation's historical ties with the Free Asian countries, in political and economic terms.

*The roots of Chinese communism: the factors that brought it to power.

*The pattern of economic development in China since the revolution.

*The pattern of political evolution in the same period.

*The effect of these development patterns on China's relations with the Soviet Union.

To investigate these questions, I would enroll in appropriate courses in Chinese history, political science, and economics, supplementing this with study of the latest books and publications bearing on present-day China.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Times Square, New York 36, N. Y.

24 May 1957

Tokyo Bureau
Asahi Shimbun Bldg.

Mr. Melvin Conant
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, N. Y., U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Conant:

I am glad to recommend Dan Kurzman for the Council Fellowship. I believe he will make the most of the opportunity, if he is chosen, and will also make a contribution of his own to your gatherings in New York. Also, I understand that these awards are intended to go to men who will remain in foreign correspondence, and I believe that this is Dan's intention.

If we judge a foreign correspondent by what he writes, Dan is pretty sound. He sometimes, at press conferences, tends to ask more than his share of the questions, but I don't know whether that is good or bad. I do know that he cultivates his news sources with great assiduousness, and I think it pays off for him. I also know that he works extremely hard, and usually gets all there is to know about a story. He has, as you are aware, an extraordinarily wide background of travel and contacts. He has met many important personages.

An intensive course of study over an academic year would be likely, in my view, to give Dan a fill-in on his background that should have a salutary effect on his future work as a foreign correspondent. In this, the aim of the Fellowship would be accomplished.

I hope this brief estimate will be of aid.

Sincerely,

(signed) ROBERT TRUMBULL
Chief of Bureau

*
* *

THREE-STAR EXTRA

"The Newspaper of the Air"
On N.B.C. at 6:45 P.M.

Ray Henle
Editor in Chief

Commonwealth Bldg.
Washington 6,D.C.
Executive 3-7340

May 23, 1957

Mr. Melvin Conant
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Conant:

You phoned to ask about Dan Kurzman.

Dan once did some broadcasting for us, and would be doing work for us now except for the fact that he must not do any broadcasting while employed by McGraw-Hill.

We had a pleasant association; we found Dan earnest and eager; his work uniformly was of high caliber; he was always pleasant and gentlemanly.

It is a pleasure to recommend him withou reservation.

Sincerely yours,

Ray Henle (signed)

January 23, 1957

Gentlemen:

I would like to add my commendation of the candidacy of Judge Samuel Rosenman to the letters recommending him for membership in the Council on Foreign Relations.

I have known Judge Rosenman for quite some time and have the greatest respect for him. He is a highly intelligent person of broad interests who is much respected among his colleagues. I feel that he would be a fine addition to our membership.

Sincerely yours,

Council of Foreign Relations
Committee on Admissions
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68 Street
New York 21, New York

fc

Bruce, James.

January 23, 1957

Dear Jim:

This is just a note to tell you that I am today writing to the Council on Foreign Relations endorsing Judge Rosenman for membership.

Best regards, and I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. James Bruce
260 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

fc

JAMES BRUCE
SUITE 1900

260 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
TEL: MURRAY HILL 6-6100

December 20, 1956

Dear Ed:

I proposed Sam Rosenman for membership in the Council on Foreign Relations. I think he would be an excellent member and would enjoy the association very much and I am dropping a line to your good self and a few of his friends asking if you will not write a letter endorsing his candidacy. Thanks so much and I hope to be seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Jim

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

September 6, 1956

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

The annual general meeting of the Council on Foreign Relations will be held at 3:00 P.M. on Wednesday, October 10th, 1956, at 58 East 68th Street, New York, for the election of Directors of the class of 1959.

The following gentlemen have been nominated for Directors by the Nominating Committee:

Frank Altschul
William A. M. Burden
Arthur H. Dean
Lewis W. Douglas
Joseph E. Johnson
Grayson L. Kirk
Henry M. Wriston

A formal proxy is enclosed. In case you approve of this slate, it is requested that you fill in and return to me this proxy with the understanding that I shall cast your vote for the election of the above nominees.

Very truly yours,

W. H. Mallory

Walter H. Mallory
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

(Enclosure)

Returned card 9/13

Council on Foreign Relations

September 4, 1956

Dear Mr. Barber:

Before Mr. Murrow left for Cairo yesterday, he asked me to let you know that he agrees to appoint Mr. Harry L. Heintsen.

Sincerely yours,

Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68 Street
New York 21, New York

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

August 13, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

May I ask you, as a member of the Council's Advisory Committee on our fellowship program for American foreign correspondents, to review the enclosed application for a fellowship and to let me know as soon as you can whether you think it would be in order for us to appoint the applicant. He is Mr. Harry L. Heintzen, and his background, professional experience and aspirations are described in the enclosure.

Here at the Council we feel rather kindly disposed toward Mr. Heintzen but do not feel under any compulsion to appoint an applicant merely for the sake of having him on the premises. This year, it has been unusually difficult to attract applicants of the required caliber, and of all those who have come to our attention, Mr. Heintzen seems best suited to benefit from the kind of year offered under the fellowship program. Since the deadline for applications has already been extended, and since the fellowship year begins on September 15, we owe it to Mr. Heintzen to let him know one way or the other with the least possible delay.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

agree to appoint Heintzen

Harry Leonard Heintzen

Date and Place of Birth --- November 8, 1922 at New Orleans, La.

Nationality --- USA

Formal Education --- All in New Orleans: St. John's Elementary School, 1929-37; Warren Easton Boy's High School, 1937-41; Tulane University, 1941-43 and 1946-51. Two degrees, B. A. and M. A., both in English literature. Undergraduate minor was Journalism. The stay at the university was interrupted by service in the Army Air Force. The B. A. degree was awarded in 1947 and the M. A. in 1951. I continued working on my M. A. after I had begun as a staff reporter on the New Orleans Times-Picayune in 1949.

Previous Employment --- From the fall of 1949 to the fall of 1954, I was a staff reporter on The Times-Picayune assigned to the city desk. The managing editor was George W. Healy, Jr., and the city editor Arthur Felt. Duties included the full range and variety of city desk assignments. During my last year, I had the opportunity to cover the public school beat which was livened by the Supreme Court's decision to end segregation in public schools. On two occasions, I went abroad on leave of absence without pay and sent numerous stories back to the paper, for which I was paid. I was accredited with the US Army in Europe as the paper's representative on both occasions. Prior to beginning as a city desk reporter, I was for three years the paper's correspondent at Tulane University. This meant, in addition to coverning events at the university, spending several hours a day at the city desk handling university copy. Also, I was associate editor on the university weekly and was editor of the high school magazine.

Present Employer --- Self employed as a free-lance foreign correspondent specializing in Scandinavia and the Soviet-occupied Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. My chief work is for the New York Herald Tribune through its News Service, with occasional articles for the Herald Tribune edition of This Week Magazine. Mainly, I write interpretive articles on trends or situations, also political and economic features plus background. I also cover spot news events, the most important of which was the return of the Porkkala naval base by the Russians to the Finns. My story, along with that written by the New York Times correspondent, was subsequently attacked in Pravda. I make periodic trips to the neighboring countries and mainly what I write is left to my own discretion. I do not compete with the agencies except when I feel I can do a better job on spot news or have something special. When I do, I phone to the Tribune's Paris office. In addition, I do articles for other papers and magazines, both at home and here in Sweden. Also, research, translating and writing jobs for various sources, generally in Sweden. I am paid for what I write and the income varies although it averages out to generally better than the 90 dollars a week I was making when I left The Times-Picayune.

Family Background --- My father, E.H. Heintzen, Sr., has just retired at the age of 76 after more than 50 years as a Lutheran school teacher who came originally to New Orleans to teach in Negro schools. He's from Milwaukee, Wis. He lives with my mother at 2408 Dauphine Street, New Orleans, La. My oldest brother, the Rev. E.H. Heintzen, Jr., is a Lutheran minister assigned to the University of Illinois as a pastor to the students. He's been there almost 15 years. My second brother, Frank W. Heintzen, is a teacher at Alamo Heights,

a private high school in San Antonio, Texas. My third brother, George H. Heintzen, has his own insurance agency in New Orleans. My sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Laughlin, is a layout artist in the advertising division of D.H. Holmes department store in New Orleans. I am the youngest.

Marital Status --- My wife is a tri-lingual secretary working for the Stockholm office of the American Express Co. She is German, 22, and fluent also in Swedish and English. Both her parents were teachers. We were recently married.

War Service --- Enlisted in the Army Air Force as an aviation cadet on Nov. 2, 1942, in New Orleans. Called to active duty in March the following year. Later assigned to ground duty and trained as a radar technician. In this capacity went overseas in the fall of 1944 to a heavy bombarment squadron near Norwich, England. Served there about one year. On return home, worked on base newspaper until honorable discharge at end of 1945.

References --- 1. Felix Belair Jr., Scandinavian correspondent, The New York Times, Svenska Dagbladet Bldg., Stockholm, Sweden.

2. William H. Stoneman, chief European correspondent, The Chicago Daily News, 23 Rue de la Paix, Paris, France.

3. William Miller, editor, The New York Herald Tribune News Service, 230 West 41st Street, New York 36, N.Y.

4. Fred Hechinger, education editor, The New York Herald Tribune.

5. The Rev. M.W. Holls, pastor, St. Johns Lutheran Church, Canal and Pierce Streets, New Orleans, La.

6. Mr. Louis P. Cajoleas, professor, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Health --- Excellent.

STATEMENT

In the fall of 1954, I came to Scandinavia on a three months' leave-of-absence from The Times-Picayune at my own expense. My plan was to write articles for the paper - for which I would be paid - just as I had done in the summer of 1951. At that time, at my request, I was granted a similar leave to tour Western Europe. I visited England, France, Italy, Austria, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. In addition to articles, I sent back several radio interviews with New Orleans people living or working abroad. Shortly after my arrival here in the North, I made contact with the Herald Tribune and This Week Magazine. In the course of my three months here I had made such progress with these and other publications that I decided to stay on as a free-lancer rather than return. I did so because it gave me the opportunity to do the work I had always wanted.

I found Scandinavia the ideal area to cover as a special correspondent. Generally, there is no running story with day-to-day developments. But below the seemingly static exterior there are strong undercurrents. Norway and Denmark,

both NATO members, have elements with strong tendencies toward neutralism, elements which could cause the withdrawal of these nations from the Atlantic Pact. Already Iceland has asked US troops to leave. Sweden, richest and most powerful of the Scandinavian countries, keeps a strict neutrality, but with an eye at all times on events in Finland, the buffer between Sweden and Russia. Finland, heroic and helpless, remains unoccupied but hopelessly tied economically to the Soviet Union to serve as a showpiece; an example of how a small nation can not only live unmolested side by side with the Soviet Union but actually prosper by that proximity. Across the Baltic Sea are the Soviet-occupied states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, once that part of the Soviet Union around which the Iron Curtain was most tightly drawn. Today they are being opened up to selected Western tourist groups in line with Russia's new line. On the domestic scene, all of the Scandinavian countries have vexing economic problems, model social welfare systems and Social Democratic governments which disavow any chance that they will join with the Communists in popular front movements, as the Reds suggested at a recent party congress.

All that goes on in Scandinavia, however, is but the reflection of more important events elsewhere. And writing about the area for a prolonged period only serves to whet the appetite for work of a broader scope. At the same time, the more one learns about the area, the more one realizes how much more there is to learn of international politics in general. My work here has been of immense value in developing me both professionally and personally, but if this growth is to continue and reach its full potential, it would be best for me to fill in some of the gaps in my educational background and direct my studies and efforts toward some particular goal. If I were fortunate enough to be selected for this fellowship, I would use it to bolster my background in international matters and as the beginning of what could prove to be a lifelong study of the efforts of less advanced peoples to find a better way of life. I have long felt that the place today where qualified American foreign correspondents are most needed is the Orient-Africa expanse. To my mind, the awakening of the non-white majority of mankind and its efforts to shed white supremacy, colonialism, and Western control is the biggest movement afoot in the world today. It dwarfs international Communism, although this menace tries to subvert this evolution to its own ends. One might labor the point, but the dimensions of this dynamic aspect of civilization and the need that it be covered intelligently and sympathetically are obvious enough. I would like the opportunity of preparing for the task. If I should be granted the fellowship, I would, at its completion, hope to go abroad again, either to Africa or Asia, for some paper, periodical or broadcasting company. If not, then I would eventually do as I have done in the past - go on my own.

- Harry Leonard Heintzen

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Svenska Dagbladet
Stockholm 1, Sweden

May 28, 1956

Selection Committee
Council on Foreign Relations
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I regret not to have kept the circular governing nominations for your scholarship but I did not then know of anyone who might be interested. Mr. Heintzen, a U.S. citizen, who first came here in August 1954 on leave of absence from the New Orleans Times Picayune, has since expressed a keen interest in your project. He had then, and has since maintained a stringer connection with the New York Herald-Tribune, doing mostly "mailers" but with occasional "spot" assignments such as the return to Finland of its Porkkala area by the U.S.S.R. and some others.

Mr. Heintzen is 33 years of age, is married and without children. He holds A.B. and M.A. degrees from Tulane University. He has a working knowledge of both Swedish and German.

Mr. Heintzen has chosen foreign news coverage as his life's work and intends, should he be given the opportunity for further study at home, to return to this or some more active news area.

Needless to say, I would not recommend Mr. Heintzen except for his unusual promise, already shown, in the foreign news field. His purpose in the field of study you offer would be to broaden his qualifications as a foreign correspondent both here and in other than Scandinavian countries.

Sincerely yours,

Felix Belair, Jr.
Crresp. in Scandinavia

New York
HERALD TRIBUNE

PEnnsylvania 6-4000

230 West 41st Street, New York 36

June 28, 1956

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 E. 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am happy to support the application of Harry L. Heintzen for the Council's resident fellowship for American foreign correspondents.

Mr. Heintzen has contributed news articles to the New York Herald Tribune News Service for several years. We have found his work to be far above average, the quality of his writing to be excellent. He has proved to be imaginative, industrious, dependable and cooperative in all our contacts.

I do not hesitate to recommend him wholeheartedly.

Sincerely,

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE NEWS SERVICE

WAM:ml

William A. Miller, Editor

New York
HERALD TRIBUNE

PEnnsylvania 6-4000 230 West 41st Street, New York 36

July 23, 1956

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter concerning Mr. Harry L. Heintzen and his application for the Council's resident fellowship.

I am particularly pleased to be asked for this recommendation since I consider Mr. Heintzen both an outstanding newspaperman and a particularly worthwhile person. I have had the chance to observe him at work during a stay in Stockholm a little over a year ago and I was so much impressed that I strongly recommended to the Herald Tribune News Service that they make more extensive use of his writings. I know that his colleagues, both here and abroad, think extremely highly of him and my editorial associates at the Herald Tribune have constantly praised his contributions.

What is also important, I believe, is that I consider Mr. Heintzen the kind of representative the United States would like to see abroad. In other words, I recommend him wholeheartedly.

Sincerely yours,

FMH:MD

Fred M. Hechinger
Education Editor

THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
John S. Knight
Publisher

Chicago, U.S.A.

Paris Bureau
23 Rue de la Paix
Paris
France

Olden, Norway
July 1, 1956

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am happy to give you the following opinion of Harry L. Heintzen who has applied to the Council on Foreign Relations for a resident fellowship.

Mr. Heintzen was a competent newspaperman working on one of our finest American newspapers before he came abroad. He left the Times-Picayune to come to Europe at considerable risk and sacrifice because he wanted to be a foreign correspondent. Since then he has worked hard and with considerable success in Scandinavia, an area where few professional American newspapermen have operated in peace time.

I have strongly recommended Mr. Heintzen to my own home office for a regular job in The Chicago Daily News Foreign Service. I have done so because I know him to be an alert and high minded young man of excellent character and good sense.

I would be much obliged to you if you would be good enough to refer this letter to Mr. Cowles and to Mr. Murrow. I should also have been happy to recommend Mr. Heintzen to Mr. Binder were he alive.

Yours very truly,

William H. Stoneman

June 22, 1956

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I have known the applicant, Harry Heintzen, since his birth. Though I do not feel competent to comment on his work as a correspondent, I can give you the assurance that he is a young man of fine character and habits and that he is very eager to get ahead in his chosen field. He will make the best possible use of any opportunity which is offered him.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. M.W. Holls

Barber, Joseph

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Ed Murrow

from: John Day June 13, 1956

Blair Clark might be a good choice, and I would like to have him do it. Trouble is, I don't see how I can spare him, or anybody else, this fall.

JD

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Accept Regret
Appropriate Action
Background?
FYI FILE
Note & Return
Phone JFD
Reply Direct
Return to Sender
Status?
Suggest Reply
To Discuss
Comment or Recommendation
Copy to JFD
URGENT

John Day
any ideas?

June 11, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

This is the time of year when I normally send to you for review the applications of candidates for the Council Fellowship. As you recall, William J. Jorden, of the New York Times, is the holder of this year's Fellowship and is due to leave for Moscow in August, where he will represent his paper.

So far, we do not have in hand applications of a quality which would warrant serious consideration. We would like to appoint an American foreign correspondent as Fellow for this coming year, beginning September 15. Funds are available for this purpose, and if you have any ideas in this direction, I would appreciate your letting me have them. It seems too bad that an unusual opportunity should go by the board, but we do not think it makes sense to appoint any candidate just for the sake of having a correspondent on the premises.

The enclosure describes the Fellowship, and I would say of it only that applications can be handled here as late as early September.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber

JOHN F. DAY

JUN 13 1956

A.M. P.M.
7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Fellowship for an American Foreign Correspondent

THE Council on Foreign Relations offers a resident fellowship to an American foreign correspondent for the academic year, September 17, 1956, to June 15, 1957.

The fellowship is for study and research at the Council in New York City, and at a nearby university.

American newspaper, radio and magazine correspondents who are now serving abroad, or who have recently served abroad and who plan to return to foreign posts, may submit applications.

All applications should reach the Council by May 15, 1956. The fellowship will be awarded by June 20.

* * *

THE purpose of the fellowship is to help the correspondent to increase his competence to report and interpret events abroad.

There are no set study requirements. The fellow may concentrate on a specific area which he expects to cover in the course of his work abroad, or he may select general subjects about which he wishes to learn more. The intention is to give a correspondent who has been preoccupied with meeting deadlines an opportunity to broaden his perspective by means of a coordinated program of reading, study and informal discussion.

The stipend will normally be equivalent to the salary relinquished during the period of the fellowship. Academic charges for registration and tuition will be met from funds made available for the purpose.

Previous holders of the Council's foreign correspondent fellowships include the following:

Henry R. Lieberman, 33, of the *New York Times*. When appointed, Mr. Lieberman was serving as correspondent of the *Times* in China.

William J. Boyle, 35, of the *United Press*. When appointed, Mr. Boyle was serving as chief of his agency's Vienna bureau.

Hal Lehrman, 40, free lance foreign correspondent and specialist on Eastern Europe and Palestine.

Alpheus W. Jessup, 35, chief of the Tokyo bureau of *McGraw-Hill World News*.

Irving R. Levine, 30, Tokyo correspondent of the *National Broadcasting Company* and former chief of the Vienna bureau of the *International News Service*.

David Richardson, 36, Middle East correspondent of *Time*.

John H. Rich, Jr., 36, correspondent in Japan and Korea for the *National Broadcasting Company*.

William J. Jorden, 32, correspondent in Japan for the *New York Times*.

The Council on Foreign Relations

The Council is a non-profit institution devoted to study of the international aspects of American political, economic and strategic problems. It was established shortly after World War I, and is now composed of about 1,200 men who have an active interest in foreign affairs and whose experience or training qualifies them for membership.

The Council takes no stand, expressed or implied, on American policy. It is supported by membership dues and contributions, and receives grants from leading foundations for special projects. Funds for the fellowship are provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The Council brings together regularly groups of experts to consider specific foreign issues affecting American interest. It carries on a program of research and publication. It publishes the quarterly review, FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Among its other publications are annual volumes, *The United States in World Affairs, Documents on American Foreign Relations* and the *Political Handbook of the World*, and many specialized works on various aspects of international affairs.

Members of the Council's supervisory Committee on Studies are as follows: Henry M. Wriston, Chairman; Hamilton Fish Armstrong; Gordon Dean; Byron Dexter; Grayson L. Kirk; William L. Langer; Thomas H. McKittrick; Stacy May; Whitney H. Shepardson; and John H. Williams.

The Council occupies the building at the corner of 68th Street and Park Avenue, New York. Facilities include meeting rooms, offices, and a library which houses one of the outstanding private collections of books, pamphlets and documents in the field of international affairs.

Council Activities

Holders of the fellowship have office space at the Council and participate in such Council meetings, group discussions and other activities as assist them in their work.

In the course of each year, men who carry heavy public responsibilities visit the Council for the purpose of leading or participating in private discussions with members. During the fall and winter of 1955-56 they included: Ahmed Hussein, Henry A. Byroade, Rene Mayer, George V. Allen, Marshal Sir John Slessor, John Foster Dulles, Guy Mollet, Harold Macmillan, Heinrich von Brentano, Harold Stassen, Mohammed Ali, Abba Eban, Lester B. Pearson, Mamoru Shigemitsu, Heinz L. Krekeler and Aarre Simonen.

Many men who were less well known, including other Council members who were concerned with the formation or administration of national and international policies, also discussed their special problems at Council meetings during this period. In addition, Council groups, composed of members who are especially qualified, were holding meetings regularly to consider specific issues affecting American interests abroad.

The correspondent who attends Council meetings during 1956-57 will have exceptional opportunities to supplement his own knowledge and otherwise to profit from group discussion and informal contact with members of the Council.

University Work

Fellows are not required to take university courses for formal credit toward an advanced degree, but may do so if they desire. Arrangements can be made with nearby institutions so that they may carry on such academic work as will meet their needs.

Upon appointment, the Council will advise the correspondent of available opportunities for study in chosen fields, and will assist him to pick university courses which should be most useful to him. Among the institutions at which fellows in the past have found programs of particular value are: the Russian, European, East Asian Institutes and the School of International Affairs at Columbia University; the Yale Department of International Relations and Institute of International

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

May 3, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I thought that as a contributor to the Council's Development Fund you might be interested in knowing about our financial progress this year. I am happy to report that through your generosity and that of our other members, we have been successful in reaching the $70,000 goal which we set for our annual development fund and, in fact, in exceeding it by $2,500.

This has enabled us, in my opinion, to carry forward the most important program of work the Council has ever undertaken and will also insure a balanced budget for the current fiscal year.

Thank you very much for your help. I appreciate it a great deal.

Yours sincerely,

Frank

Frank Altschul, Chairman
Finance & Budget Committee

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE ~~58 EAST 68TH STREET~~
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

October 31, 1955

Dear Ed:

In checking acceptances for one of our recent dinners, we discovered that a number of members had not seen the notice and would have liked to attend.

Because so many organizations send out routine invitations for large dinners, we are told that many secretaries quite reasonably discard all such invitations. Therefore, if you want to be sure to receive invitations from the Council, you might wish to call this fact specifically to your secretary's attention.

Sincerely yours,

Walter H. Mallory
Executive Director

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Council on Foreign Relations

July 28, 1955

Dear Mr. Barber:

Your letter of July 8 arrived in Mr. Murrow's absence on vacation.

This is merely a note to tell you that I do not expect Mr. Murrow back until early fall, but will be glad to bring your letter to his attention at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Florence Crissan

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

July 8, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I thought you would like to know that the collective vote of the Council's Advisory Committee on Fellowships adds up to an award to William J. Jorden, of the Tokyo bureau of The New York Times. I have informed him of the award and presume that he will turn up here in September and be with us until mid-June next year. Here at the Council we are very pleased with his selection and shall do all we can to make it a profitable year for him.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

Council on Foreign Relations

DICTATED JULY 5, 1955

MR. JOSEPH BARBER
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
58 EAST 68 STREET
NEW YORK CITY

I VOTE FOR JORDEN OF THE TIMES.

ED MURROW

414-43

MEMO

PERSON TO PERSON

I suggest
William J.
Jordan –

JZ

JESSE ZOUSMER

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

June 2, 1955

E. R. — what say?

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

May I ask you, as a member of our Advisory Committee on Fellowships, to review the enclosed applications for a fellowship at the Council and to let me know as soon as you can your order of preference for appointment. The applicants are Lionel J. Holmes, Bureau Chief of McGraw-Hill World News in Brazil; and William J. Jorden, Tokyo correspondent of the New York Times.

Last fall, the Carnegie Corporation of New York informed us that it was renewing its fellowship grant for five years, enabling the appointment of one foreign correspondent each year.

There were other prospective applicants who were not encouraged to submit applications because they were obviously unsuited for the purposes of the fellowship as defined in the enclosed pamphlet.

The deadline for application was May 15 and we hope to announce the collective decision of the Advisory Committee by June 15.

We are, of course, primarily interested in getting good men for this program and do not feel under any compulsion to appoint an applicant merely for the sake of having him on the premises.

You recall that, besides yourself, the Council's Advisory Committee on Fellowships is composed of Carroll Binder, Gardner Cowles, John K. Jessup, and Grayson L. Kirk. As usual, the main criterion for appointment is apparent promise of future achievement in the field of foreign correspondents.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

Name: Lionel J. Holmes Age: 36

Address: Rua Sao Benedito 709, Santo Amaro, Sao Paulo, S.P., Brazil
(Mailing address: c/o McGraw-Hill World News, 330 West 42nd St., New York 36)

Born: April 2, 1919, Tulare, California

Education: St. Mary's College, Calif., 1937-41; graduated with A.B. degree. Major: English; Minors: journalism, economics, Spanish. Awarded the "Collegian Medal" for journalism. Editor for two years of college newspaper.

Boston University Evening College of Commerce, 1944. Courses in advertising copywriting.

New York University Graduate School of Education, 1947-50. Studies toward M.A. degree in English.

Previous employment:

May 1941 - July 1942 -- The Oakland Tribune, Oakland, Calif. Copyreader, Copydesk Dept.

Dec. 1945 - Sept 1946 -- Rea, Fuller & Co., Inc., New York City (advertising agency); copywriter and account executive.

Sept. 1946 - Jan. 1948 -- Prentice Hall, Inc., New York City (publisher); advertising copywriter.

Jan. 1948 -- Jan. 1949 -- General Electric Co., Air Conditioning Dept., Bloomfield, N.J.; writer for dealer newspaper; sales-promotion writer.

Jan. 1949 - July 1952 -- American Machinist magazine, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 330 West 42nd St., New York 36; business-news editor.

Present employment: McGraw-Hill World News, 330 West 42nd St., New York 36, N.Y. Bureau chief in Brazil since July 1952.
Duties: reporting and writing of business, economic, and industrial news of Brazil for Business Week magazine and other McGraw-Hill publications. Salary: $8,600.00 annually.

War service: U.S. Army, August 1942 to December 1945. Army Medical Department until January 1944; Army Transportation Corps until December 1945. Participated in Guadalcanal Campaign. Awarded Theater ribbons for Pacific and Europe.

References: Burnham Finney, editor, American Machinist, 330 West 42nd St., N.Y.
John Wilhelm, editor, McGraw-Hill World News, 330 West 42nd St., New York 36.
Howard Whidden, foreign editor, Business Week, 330 West 42nd St., New York 36.
Thomas J. Twomey, publications director, St. Mary's College, Calif.
Havelock H. Hunter, c/o City Desk, The Oakland Tribune, Oakland, Calif.

Holmes

Summary of experience as foreign-correspondent;
Use I would make of fellowship

Most of my copy from Brazil has gone to Business Week, because most news of importance these past three years has been economic and political. Brazil is still too young industrially to yield much copy of interest to readers of the McGraw-Hill technical publications.

My reporting and writing for Business Week has emphasized developments in the fields of finance, investment, trade, and foreign exchange. I have reported Brazilian political activity insofar as politics has bearing on Brazil's economy, and as it affects business in the United States by creating a climate for or against investment and U.S. exports. The key to my analysis of Brazilian events is the question, "what does it mean now, or later, to the U.S. businessman?"

My analysis of the Brazilian economic scene is fed by discussing the country's problems with men representing various segments of the economy - industrialists, bankers, salesmen, politicians, merchants. To obtain an accurate appraisal of events I have been careful to temper the unflagging optimism of most Brazilian businessmen with the more realistic, sometimes pessimistic, views of the foreigners here - Germans, Swedes, Italians, as well as Americans and English. The man-in-the-street's opinions are not usually considered important here, economically speaking, but I have found it advantageous to talk about politics and cost-of-living matters with the Brazilian elevator operator, the hotel doorman, the gas-station attendant, and the maid.

The newsbeat that I've tried to follow has taken me more through Brazilian byways than through American. Too many Americans mingle amongst themselves here, I feel. I have deliberately avoided the American colony, particularly in my first year in Brazil, to better get behind the Brazilian's outlook on life, to understand better why he thinks as he does. It is difficult to understand the Brazilian from a book. You have to get out and talk with him. I have been fortunate in making myself more fluent in Portuguese than most Americans here, possibly due to my living always among non-English-speaking neighbors.

But while a reasonable fluency in the language and a mingling with the people helps in understanding the country, permitting a fair appraisal of economic events, obviously that appraisal can be reached more quickly and easily when a reporter can trace the financial network branching out through all phases of Brazilian life while at the same time probing down to the basic economic roots that hold it all together. I find myself a long way from college classes in political science and economics, and too busy to recoup lost knowledge. I am too busy tending to day-to-day news happenings to sit back and think ahead toward a long-range view of Brazilian economy and politics.

The Council's fellowship would help to fill a gap, provide a better background in international relations, help me to understand the motivations of foreign politics today, and teach me something of

the general economic basis of foreign commerce. Backed by study in the theory of foreign politics and foreign economics, my on-the-scene and necessarily of-the-moment analysis of events might be more easily and accurately projected ahead to advise readers of my publications what is in store for them in their future relations with Brazil and other Latin American nations.

With that end in mind, I should like to enroll at Columbia to study the background of American foreign policy as it applies to Latin America, and to listen to recognized experts in this field. I should like the opportunity also to study more on export-import matters, and something of the activities of international trade organizations.

My ultimate objective, obviously, is to return to Brazil - or to Latin America - better equipped to analyze for publication the political and economic events that affect American and world business.

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McGRAW-HILL WORLD NEWS

330 West 42nd Street, New York 36, N. Y. . CABLE: McGRAWHILL

May 2, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber
The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York, New York

Re: Fellowship Award Application of Lionel Holmes

Dear Mr. Barber,

McGraw-Hill World News, the foreign news network of this publishing company, has been advised by our Sao Paulo bureau chief, Lionel Holmes, that he has applied for a fellowship award which would give him a year to engage in special studies connected with his work as a foreign correspondent.

We have been very proud of the journalistic work of Mr. Holmes, and can cite any number of exclusive dispatches which he has filed for use in our magazines. His reporting has been of a high order, knowledgeable, and, we are sure, carried considerable influence in Brazilian-American affairs.

Mr. Holmes feels that a year of study would prepare him for more effective pursuit of his chosen career as a foreign correspondent in other parts of the world. The policy of the company is to encourage and assist such obviously worthwhile efforts, and we would be willing to grant him a leave of absence for such a purpose. You can accordingly be assured Mr. Holmes would be given a release to accept your fellowship if he were so honored.

We can point with pride to a former foreign correspondent of ours, Alpheus W. Jessup, who received your fellowship sometime ago and with this training went on to become one of our top editors. He is now managing editor of Aviation Week, most prominent magazine of the industry, and one of his principal responsibilities is encouraging serious and responsible coverage of aviation news in all parts of the world. The Council can well be proud of this result of its fellowship program.

Very truly yours,

John Wilhelm
EDITOR
MCGRAW-HILL WORLD NEWS

ERIEZ INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION

Exports - Imports

Erie 2, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.

May 26, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

LIONEL J. HOLMES, FELLOWSHIP CANDIDATE

I was happy to learn that Lionel Holmes is a candidate for one of your fellowships. In February of 1954, Mr. Holmes, as Bureau Chief of the McGraw Hill office in Sao Paulo, Brazil was of real assistance to me over a three weeks period.

Frequently American businessmen in foreign countries have an extremely difficult time getting answers to specific questions, Having traveled in 21 different foreign countries on business, I can say that Mr. Holmes has some very unique business qualities in addition to journalistic ability.

I have had dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Holmes and their family in Sao Paulo and I will be happy to have any members of the Council get in touch with me should you wish me to share any of my experiences and impressions of this candidate.

Sincerely,

R.F. Merwin, President

ERIEZ INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION

A McGraw-Hill Publication
Office of the Editor

AMERICAN
MACHINIST

330 W. 42nd St., New York 36, N.Y.

May 26, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I believe that Lionel J. Holmes would be deserving of one of your fellowships from the standpoint of capability, but I am in no position to advise you what good he would derive from the fellowship as it might affect his future activities.

He was an excellent News Editor of my paper prior to his going to Brazil, and, I am told, he did an excellent job and could have returned to his post there if he had so elected.

Sincerely,

Burnham Finney
Editor

BF:LB

WILLIAM REA

Advertising

535 Fairway Road
Ridgewood, New Jersey

May 27, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street, New York 21

Dear Mr. Barber:

Mr. Lionel J. Holmes of McGraw Hill World News in Sao Paulo, Brazil, has asked me to write you re. my acquaintance with him over some ten years past.

During part of that time Mr. Holmes was associated with Rea, Fuller & Company, Inc. (advertising), which I headed and from which I have since retired.

He was at all times a hard and conscientious worker, completely dependable in seeing through to a good conclusion any job to which he was assigned. We knew him also as an all around good fellow and a square citizen, with the best sort of family life.

It is a pleasure to commend him to your consideration.

Cordially yours,

William Rea

PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS SYSTEM

Chrysler Building, 135 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.

Public Relations Department

May 31, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

Lionel J. Holmes, Bureau Chief of McGraw-Hill World News in Sao Paulo, Brazil, has asked me to endorse his application to you for a fellowship, which I am most happy to do with this letter.

I recall with unusual satisfaction the competent, thorough, and kind manner in which he kept on top of the news in a most intricate program for which I was the information officer: the Point Four program in Brazil, where the chief project was the Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, at work on a billion-dollar batch of projects to be financed chiefly by the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank. While I must admit that Mr. Holmes' performance was no more than one might expect from such a reputable organization, I found it most unusual among representatives of other otherwise reputable news-gathering organizations.

Hoping this will help Mr. Holmes fulfill his desires, I am

Sincerely yours,

RKS:jk

Robert K. Shellaby

Name: William John Jorden

Address: The New York Times
c/o Asahi Shimbun Building
Yuraku-Cho, Chiyoda-Ku
Tokyo, Japan

Date of Birth: May 3, 1923

Place of Birth: Bridger, Montana

Nationality: U.S.

Formal Education: Washington High School--Massillon, Ohio--Graduated 1940.

Yale University--New Haven, Conn. 1940-42-major in international relations - left for war service.

Yale University--1943-44 - student in U.S. Army's Japanese Language and Area training program.

University of Michigan--Ann Arbor, Mich. - 1944-45 - student in Military Intelligence advanced Japanese language program.

Yale University--1946-47 - B.A. (with Honors) in Oriental Studies, minor in International Relations - one term of graduate work in Internatiomal Relations.

Columbia University--New York City - 1947-48 - M.S. from Graduate School of Journalism.

Previous Employment: 1945-46--Instructor in Japanese--Yale University

1947 - Three months as general assignments reporter on the Vineyard Gazette, Martha's Vineyard, Mass.

1948 - June to November - radio news writer on The New York Herald Tribune, New York City

December 1948 - October 1952, Foreign correspondent in Japan and Korea for The Associated Press - diplomatic correspondent in Tokyo 1951-52.

Present Employment:

Employer - The New York Times

Address - 229 West 43rd Street
New York 36, New York

Date of employment - October 20, 1952

Nature of duties - Foreign correspondent in Japan with occasional assignments in Korea and, more recently, Formosa. I supply The New York Times with regular

Nature of duties - news dispatches on important or interesting developments- political, economic, military or social - in this area. I also write longer analytic, explanatory or feature articles for the News of the Week in Review, the Sunday magazine and other sections of the Times.

Present salary - $160 per week plus extra payment for articles contributed to sections of the paper other than the regular news section, e.g. Review, magazine, etc., which has averaged about $20 per week over the past year. In addition, I receive a cost-of-living allowance plus necessary expenses.

War Service

Seaman in merchant marine on North Atlantic convoy duty from June 1942 to January 1943.

Volunteered for U.S. Army in January 1943. Completed infantry basic training and was assigned to training cadre at Camp Walters, Texas. Selected for Army Specialized Training Program and sent to Yale University to study Japanese in October 1943. On completion of course, I was assigned to advanced language training program at University of Michigan. Honorably discharged from Army in November 1945 to return to Yale as an instructor in the Army language program. I was a Pfc. when assigned to ASTP and no promotions were given to language trainees.

Publications:

No publications to date except newspaper and magazine articles written in my capacity as a reporter.

Awards:

Sterling and Baldwin scholarships at Yale.
Pulitzer Travelling Fellowship (1948) awarded by Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia.
Foreign Press Association scholarship received while a student at Columbia.

Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

The following statement is submitted in connection with my application for the Council's fellowship for an American foreign correspondent for the academic year 1955-56:

My experience as a foreign correspondent began on December 8, 1948, the day I arrived in Japan to join the Tokyo bureau of The Associated Press. Except for one brief visit home, I have been in Asia since that date.

Those six and one-half years have been momentous for this area and for the world and it has been a richly rewarding experience to have been present at and to have helped record most of the major events that occurred during that period.

Almost as soon as I arrived in Japan, I found myself helping report one of the final chapters of World War II--the execution of ex-Premier Hideki Tojo and other Japanese convicted of major war crimes. The occupation of Japan was still in full-flower and it was challenging to watch and report that vast experiment in reweaving the fabric of a nation.

On a sunny Sunday morning in June, 1950, I was on the news desk in Tokyo when reports began pouring in from Korea that Kim Il-Sung's troops had smashed across the 38th parallel. For the next three years, the Korean War was our major story. It seems only yesterday that we were writing from the Pusan perimeter and then of Inchon and the breakout, of the march North to the Yalu and the long, heartbreaking retreat, of General MacArthur's dismissal and the POW riots on Koje Island, of the prolonged armistace talks at Panmunjom and the truce that few liked but even fewer dared oppose.

In October 1952, I accepted an offer from The New York Times to join its foreign staff and work in Japan. I have been here since, going occasionally to Korea and, more recently, to Formosa for the evacuation of the Tachen Islands. Most of my reporting from Japan has been in the political and economic fields.

At this point, I have spent approximately 10 years working in or studying Japan and the Far East. It is time, I think, to take stock and to look to the future. Having given this matter the most serious consideration, I have concluded that I am in danger, intellectually and professionally, of becoming over-specialized. It is important that as many American newspapermen--and diplomats and men of every other profession--

know as much as possible about Asia. But it is equally important, I believe, that those specialists periodically take a look at the Far East from a vantage point outside the area and also that they apply their special knowledge to other regions and problems.

For this and other reasons, I recently asked the Times that I be considered for assignment to the Soviet Union. I look upon such an assignment as a great challenge in itself, as an opportunity to learn as much as possible about this force which endangers our security, and, further, as a chance to study the Soviet Union and its policies--and to report thereon--from an Asian background rather than with the more typical European experience of the vast majority of correspondents who have been assigned to Moscow.

The Times received my suggestion most favorably and I have the management's pledge to consider me for such an assignment when the tour of our present correspondent expires. I was also encouraged to prepare myself for that assignment through study and research. It was with this in mind that I asked for permission to apply for the Council's fellowship, believing that it would permit the best possible kind of preparation. The Times has agreed that if the Committee were to approve my application, I would be given the necessary leave of absence.

I have three purposes in mind in seeking the Council fellowship and the splendid opportunity it offers for serious research in the field of international relations. First, in preparation for the future, I would plan to devote a major portion of my time to the study of the Russian language and of Soviet foreign policy. Secondly, I would welcome the chance to sort out and integrate the varied experiences I have had in Asia during these years. Finally, I would appreciate the opportunity the nine-month program offers to become familiar again with the mainstreams of thought and interest at home and to explore at the source the shaping of American policy toward Asia and the communist world.

I can promise that if the Council were to approve my application, I would devote all my energy and ability to this program and would endeavor to come up to the high expectations that award of this fellowship implies.

Respectfully submitted by: William J. Jorden

Jorden

References:

Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger
The New York Times
37 Rue Caumartin
Paris, France

Mr. Theordore M. Bernstein
Assistant Managing Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

Mr. Emanuel R. Freedman
Foreign News Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York 36, New York

Mr. John Rich (present holder of fellowship)
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Mr. Alpheus W. Jessup (holder of fellowship in 1952-53)
Managing Editor
Aviation Week
McGraw-Hill Publishing Co.
330 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

Additional references:

Mr. James Reston
Chief of the Washington Bureau
The New York Times
1701 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Robert Trumbull
The New York Times
c/o Asahi Shimbun Building
Yuraku-Cho, Chiyoda-Ku
Tokyo, Japan

Mr. Robert Eunson
Chief of Bureau for Japan and Korea
The Associated Press
c/o Asahi Shimbun
Tokyo, Japan

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Times Square

May 18, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

With the knowledge and approval of the Management of The New York Times, Mr. William J. Jorden, of our Tokyo staff, has made application for a Council on Foreign Relations Fellowship.

In the absence of our Managing Editor, Mr. Turner Catledge, I am writing this letter to inform you that Mr. Jorden's application is warmly supported by all concerned here, and that The New York Times is most willing to grant him the required leave of absence from his duties for the period necessary to undertake this Fellowship, should he be so appointed.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Garst
Assistant Managing Editor

THE NEW YORK TIMES
Times Square

May 18, 1955

Dear Joe:

I am glad to give wholehearted support to the application of William Jorden for a Council fellowship. He is doing first-rate work for us as a correspondent in Tokyo and I know that he would bring to his studies as a Council fellow the same thoughtful approach that characterizes his news dispatches.

There is no question in my mind that Mr. Jorden is fully qualified by previous academic and post-academic training to carry out an advanced course of study that would broaden his usefulness as a correspondent abroad. We at The Times have the highest regard for him as an able, conscientious reporter and as a person whom we are glad to have represent us in a foreign capital. We would certainly plan to send him to an important foreign post after completion of his studies under a Council fellowship.

Cordially yours,

Emanuel R. Freedman
Foreign News Editor

amg

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary, Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

THE NEW YORK TIMES
Washington Bureau
1701 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

May 17, 1955

Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships,
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.,
58 E. 68th St.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

Bill Jorden, of The Times Bureau in Tokyo, is quite a remarkable fellow. I was out there last year, and saw a good deal of him while I was in Tokyo. I had not known him previous to that, and I must say that I was more impressed with him than with any other correspondent The Times had in that part of the world. He is a new correspondent, new, that is, to us. He was on the Associated Press in Tokyo before he joined The Times, and has not been back in this country since he went out there. He speaks Japanese fluently. He is married to a remarkable girl who was in charge of the Japanese language school for the US Army at Yale University during the war, and who is now the principal language instructor for our Embassy in Tokyo. He is a reflective, highly intelligent, modest young man, and I frankly cannot think of anyone in our business who conforms more perfectly to the purposes of the Council's fellowships than Jorden.

Yours sincerely,

James Reston

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Times Square

May 17, 1955

Dear Mr. Barber:

It gives me real pleasure to refer favorably to William J. Jorden who has applied to the Council on Foreign Relations for a resident fellowship.

I have known Mr. Jorden since the days several years ago when he was a student of mine at the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University. He was an extremely capable student, so much so that I made strong efforts upon his graduation to get him on the staff of The New York Times. Although I did not succeed then, we did take him on a few years later. As a member of our Tokyo Bureau, he has justified every expectation that I held for him.

Mr. Jorden is a serious-minded, conscientious young man with a scholarly turn of mind who applies himself diligently to any task at hand. Although he has proved himself a capable newspaperman, I feel certain that he can benefit by the opportunities for broader study that the resident fellowship offers.

Faithfully yours,

Theodore M. Bernstein
Assistant Managing Editor

adg

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

THE NEW YORK TIMES

37, Rue Caumartin,
PARIS

19th May, 1955

C.L. Sulzberger

Mr. Joseph Barber,
Secretary,
Advisory Committee on Fellowships,
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Barber,

Thank you for your letter of May 13th which I have just received.

I wish to recommend Mr. Jorden's capabilities in the highest possible terms. Mr. Jorden is one of the ablest young foreign correspondents I know. He is serious, intelligent and hard-working. He already has an unusually good knowledge of Japan and the Japanese language. I think it would be of great use to Mr. Jorden to have the privilege of spending a year as a resident fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations.

If there are any details you would like concerning Mr. Jorden and his abilities, I would be gald to elaborate. I have high admiration both for him and his work.

Sincerely yours,

Cyrus L. Sulzberger

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
in the City of New York
New York 27, N. Y.

Graduate School of Journalism
Office of the Dean

May 18, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Joe:

One of William Jorden's references from Yale wrote, "He is a sure bet." Another professor was equally confident but disappointed because Jorden wanted to be a newspaper man instead of an expert in the Defense Department. Cautious Henry Beetle Hough employed him one summer on the Vineyard Gazette and urged us to admit him. He won a Pulitzer Traveling Scholarship and (with our help) he and his wife were able to go to Japan together. He would not go alone. That is one of his characteristics. He knows what he wants and usually reaches his goals. He will profit by one of your resident fellowships because he knows how to take advantage of opportunities.

Both Jordens speak such good Japanese that it may be time for them to return to the United States to brush up on their English. Otherwise they do not need to be Americanized!

Sincerely,

Carl W. Ackerman

CWA:db

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Tokyo

May 20, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary,
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

It is a pleasure for me to answer your letter of May 16 regarding the candidacy of William Jorden for one of your Council's resident fellowships.

I have known Bill nearly five years and was his boss for about two years. During that time he showed a keen desire for accuracy, at the same time risking life and limb to get the story he was sent for. I am especially mindful of his activities on Koje Island, during the prisoner outbreaks there.

Because of his knowledge of Japanese, Bill was able to converse with the Koreans. He picked up a story that seventeen prisoners had been killed in an attempted break. When the story was held in censorhip, I naturally went to the highest authority asking for its release, who at that time was General Mark Clark.

Clark had just taken over from General Ridgeway as Far East Commander and told me confidentially he didn't know what to do about Bill's story because Ridgeway had never reported the incident to him. He asked me to wait until he had time to advise Washington of the circumstances and promised us our story would be first when the story was released.

During the week that we were forced to hold, the opposition still didn't get the story and it was a fine beat. Bill, even though he had a hot one, knew the welfare of his country came first and never pressed the issue after Clark gave us such a frank report.

I could go on, but hope this anecdote helps Bill get the fellowship. Please let me know if there is anything else I can do.

Sincerely

Robert Eunson
Chief of Bureau

May 21, 1955
138 Pokfulam Road
Hongkong

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York City

Dear Joe:

I met Bill Jorden for the first time on the Tachens evacuation story earlier this year. But you get to know a guy pretty well when the chips are down -- or at least you think you do.

Bill struck me as being a very solid, responsible and on-the-ball guy -- intelligent and serious, but not dismally serious. If I had to handle a job like that again, I'd feel lucky to have Bill there, too. In short, I'm high on him -- and, I assure you, this is not merely to praise a member of the family.

I'm told Bill is fluent in Japanese, which, in my book, is a recommendation in itself. Everything I know about him makes me think he is the kind of guy who would definitely profit from the kind of year the Council offer. Moreover, I'm pretty sure the Council would profit from having Bill around for a year, too....

Henry R. Lieberman

AVIATION WEEK

The Magazine of Aviation Business

A McGraw-Hill Publication
330 West 42nd St., New York 36.

May 27, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68 Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Joe:

It is a great pleasure to provide a reference for Mr. William J. Jorden, New York Times foreign correspondent in Tokyo, who has applied for one of the Council's fellowships for American foreign correspondents. I consider Bill one of the most competent and thorough of the several hundred foreign correspondents whom I have known and worked beside during ten years abroad. He is completely thorough in his investigating and reporting. He has a broad grasp of the political, economic and social essentials required for competent foreign correspondence.

If awarded a fellowship I know that Bill would profit to the maximum from the opportunities offered, and I know, too, that the Council will have contributed considerably to the development of a correspondent who shows every promise of becoming one of our greatest.

I have known Bill for several years and have watched him in action covering the war in Korea and the complicated political entanglements in Korea and Japan, and I have not seen one of his stories which I would consider mediocre. Most have been superior.

Sincerely,

Alpheus W. Jessup
Managing Editor

AWJ/jdc

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

May 31, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Joe:

I can't tell you how glad I am to hear that Bill Jorden has applied for the 1955-56 resident fellowship at the Council.

If selected, I know that Bill Jorden will make an excellent Fellow.

I've known Bill since he arrived in Japan some seven years ago. I've gotten closely acquainted with him and have come to know him as you can only know a fellow reporter by working with him on assignments over a long period of time. We covered stories together in Japan and later in Korea throughout the entire Korean war.

During this time I've come to have nothing but the highest regard for Bill's skill and ability. He's a hard worker and a very thorough newsman. And, in addition, Bill is also a serious student of the countries where he has been assigned.

I'm not alone in reaching this conclusion. Bill Jorden's abilities are also recognized by the rest of the corps of newsmen. He's certainly one of the finest American reporters in the Far East today.

Another factor I'd like to mention in connection with the fellowship is the amount of time Bill has spent in the Far East. He's been away from the United States now about seven years. Speaking from my own experience I can say that a newsman gets out of touch with thinking in his own country -- no matter how many publications from home he reads. I know that Bill will benefit enormously from a chance to spend a year here in the United States reacquainting himself with his own country.

In short, I'd say you have in Bill Jorden a superb choice for the 1955-56 resident fellowship. He has my highest recommendation.

If there is any detailed information you need additionally, Joe, please feel free to call on me.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Rich, Jr.

Council on Foreign Relations

June 1, 1955

To: Advisory Committee on Fellowships

From: Joseph Barber

Mr. Arthur H. Dean, who is a member of the Council's Committee on Studies and who got to know William J. Jorden during the negotiations at Panmunjom, has this to say about Mr. Jorden:

"Jorden is a brilliant fellow of real ability. I endorse wholeheartedly his application and think he would do a wonderful job."

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

June 3, 1955

To: Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Carroll Binder, Gardner Cowles, John K. Jessup
Grayson L. Kirk, Edward R. Murrow

From: Joseph Barber, Secretary to the Committee

Please add the attached letters to those already sent to you, in support of the fellowship applications of Lionel J. Holmes and William J. Jorden.

J.B

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

Oakland 4, California

The Tribune Tower
Home of KLX

June 1, 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have known Lionel J. Holmes since he was a journalism student of mine at St. Mary's College.

From the beginning I found him an alert and energetic student in the classroom and on the campus newspaper, The Collegian. He had a knack at catching on and a gift of clarity and speed which put him far ahead of his classmates in his particular field. The fact that he twice served as editor and won the journalism medal attests to his skill at that stage.

I have followed his professional career from his hitch on The Tribune into the trade field in New York and South America. His work has come to my attention from time to time and I feel it reflects matured judgment and expanding vision.

This observation convinces me that he would profit a great deal by your fellowship. Holmes is worthy of your consideration and I am pleased to recommend him.

Sincerely yours,

Havelock Hunter

The New York Times
Time Square, New York 36, N.Y.

Tokyo Bureau
Asahi Shimbun Bldg.
20-0040

30 May 1955

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am very glad to give the highest recommendation to Mr. William J. Jorden, of this Bureau, as an applicant for one of the Council's resident fellowships for American foreign correspondents. Mr. Jorden and I have been working together here for the past five and half months.

Mr. Jorden consulted me, as his Bureau chief, before submitting his application, and I strongly urged him to make the try, as I believe he is exactly the type of correspondent for whom these fellowships are meant.

For one thing, he intends to stay in the foreign field, and I have good reason to believe that The New York Times plans to keep him on assignments abroad for the foreseeable future. He is the kind of man we are alert to recruit for our foreign staff. In fact, Mr. Jorden was hired by The Times "in the field" — that is, here in Tokyo — which is not usual. Previously, he had been with the Associated Press in Japan and Korea, and his work was sufficiently impressive that when The Times decided to expand its Tokyo Bureau, we made an offer to Mr. Jorden instead of following our ordinary practice of sending out a man from New York.

Since Mr. Jorden hopes to remain abroad, and The Times plans to keep him on foreign assignments, the Committee on Fellowships can feel that his selection will assure the Council on Foreign Relations full return on its investment. There is, of course, no doubt that Mr. Jorden, for his part, will profit greatly from the studies made available to him, and that he will put this training to the full use for which it is intended.

His capabilities as a correspondent speak for themselves. I can merely add one more affirmation that Mr. Jorden is an expert reporter, highly skilled in getting the news, evaluating it, and writing it. The New York Times has had no hesitation in leaving full responsibility for its Japan coverage to Mr. Jorden for long periods when the Bureau chief was away.

Mr. Jorden also has exceptional scholastic qualifications for making the most of a Council Fellowship. His academic record is known to you. An index to his personal drive in his work no doubt lies in the fact that he is the only foreign correspondent known to me who has taken the considerable trouble to become fluent in the Japanese language. But his ability to converse with Japanese in their own language, I should like to emphasize, is by no means the basis of his high standards of reporting from Japan, It is merely a contributory factor, adding to his fundamental excellence as a newspaperman.

I am sure that if Mr. Jorden is selected, his work in future will reflect high credit on the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Trumbull
Chief of Bureau

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

Council on Foreign Relations

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Day

From Mr. Murrow

Station

February 1, 1955

Do you think any of the boys would be interested.

E.R.M.

rh

correspondence re foreign correspondents fellowships

February 1, 1955

Dear Joe:

Thanks for yours of January 14th. I will do a little investigating and see if we can't find someone in this shop who would benefit from the opportunity offered.

As ever yours,

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68 Street
New York 21, New York

rh

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 559

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

Council on Foreign Relations

To Mr. Day

From Mr. Murrow

Station

February 1, 1955

Do you think any of the boys would be interested.

E.R.M.

rh

Ed

thanks. I'll circulate one around here and one to the men abroad.

John

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

January 14, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Before long, we shall announce the competition for next year's fellowship program for American foreign correspondents. As you may know, the Carnegie Corporation of New York recently extended its grant to cover the next five years, providing for the appointment of one correspondent each year. This will be the seventh year of the fellowship program and we think that the qualitative level of the men appointed has been maintained most successfully.

It is a fact, however, that we have not had a CBS correspondent, although several representatives of other networks have been appointed. Is it not time to remedy this deficiency?

Any suggestions you may have will be deeply appreciated. It goes without saying that I will be glad to write to correspondents in CBS or outside, whom you recommend. The field of likely candidates is strictly limited; nevertheless, it is not easy to reach the men who ought to know about this program.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

Dues for the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

July 1 through December 31, 1954 $100.00

Paid
6/16/54

Six dollars of annual dues is for one year's subscription to FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Default in the payment of any dues for a period of sixty days shall be equivalent to resignation.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET

NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

March 1, 1954

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York 22, New York

Dues through June 30, 1954 $66.67

paid 3-26-54
#1769

In the future, dues will be billed semi-annually on January 1 and July 1 of each year. The above amount represents your dues from the date you have been paying them in the past to the new billing date. We regret any inconvenience that this may cause you.

Council on Foreign Relations

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

September 9, 1954

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

The annual general meeting of the Council on Foreign Relations will be held at three P.M. on Wednesday, October 13th, at the Harold Pratt House, 58 East 68th Street, for the election of Directors of the class of 1957.

The following gentlemen have been nominated for Directors by the Nominating Committee:

Elliott V. Bell
Allen W. Dulles
R. C. Leffingwell
Walter H. Mallory
John J. McCloy
Philip D. Reed
Myron C. Taylor

returned 9/15

A formal proxy is enclosed. In case you approve the above slate, it is requested that you fill in and return to me this proxy with the understanding that I shall cast your vote for the election of the above nominees.

Very truly yours,

W. H. Mallory

Walter H. Mallory
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

(Enclosure)

Council on Foreign Relations
SP.

June 11, 1954

Dear Joe:

This will confirm my telephone call to your office regarding the candidates for Council fellowships. I vote as follows: 1. John Hubbard Rich; 2. Henry Shapiro; 3. Kenneth Dean Koch.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

dm

J. Z.
J. A.
pls have a look

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

LE 5-3300

June 2, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

May I ask you, as a member of our Advisory Committee on Fellowships, to review the enclosed applications for fellowships at the Council? As soon as you can, I hope you will let me know your order of preference for the first three candidates, of the six whose applications are to be reviewed.

The applicants are as follows:

eliminated 4/7 ~~Selig Seidenman Harrison - Associated Press~~
3 Kenneth Dean Koch - Radio Free Europe
George Natanson - National Broadcasting Company
1 John Hubbard Rich, Jr. - National Broadcasting Company
2 Henry Shapiro - United Press
Eliminated Dm. 4/4 ~~Henry Tanner - Houston Post~~

There were other applicants and prospective applicants, who were eliminated from consideration as being obviously unsuited for the purposes of the fellowships. In the case of candidates whose applications are enclosed, letters were sent to all references cited by them; in some cases no answers to our letters have been received. We feel that we should not wait any longer for such answers, but do not feel that failure to respond to our letters should prejudice consideration of the candidates; in some cases, the references cited have been away from their offices (i.e. covering the fighting in Indochina, traveling elsewhere, etc.)

We are, of course, primarily interested in quality and do not feel any compulsion to appoint a man merely for the sake of having him on the premises. In this connection, some of the present crop of applicants do not perfectly fulfill requirements to which we have adhered in the past. In your consideration of the candidates, we would like you to be guided in the first instance by your view with respect to the candidates' ability to profit from the kind of opportunity offered by a year away from deadlines, in which they

may act as more or less free agents in benefiting from a combined program of reading, study and informal discussion at the Council and at nearby universities. As always, we are bent on helping men to increase their competence to report and interpret events abroad.

We hope to be able to advise the applicants of the Advisory Committee's decision by June 15 - which explains why I ask you to let me hear from you as soon as you can.

You recall that, besides yourself, the Advisory Committee is composed of Gardner Cowles, John K. Jessup, Carroll Binder, and Grayson L. Kirk.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

June ~~11~~ 4, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Please eliminate from consideration for a fellowship here Mr. Henry Tanner, of the Houston Post, whose application was forwarded to you the other day, along with five other applications. Mr. Tanner has notified us that he has been awarded a Nieman Fellowship and has accepted the award.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barber

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

June 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Please eliminate from consideration for a fellowship here Mr. Selig S. Harrison of the Associated Press, whose application was forwarded to you the other day, along with five other applications. Mr. Harrison has notified us that he has been awarded a Nieman Fellowship and has accepted the award.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

Name: John Hubbard Rich, Jr.

Address: 156 Washburn Avenue, Portland, Maine
Overseas address: N.B.C., Room 423, Nikkatsu Building,
Tokyo, Japan

Born: August 5, 1917, Cape Elizabeth, Maine, USA. Single.

Education: Attended Deering High School, Portland, Maine and Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, graduating with A.B. degree in June 1939. Majored in French language with minor in English.

Employment:

From June 1939 to May 1942 employed by Gannett Publishing Co., working half this time for the Daily Kennebec Journal, Augusta, Maine, and the rest on the Portland Press Herald, Portland, Maine. Did general reporting covering news and feature stories.

In June 1942 attended the Naval Language School at Boulder, Colo. and studied Japanese for a full year during which time I was enrolled in Navy as yeoman second class. In June 1943 was commissioned in the U.S. Marine Corps and subsequently served overseas as Japanese interpreter with the 4th Marine Division, 25th Regiment. Participated in landings at Kwajalein, Saipan, Tinian and Iwo Jima as an intelligence officer, mainly translating captured documents and interrogating captured prisoners. Returned to the United States in October, 1945, and was discharged as First lieutenant. Was awarded Bronze Star for the Saipan operation.

In January, 1945, was employed and sent to Tokyo as correspondent for International News Service and worked for them in Japan, Korea and China until December 1950. In 1947 served as INS bureau chief in Seoul, Korea. Covered the Korean war for five months for INS and then resigned to take employment with N.B.C. From 1946-50 also served as stringer in Japan and Korea for the American Broadcasting Co.

Present Employer:

National Broadcasting Company. Since December 1950 have been correspondent for N.B.C. in Japan and Korea, writing and delivering news broadcasts for radio and doing interviews and feature stories for television. My salary from N.B.C. during 1953 (exclusive of expenses) was $11,950.

References: Mr. Irving R. Levine,
National Broadcasting Company
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Mr. George T. Folster
Room 423, Nikkatsu Building
Tokyo, Japan

Mr. Robert Pierpoint
Newsroom, Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Mr. Keyes Beech
Chicago Daily News
Mainichi Building
Tokyo, Japan

Mr. Alpheus W. Jessup
McGraw-Hill
Tokyo Correspondents Club
Marunouchi
Tokyo, Japan

John RICH

Statement of Intention

My past ten years have been spent almost entirely outside the continental limits of the United States. I first went overseas in January 1944 and have since spent less than 5 months in the United States.

The period from January 1944 until 1945 was wartime service in the U.S. Marine Corps. In January 1946 I came to Tokyo as correspondent for International News Service. I worked in the Tokyo bureau until 1947 then went to Seoul, Korea, for about half a year as bureau manager. In 1949 I covered the Chinese civil war briefly around Shanghai and Tsingtao.

I was in Tokyo when the Korean fighting broke out and went immediately to Korea to report the war. From then until the armistice by far the major portion of my time was spent in Korea. In fact, about half my overseas reporting has been covering fighting of one sort or another.

During these years I've seen tremendous changes take place in Asia -- the rebuilding of Japan, the Chinese civil war, the tug-of-war between America and Russia over Korea and finally the outbreak of fighting. But through it all I've felt an inadequacy in understanding and interpreting the underlying reasons behind these happenings. I've been aware of shortcomings both in my grasp of history of this part of the world and in my general knowledge of foreign relations -- how governments establish foreign policies and carry them out.

Looking back at my college curriculum I regret (as probably everyone does in one way or another) that I didn't take courses in government, politics and modern history. For instance, although I came to Asia with almost no knowledge of Russia, I've seen Russian policy affecting almost every major development I've been called on to write about. I always promise myself I'll do more background reading, but under ordinary working conditions it seldom gets accomplished.

If I'm granted a fellowship I'd like to use it pretty much as its purpose is outlined in the Council brochure -- to permit me to get away from the day to day preoccupation with the news, to do background study and to get a perspective on events now taking place or on which I will be reporting.

There's almost no limit to the courses I'd like to take. But realizing only so much can be accomplished in a year, I'd restrict myself to a course in modern Russian history, American political history and a study of American foreign relations. Those are my present choices, but I'd like to feel that I could change or revise them after discussing it more at length with some of the Council members. I'm most desirous of taking some course that will give me a better yardstick with which to appraise the foreign policy of the United States. I've always felt a sense of relief that as a correspondent I've only had to write about and not make those grave decisions I've seen American government officials make these past ten years. Naturally, one can better criticize actions of his government if he has some knowledge of how these decisions are reached. I'd very much like to take a course that studies problems involved in the formation of foreign policy.

Apart from formal studies, of course, I look forward to reaping great benefits from a chance to spend, after a decade overseas, nine months in the United States. Working and associating with members of the Council should give me a chance to readjust my own thinking and take a look at overseas problems from a different angle.

C - O - P - Y

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, Inc.
RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

April 28, 1954

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary, Advisory Committee
on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

In accordance with your policy regarding the acceptance of applications for a fellowship with the Council on Foreign Relations, and relative to the application of John Rich, NBC's news correspondent presently on the staff of our Tokyo bureau, Mr. Rich's application has the wholehearted endorsement of Mr. Davidson Taylor, our Director of Public Affairs, and myself.

Therefore, we shall be pleased to grant him a leave of absence for the purpose of such a fellowship and we will certainly reinstate him as a member of our foreign staff when he has completed his studies with the Council.

Sincerely yours,

William R. McAndrew
Manager
News and Special Events

em
cc: Mr. Davidson Taylor

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

George Thomas Folster
Far East Director

Nikkatsu International Bldg.
Room 423
1, 1-Chome Yurakucho, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo, Japan

May 11th, 1954

Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.,
The Harold Pratt House,
58, East 68th Street,
New York 21, N.Y.

Atten: Mr. Joseph Barber - Secretary

Dear Mr. Barber:

Your letter asking about Mr. John Rich has just arrived and, in answer, I find this is a very difficult letter for me to write, because Mr. Rich is the back-bone of my organization here, and he will not be easy to replace.

We need him here in the Far East, but an opportunity such as the Council offers is too important to pass up, especially for a man of John's qualifications and predicament.

First about his qualifications: I am sure you know of his work, -- that you have seen his I.N.S. by-line, in the past and have heard him on N.B.C., these last three years, so nothing need be added to acquaint you with or convince you of, the high quality he delivers.

When John graduated from school he did a short trick on a home town paper somewhere in Maine, before the Marines got him, (John was a special language student and became an interpretor and hit the beaches, grabbed off prisoners, for questioning). After this Marine hitch he stayed in Japan with I.N.S., and also did some stringer work for A.B.C. Soon he felt radio was a better medium for him, so he resigned from I.N.S. in order to work full time in radio. That threw him on the market and as I had appreciated his work for a long time, both as a stringer in radio and as a correspondent for I.N.S. - I grabbed him. That was in 1950 and he has been with us ever since, doing a steady, fine and continually improving job reporting - not only the Korean war, but the politics behind it and the situation here in Japan, and the Far East in general.

As his boss for the last three years I have been consistantly satisfied with the sure quiet manner in which John tackels a problem and the way he goes after his information. He is direct, forthright and usually gets what he goes after from whatever quarter, or individual he approaches. But what gratifies me the most is the way he leaves people -- so many of them become his friends. He is always welcomed back. This is true of whether its the Prime Minister of Japan, the General in Command of the Battle of the Moment or the Military Headquarters we now have here.

Now about his predicament: From the above you will see that John has very little experience with his own people. He needs a concentrated stay in the United States. One of the most important things a year with you people will do for him will be to help him make up his mind. He has been in the Orient now for a long time, (pushing on ten years). He is still a young man, and was all the younger when he first came here. Now he must step back and get perspective - to make up his mind whether he is going to stay out here for the rest of his life or go back to his own country and people.

He needs to study the home scene, if he is to give full value to his chosen field - foreign reporting. A year with the Council will go a long way towards doing the trick, in my opinion, and should give him a more balanced background.

Yours truly,

George Thomas Folster

GTF/ak

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, Inc.
A Service of Radio Corporation of America
RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.
Circle 7-8300

May 17, 1954

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, New York

Dear Joe:

I have your letter of April 26th in regard to John Rich's application for a Council Fellowship. I will be very happy to comment on John's capabilities and on the prospect of his profiting from the opportunity because I can commend John to you with great enthusiasm and complete faith in his ability. If I speak in superlatives, the words are chosen advisedly.

I met John in Korea where we were both correspondents for the International News Service, and later we both switched to the National Broadcasting Company. Thus, I had the opportunity of working with John during the trying circumstances of covering a war. Above all, he is of high professional ability and integrity.

Throughout that period of over two years and since that time I found John to be a person of immense perserverance, high intelligence and quiet charm. He would not have applied for the Fellowship if he had not decided (as I know he has) that he can make a great deal of the year by applying himself to filling the gaps in his considerable knowledge gained academically, in the Army (where he learned to speak fluent Japanese -- I should say in the Marines), and in the field of day-by-day professional journalism. His easy manner and ability to mix affably will make him an asset at Council functions.

It is also my opinion that John is particularly good material for a Fellowship because he has been abroad for such a long, unbroken period of time that the chance to reestablish links with American thinking and developments would reach a particularly receptive person.

In short, I can recommend John for a Council Fellowship without reservation and in complete confidence that he will reflect credit on himself and the Fellowship both during and after the period of the grant. Haiving been privileged to receive such a Fellowship myself, I am appraising John in terms of my first-hand gratifying experience at the Council. As you know, John is the first person I have spoken of to you in these phrases of glowing praise, and they are not lightly bestowed.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely,

Irving R. Levine

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York - Plaza 5-2000

May 28, 1954

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary, Advisory Committee
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

In reference to your letter of April 26th, I shall be most happy to offer a few comments on my colleague Mr. John Rich. Since the spring of 1951, Mr. Rich and myself have been both competitors and companions in covering the Korean war and other stories throughout Korea and Japan. During that time I have acquired the utmost respect for Mr. Rich, both as a hard-working news reporter of the highest quality, and as a top-flight analyst. While it is not particularly customary to speak of competitors in glowing terms, I feel that Mr. Rich is so outstanding as to warrant the highest recommendations. My personal experience has been that when he is working on a story, or when he is reporting it, the story will be presented in its entirety, with fairness, and without sensation. To put it bluntly, he is the toughest sort of competition!

Often during the Korean war Mr. Rich and myself were forced to pool broadcast facilities or even--in a few cases--broadcasts. This gave me an opportunity to closely observe his abilities. I have been impressed by his amazing background, as well as his friendly ability to get along with people--both foreigners and Americans. He is an outstanding student of Japanese, and knows the land, its people, and its problems. I feel, however, that perhaps his activities in the past few years have been too limited to Japan and Korea. A fellowship such as that offered by the Council, would enable him to broaden his knowledge and his outlook to include other nations and peoples. In this way I feel sure that he would do an even better job of reporting and interpreting the news, when he returned to his work. Mr. Rich would gain a great deal from such an opportunity. But the greatest gain would accrue to his radio and television audience, who would be better informed through his broadcasts.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Pierpoint
Tokyo Bureau Chief
CBS

UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS
Of America

Henry Shapiro
Moscow Bureau Manager

351 North Broadway,
Nyack, N.Y.,
May 18, 1954

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary, Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations,
58 East 68th St.,
New York City

My dear Mr. Barber:

Allow me to submit herewith my formal application to the Council on Foreign Relations for a resident fellowship for the current academic year.

I hope that you will forgive me the delay and failure to write to you immediately after our conversation of a fortnight ago. I have been travelling a bit and settling my family. My heavy luggage with my library and files has just arrived. In the meantime I understand that my chief, Mr. Earl J. Johnson, has already informed you that the United Press is willing to give me the necessary leave of absence.

Pertinent biographical data follows:

I was born in Vaslui, Romania, on April 19, 1906 and immigrated to the United States in 1920. I acquired American citizenship by naturalization in New York in 1928.

Although I had a primay education in Romania, I consider myself almost entirely a product of the American public school. I attended New York public grammar and high-schools, the College of the City of New York (A.B. 1929), the Harvard Law School (LL.B. 1932) and was admitted to the New York bar in 1933. My first journalistic success occurred in 1923, when, in competition with several thousand high-school students, I wrote the winning essay on the "Biggest News of the Week," in a contest conducted by the New York World. My predilection for journalism led me to give up the practice of law soon after my admission to the bar and I have been an active newspaperman ever since.

I spent the summer of 1931 at the Geneva School of International Studies and during my first two years in Moscow I took a course of lectures on Soviet law at the Moscow Institute of Law. At college my fields of concentration were social sciences and literature and after becoming a newspaperman I continued reading literature on comparative law but I have not published anything on the subject yet.

I have a speaking and working knowledge of Russian, French, German, Spanish and Romanian.

I have been working as Moscow bureau manager for the United Press for the past seventeen years. Prior to that, for some three

UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS
of America

Henry Shapiro
Moscow Bureau Chief

years, I was Reuter's Moscow correspondent and also represented the now defunct Morning Post of London.

As Moscow correspondent, I covered every important development in the Soviet Union in the past twenty years, including the beginnings of industrialization, the purges and treason trials of the mid-thirties, the second world war and the cold war. My last specific assignment took me to Berlin, as special U.P. correspondent, at the conference of Foreign Ministers, January to February 1954.

Formally, I am still the Moscow manger of the United Press on home leave at a salary of $225 a week. My leave expires in September 1954 after which I have the choice of a year's leave of absence in America or a new assignment in Europe to cover diplomatic developments from London with special concentration on developments in the iron curtain countries.

I spent the war years in Europe as an American war correspondent accredited to the Persian Gulf Command. My principal assignment was the Russian front but I also travelled in the Middle East and in 1944 I spent several months on a lecture tour in the United States.

As long as I remained in Moscow I was unable to publish any books but I have collected considerable material for future publication.

In 1944 I was awarded the National Headliners' Club medal for my coverage of the Leningrad front.

Further information with regard to my work may be obtained from the following:

Mr. Earl J. Johnson, General News Manager of the United Press, 220 East 42nd St., New York;
Mr. Walter Rundle, Cable Editor, United Press, 220 East 42nd St, New York;
Mr. Wallace Carroll, Executive News Editor, Winston-Salem Journal, Winston-Salem, North Carolina;
Mr. Maurice Hindus, 1 West 67th St., New York;
Prof, Ernest J. Simmons, Columbia University, New York

My work is, of course, known to all American ambassadors who have served in Moscow. Our present ambassador, Mr. Charles E. Bohlen, who has known me for some twenty years, is in a good position to evaluate my work. And Mr. Robert Tucker, formerly of the American Embassy in Moscow and now with the Rand Corporation in Washington, may be called upon for further information.

A 500 word statement on my experience as foreign correspondent and samples of my journalistic writing from abroad are being forwarded separately.

With many thanks for your kind consideration of this application, I am

Faithfully yours

Henry Shapiro

Henry Shapiro

Statement of Intention

I spent the better part of the past twenty years in the U.S.S.R. as correspondent and Moscow Bureau Manager of the United Press of America. I left Moscow in October, 1953 when, as a result of persistent representations by our Embassy, a group of four Russian wives of American correspondents which included my wife, were granted exit visas by the Soviet Government.

Between October, 1953 and April, 1954 my wife, daughter and I travelled in Western Europe. In Stockholm, Paris, Zurich, Berlin and London I conferred with many prominent editors, United Press clients, correspondents and diplomats and collected material on East-West relations.

In Italy I wrote a series of fifteen 2500 words articles under the general title "Russian After Stalin". The articles were published in their entirety in some of the leading European newspapers which included the Dagens Nyhetter of Stockholm, the Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung, Le Monde of Paris, Le Soir of Brussels and La Stampa of Turin. A digest of the series was broadcast by the B.B.C.

In the United States, for reasons of space, the United Press condensed the series to ten 700 word articles published by many of our morning and afternoon newspapers.

When I completed my Russian series the United Press sent me to Berlin, to the conference of Foreign Ministers, which I covered for a group of special subscribers for whom I wrote a daily column of comment and background on Soviet policy.

I returned to the United States in April, 1954 for a vacation and re-assignment.

My first journalistic assignment in Russia took me to Leningrad in 1934 where I covered the International Physiological Congress for the New York Herald-Tribune. After a brief period of work in the Moscow Bureau of the Herald-Tribune I became Reuter's correspondent. Under my arrangement with Reuter's I was able to write special articles for the Morning Post (now merged with the Daily Telegraph), Daily Express and the Economist of London.

In 1937 I joined the UP Bureau in Moscow and two years later I came home for consultation and briefing after which I returned to Moscow as Bureau Manager.

Between 1937 and 1954 I lived, worked and traveled in the Soviet Union, writing daily dispatches on the news, special articles for our numerpus clients and feature stories. I was an eye-witness reporter of all the major developments in Soviet history for two decades. My coverage included the beginnings of industrialization and collectivization, the purges and political trials of the mid-thirties, the Soviet-Finnish War, the Soviet-German War and the Cold War with its aftermath.

I had considerably more freedom in my writing prior to 1939 when censorship was confined to telegraphic dispatches. Mailed and telephoned copy was then not subject to censorship as is the case now.

. . . .

During the war I traveled to several front zones and saw a bit of the Red Army in action. I interviewed many Generals and war-time political leaders. I traveled with a Soviet government and the diplomatic corps in the evacuation train from Moscow to Kuibyshev and later went to the Urals to report on the industries evacuated from the West. I was in the Don valley at the beginning of the Soviet counter-offensive which let to the German defeat at Stalingrad and flew over the German lines to besieged Leningrad.

For my Leningrad coverage I was awarded the annual medal of the National Headliners Club.

During the war years I made several trips to the Middle East and reported developments in Iran, Palestine and Egypt. And immediately after the war I traveled to Poland, Hungary, Germany and Yugo-Slavia from where I wrote the customary series of dispatches.

. . .

In 1944 I spent six months in the United States on home-leave in the course of which I delivered a number of public lectures under the auspices of the United Press and under the management of the W. Colston Leigh Lecture Bureau.

I returned to America in the summer of 1946 in the hope of re-assignment. I then had reason to believe that the Soviet government would release my wife and child. I undertook a lecture tour and began to write a book under contract with Little, Brown and Company. I also wrote a few articles for Look Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly and the Saturday Review of Literature. But when it became clear that my family was being detained in Moscow indefinitely I abandoned my plans and returned to Moscow where I remained until after Stalin's death when my family was released.

II

The foregoing outline of my work indicates the unique experience I have enjoyed as foreign correspondent. No other western newspaperman has had a comparable opportunity to observe, study and report on Soviet affairs. In the space of two decades I lived through a multitude of phases of Soviet history - great internal political and cultural upheavals and numerous zig-zags in foreign policy. I traveled extensively in the Soviet Union and satellite countries and had many contacts with Russians when travel and contact were possible. During this period I enjoyed the friendship and counsel of may western diplomats, journalists and military men.

I saw the internal consolidation of the Soviet system and the menacing rise of Soviet power abroad. And in the course of my journeys outside the Soviet Union I was able to see the impact of that power in many other countries.

The United Press has given me an extraordinary world-wide forum all these years. I have stated publicly to American audiences as well as to

skeptical Soviet officials, who seemed to be convinced that American reporters write under orders from the Department of State, that my editors have never "instructed" or "bossed" me. Aside from the tacit understanding requiring the observation of the general canons of free-world journalism - accuracy, objectivity and good taste - I have been completely "uninstructed" by my editors.

While laboring under the extreme difficulties of Soviet censorship, lack of professional facilities, suspicion and some danger I have tried to live up to the best traditions of American journalism. And I have been gratified to learn from my editors that I have not entirely failed in my efforts.

But in view of the obvious limitations of the Moscow assignment I feel that I have not done an adequate job. I have left much unsaid and unexplained. I have accumulated several volumes of notes and a considerable library of printed matter. My problem now is to complete my work.

A fellowship of the Council on Foreign Relations would answer my purpose ideally. It would enable me to annotate and supplement my own material by reference to the Russian collections in the New York Libraries. I propose to brush up on Russian history, Soviet law and diplomacy by taking the pertinent courses at Columbia University. I would confine myself to the field of Soviet studies and take full advantage of the guidance of Columbia and Princeton teachers.

At the same time I am convinced that I can make a modest, personal contribution to the Council by participating in various discussion groups and seminars and sharing whatever experience and knowledge I have acquired with members of the Council.

The United Press has asked me, upon the termination of my vacation, to accept an assignment in London or some other west-European capital from where I am to write news analyses and reports on foreign affairs with special concentration on the Communist world. I should like to take that assignment after a year of work and study under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations.

I have no doubt that the opportunities offered by the fellowship will enhance my competence as a reporter and news analyst. The added knowledge and new perspective gained from the exchange of views with members of the Council and University scholars will be reflected in my future journalistic work.

Respectfully submitted,

Henry Shapiro

UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS
incorporated in New York

GENERAL OFFICES
NEWS BUILDING NEW YORK CITY

EARL J. JOHNSON
vice president
General News Manager

May 5, 1954

Dear Mr. Barber:

Mr. Henry Shapiro told me that he has applied for a Council fellowship.

This is to advise you that the United Press will grant Mr. Shapiro the necessary leave absence if the Council on Foreign Relations awards him a fellowship.

Sincerely yours,

Earl J. Johnson

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th St.
New York 21, N.Y.

EJJ:P

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL

TWIN CITY SENTINEL
Sunday
JOURNAL and SENTINEL

May 25, 1954

Piedmont Publishing Company Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

In reply to your letter of May 21 I have always considered Henry Shapiro the best qualified of the American correspondents who have served in the Soviet Union.

He is not only a journalist, but a careful student. In Moscow, he has been most generous in helping visiting newspapermen, giving them the benefit of his background, his wide reading, and his personal sources of information.

I am sure that Mr. Shapiro would make the very best use of the fine opportunity which you offer.

Sincerely yours,

Wallace Carroll
Executive News Editor

WSJS Radio - broadcast affiliates - WSJS Television

MAURICE HINDUS 1 West 67th Street New York 23, N.Y.

May 27, '54

Mr. Joseph Barber
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber,-

I have your inquiry of May 21 with reference to Henry Shapiro's application for one of your Council's resident fellowships. In reply permit me to inform you that I have known Shapiro since the time when fresh out of the Harvard Law School he to Moscow for the first time. He was then much more interested in Russian history, literature and the Bolshevik revolution than he was in the profession for which he had prepared at Harvard. He therefore forsook law and turned to journalism.

He has been an intimate observer of the Soviet scene for some twenty years, and has amassed an astounding amount of information on the Soviet Union. He has a brilliant mind, an encyclopedic memory and is of a studious dispostion. His perfect command of the Russian language has of course been a priceless asset to him.

He has now reached a point when it is important for him to compare his own knowledge and interpretations of the Soviet Union with those of others, particularly scholars and historians in our universities who have been devoting their attention to the same subject. I know of no other American journalist who has specialized in the study of Soviet-Russian affairs who is better qualified than is Shapiro to benefit from the kind of scholarly pursuit which your fellowship encourages. Since the subject of the Soviet Union is asvast as it is complex, it may even be that in the course of his unhurried studies, with no date-line to meet and with none of the other pressures to which a correspondent in the field is subject to burden him, he will uncover new situations or new viewpoints that might be of no little interest and importance to other serious students of the Soviet Union.

I can only conclude by saying that if your Council awards him a resident fellowship, he will make the most of it.

Sincerely,

Maurice Hindus

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
in the City of New York
(New York 27, N. Y.)

Department of Slavic Languages

May 27, 1954

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th St.
New York City

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have your request for information concerning Mr. Henry Shapiro, Moscow Manager of the United Press, who has applied for one of the Council's resident fellowships for American foreign correspondents.

I have known Mr. Shapiro since 1932. On my several trips to the Soviet Union since 1932 for research purposes, I saw a good deal of Mr. Shapiro, and I have also seen a bit of him on his vacation periods here. Further, I have followed his despatches and articles in the American press and occasionally in the French and English press.

Over the last twenty-five years I have been pretty well acquainted with most of the American correspondents who have served in the Soviet Union, and I would place Mr. Shapiro among the top three or four whom I've known. He has perhaps spent more years in the Soviet Union than any of our correspondents and his knowledge of the language is that of a native. He has had very much a student's, as well as a correspondent's attitude towards the Soviet Union, and gives every evidence of being extremely well read in the social and political literature of that country, with a special interest in its legal institutions.

I dare say that there are few correspondents who know the Soviet Union as well as Mr. Shapiro. So far as his reporting is concerned, within the limits of the Soviet censorship, I have always found it careful and informative. And in those pieces of his written outside the Soviet Union and which I have read, I have found them factual, objective, and rich in information.

I would say that Mr. Shapiro could make excellent use of a Council fellowship. There are many printed resources over here which have not been available to him in the Soviet Union. Further, perhaps some association with scholarly experts in the field, and even auditing certain special courses in the Russian Institute might well be of use to him. But most of all, he should have an opportunity, which the Council could so admirably provide, of intellectual association with students, scholars and public servants in diplomacy. I feel that all such endeavors would contribute a great deal to a major piece of writing on the Soviet Union which I hope Mr. Shapiro will eventually attempt, as well as to his equipment as a foreign correspondent.

Sincerely yours,
Ernest J. Simmons

Name: Kenneth Dean Koch Age: 34

Legal residence: 17185 Alcoy, Detroit 5, Michigan

Present address: Radio Free Europe
Izzet Pasa Sok. 38/1
Bomonti/Istanbul
Turkey

Nationality: USA

Education: Cranbrook School for Boys, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan
1935-37 Graduated: Cum Laude

Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan
1937-41 Degree: B.A. with highest honors
Major: German-Spanish
Minors: Speech, Science (mathematics-physics-chemistry)
Organizations: Theta Alpha Phi, National Dramatics
Honorary president for two years
Blue Key

Military Service:

I was commissioned a Second Lieutenant Field Artillery on graduation from Michigan State College, having attended four years of ROTC. I was called up to Active Duty two weeks after graduation, my first assignment being the Battery Officers' Course at the Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, Okla. On completion of this course I was assigned to the Second Armored Division, 14th Field Arty. Regt. Because of my knowledge of German, I was detailed as an instructor in PW interrogation in a divisional intelligence school. I was called from the Carolina Maneuvers in the early summer of 1942 to the then forming Military Intelligence Training Center at Camp Ritchie, Maryland, and was a student in the first class there. Our entire class of about 25 officers remained on after graduation as instructors, our first jobs being the completion of the training of the class of interpreters and interrogation specialists who were to be sent on the North African invasion.

I remained at Camp Ritchie for over a year as an instructor, first in terrain intelligence, then as head of a visual training unit created by myself and called the Demonstration Unit. This Unit presented various military intelligence problems in actual surroundings and uniforms within the framework of a dramatic situation. These demonstrations were given by this unit in army camps and maneuver areas from California to the Atlantic.

In September 1943 I was sent to Fort Leavenworth as a student in the Command and General Staff Achool. I was then a first Lt. and one of the youngest members of a class of almost 800 officers.

On completion of this course I was sent to Allied Force Headquarters in Algiers as an Order of Battle specialist in the G-2 Section. I was promoted to Captain shortly before the Southern France Campaign, AFHQ having

moved to Italy in the meantime. I participated in the Southern France invasion as an intelligence specialist with #2 ICU, a special intelligence assault force. Among other things, my job along with another officer was to arrange for the proper exploitation of enemy documents and other articles and to supervise the change-over from processing them through AFHQ to SHAEF when the armies made contact.

This mission completed, I was recalled to Italy and assigned as senior American positive intelligence staff officer with Field Marshal (then General) Alexander's Headquarters, Allied Armies Italy. This was an integrated headquarters with American officers in the deputy positions, and my designation was General Staff Officer, Third Class, Intelligence. I was in charge of the GSI War Room from then until the end of the Italian Campaign. The GSI section remained intact when General Clark took over command, retaining its full complement of British officers under Brig. Hirsch.

At the end of the war my interests were switched rather quickly from Germany to Yugoslavia when it became apparent that there might be friction with Tito over the Trieste issue. I began conducting order of battle and political studies on Tito's forces, although I had previously also followed the Chetnik and Ustaschi groups as adjuncts of the German army.

I was promoted to Major at the end of hostilities, being at the time 25 years old.

I went to Vienna with General Clark's staff and became one of the first two American officers assigned to staff level positive intelligence operations against the Russian Army, a project which was at that time under the most rigid security restrictions. I also attended a conference in Frankfurt, Germany, on behalf of USFA to assist in the general planning of this project throughout Europe. I was sent to Budapest with the mission of inaugurating and coordinating these activities with the American and British staffs there. Col. Larsen, my superior, was demobilized in September 1945 and I became Chief of Branch until my subsequent assignment to the Allied Control Mission, Hungary, to carry out the above activities.

I was awarded the Legion of Merit in January 1946 and the British Mention in Despatches in April.

I was released to inactive duty in May 1946.

Previous Employment:

During College I worked as a part-time script writer, continuity writer, and producer at WKAR from 1938-41. My salary was $8-10 a week, depending on how much I worked.

I was in the army as an intelligence officer from June 1941 to May 1946.

I didn't do anything until August. I then moved to Bucks County, Pa., near the home of Felix Holt, an old friend of our family since Detroit. He was then writing a program for CBS. I wanted to get back into radio writing and Holt suggested that I come to Bucks County to be near him and that he would help me with contacts in New York as well as give me assistance and pointers in my writing. I had a lot to learn so I gladly accepted. I did a lot of writing and tried to sell a show to the networks but didn't do too well. I finally decided to move to New York and see if being at the site

would help. I began to get some jobs doing film treatments for the United Nations and got a job as substitute news writer for the New York Daily News radio station. I earned about $2,000 during the entire period.

I decided that fiction was not my line and decided to get back into a field that interested me ever since I was in Budapest: political reporting and analysis. I returned to Europe in September 1947 to accept a position with G-2, USFA as a political analyst in the intelligence coordination branch. I began as a CAF 9. I was promoted to Section Chief, and finally to Deputy Branch Chief with the final grade of GS 13 ($7,600 per year). During my last year in Vienna I was acting Branch Chief for most of the time because no officer was assigned to the nominal position of Branch Chief, or if he was assigned, he had other duties. This Branch was in charge of all USFA intelligence publications, maintained relations with the Austrian Government on behalf of the High Commissioner, and was the Staff Agency responsible for the supervision of the gathering of political and economic intelligence in Austria. As Austria also became important as a transit center for illegal east-west trade and as a point of passage for Soviet and Satellite intelligence personnel, these activities were also added to our Branch.

I resigned from USFA in January 1951 to accept a position with Radio Free Europe.

Present Employment:

I have been employed with Radio Free Europe since January 1951 as News Bureau Chief in Berlin and Istanbul. I set up RFE's first regular news bureau in Berlin in February and remained there until the end of May 1953, when I was sent on a special mission to Israel to attempt to persuade the Israeli authorities to permit RFE to open an office there. The purpose was to interrogate the Jews arriving from our target areas. I was not successful. The Israeli authorities were not willing to "jeopardize the right of any single Jew behind the Iron Curtain to emigrate to Israel by the activities of any agency in Israel."

I then moved my family to Munich and took charge of our Rome office for two months while our correspondent there was on home leave. I returned to Munich and was posted to Istanbul in November 1953.

The duties of an RFE Bureau Chief are quite varied. The job consists in doing a complete political, sociological, and economic survey of a country from a point outside it, and from sources which are prejudiced, ignorant, and often mendacious. I have had to select and train interrogators in proper techniques, educate them to new developments in their former countries, keep them from getting stale because of the endless repetition, direct the interrogations by personal assessment of the source, and suggest new lines of approach in general and with specific subjects. Our principal target countries in Berlin were Poland and Czechoslovakia, plus some stray Hungarians who had managed to get that far north.

East Germany was a separate and different task. Here were day to day news events to report by teletype, while the other interrogations seldom revealed spot news as such. One difficulty in reporting on East Germany was the very wealth of material available from all sources, the exact opposite of our problems with the other countries. A process of selectivity was there necessary and we tried to keep informed of the intricate developments within the Party (SED) apparatus and the relations of the top East German communists

with the Soviet control element.

In my capacity as bureau chief, I have been responsible for the entire output of the office, which means that my duties were mainly editorial and supervisory. I was able at times to produce certain studies based on my observations of conditions within the satellites, or within the country in which I was stationed. Our work was conducted in German and English, so some of the reports I have included in this application are in German.

My present salary is $8,500 per year, plus quarters.

Publications:

A book of my poetry was published by Wilhelm Frick Verlag in Vienna in 1950. The title is A MAN TRANSPOSED.

References:

Mr. John MacCormac, New York Times, Vienna Austria
Mr. Seymore Friedin, 18 Rue Spontiny, Paris 16, France
Mr. Henry Pleasants, U.S. Embassy, Bern, Switzerland
Mr. Ted Kaghan, 23 River Road, Grand View, New York
Mr. Gaston Coblentz, New York Herald Tribune, Paris Edition, Bonn, Germ.
Mr. W.A.P. John, Tooting Lane, Birmingham, Michigan

Statement of Intention

I have been actively engaged in the struggle against Communism since the middle of 1945 when I became one of the first American intelligence officers involved in the intelligence aspects of Soviet imperialism and their control mechanisms over the satellites. I saw the Soviets at work while I was a member of the Control Commission in Hungary. I was arrested and detained for one day by the NKVD while in the uniform of an officer of the United States Army. I was in Prague in February 1948 and saw the Communist "revolution" with my own eyes. As a member of the occupation staff in Austria, both as an officer and as a civilian, I have been a constant observer of Communist infiltration tactics and obstructionism in the Austrian governmental apparatus, and of Soviet methods within the Allied Council, and I have reported and analyzed these developments for almost five years. While I was in Austria, this country became one of the principal pathways for agents and intelligence from east to west, and one of the great transit centers for illegal east-west trade.

In my more than three years with Radio Free Europe in Berlin, Rome, and Istanbul, I have had an opportunity to make careful studies of three of the countries under Russian control, namely Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. Berlin and East Germany I know from having lived in Berlin for over two years. I have followed developments carefully in Rumania and Hungary. Due to the extremely difficult nature of our task, that of doing a complete sociological, political and economic study of our target countries from prejudiced, ignorant, and sometimes unreliable sources, I have found myself at a disadvantage due to my relative lack of detailed historical background of these countries and of the Soviet Union itself. It has been difficult at times to interpret what my source was telling me, or trying to tell me, when it was cleaned of his prejudice and ignorance. It was also difficult to discover what some of them were trying to conceal, particularly when they were confusion or penetration agents. And of course, in a propaganda station, each error of fact is well noted and magnified way out of proportion by our audience because these people become incredibly dependent on us as the source of all truth.

I entered into the military aspects of Soviet expansion with little or no formal training in Communism, Leninism, or Soviet History. As I expanded my sphere of interest to the satellites, I have had to keep at least a step ahead of the increasing complexity of the subject material by reading and absorbing what I could from my work itself. But this is an unsatisfactory method of getting a background, which is what I need most, and which I propose to acquire if I get the opportunity to study.

My proposed courses would include a history of eastern Europe including Germany, which is the key to Soviet domination of Europe. I would like to make detailed studies of the Slavic countries; I would like a course in Communist political literature, particularly Lenin and Stalin. I would like to study the Bolshevik revolution from 1900 onwards.

I feel that if I were equipped with this background, I could make a better and more valid contribution to Radio Free Europe and its mission of keeping alive hope and freedom in the captive countries. I have seen communism at work for too long to think that these millions of enslaved persons can be kept for the west without violent and effective efforts on our part, and I am almost in despair of the forthcoming generation unless our effort is increased and improved by every means humanly possible. The least I can do in this struggle is to increase my professional capacities to the utmost that I may make as great a contribution as I am capable.

C - O - P - Y

RADIO FREE EUROPE
110 West 57th Street, New York 19, N.Y.
Division of the
National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.

19 April 1954

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary, Advisory Committee
on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Sir:

This is to state that Kenneth Dean Koch has been in the employ of Radio Free Europe for a period of approximately three and a half years. During this time Mr. Koch has been an important factor in our News and Information section which is under the guidance of Mr. Leland Stowe. This section is made up by and large of expert and experienced American and Central European journalists.

Radio Free Europe would be happy to grant Mr. Koch a year's leave of absence so that he might pursue his studies. It is our belief that such a period of activity would better qualify him to carry out his duties with RFE.

Because his performance with this organization has in all ways been of first class calibre, because his character is above question, and because his seriousness of purpose has been demonstrated most thoroughly in the performance of his duties, it is a pleasure to recommend him fully for your favorable consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Lang,
Director

American Embassy
Bern, Switzerland
April 29, 1954

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

In response to your letter about Mr. Kenneth Dean Koch, I can tell you that he worked for me as my deputy as Chief of Intelligence Coordination, ACS, G-2, United States Forces in Austria, for several years, and that I have a very high opinion of his intelligence and executive ability. He has lived much abroad, and has the kind of insight into the problems of foreign relations which I should think would make him more than usually qualified to benefit from one of your fellowships. His extensive experience would seem to enhance these qualifications. In short, I would recommend enthusiastically that his application receive the most serious consideration.

Very truly yours

Henry Pleasants

JOHN MAcCORMAC
8, Loewelstrasse, Apt. 9
Vienna 1, Austria
Tel. U 20438

6 May 1954

Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House,
58 East 68th Street,
New York 21, N.Y.

I have known Mr. Kenneth D. Koch for some eight years, first as a major in U.S. Intelligence in Vienna, then as civilian head of a USFA intelligence and information organization and finally as first Berlin and later Istanbul correspondent of Radio Free Europe.

He is a highly intelligent and capable young man with good linguistic qualifications and background for any job as foreign correspondent and writes well. I should think a year of study and research such as your Foundation could give him would be highly useful to him and that he is the right sort of candidate for a Fellowship. Of his character I can also speak highly as a result of eight year's knowledge. I know that his superiors were pleased with him in the position he has held since I have known him.

Sincerely,

John MacCormac

23 River Road
Grand View NY
May 8, 1954

Gentlemen:

You ask me in your letter of April 20 to comment on the capabilities of Mr. Dean Koch in connection with the Council's resident fellowships for American foreign correspondents.

I have known Mr. Koch and his work since about 1948 when I met him in Vienna. He was then a civilian with the US Army's Intelligence Branch, and as such did a lot of reporting, political and other, although not of a newspaper nature. What he did, however, required an ability to observe, interview and report clearly and cogently, and in this he did a good job.

Later I knew him in Germany, where he worked in Berlin for Radio Free Europe, gathering information and writing news stories based on that information for the use of RFE in its broadcasting to target areas behind the Iron Curtain.

I have read a fair amount of Mr. Koch's news reports and I have observed him functioning as an American reporter in Germany and I believe that he did excellent work. His job required an ability to study situations involving people under stress; it involved studying political situations and drawing proper conclusions therefrom after weighing one situation against others; and it involved an ability to write reports which would be useful for a news disseminating agency with a political mission. In this area I think Mr. Koch functioned in an outstanding manner.

I have no doubt that Mr. Koch, with the experience he has had, could profit greatly from the opportunity to study offered by the Council on Foreign Relations. He is a person who throws himself into new fields with great enthusiasm, and who will, I am sure, finish his studies as a man with considerably enhanced value to the world of journalism. I recommend him highly.

Very truly yours,

Theodore Kaghan

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 E. 68 St
New York 21, NY

Name: George Natanson Age: 36

Address: c/o The United States Embassy, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Nationality: United States citizen by birth

Education: Grammar School; Jr. High School; High School and Jr. College, Pomona, California. Did not graduate from Jr. College, finished in 1940. Schooling interrupted several times in order to assist my family financially.

Following the war, I enrolled for extension courses (night school) at the University of California at Los Angeles; general courses and advertising, 1946-47. Did not seek degree.

1949-50 enrolled at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, Peru. Followed courses in the Spanish language, economics, history, literature, political science, customs, folklore, etc. Special courses concerning South America. Aside from such formal education as noted above, I attended classes conducted by the Columbia Broadcasting System for its employees for one year, 1948. The newsroom was my principle interest. When impossible to attend school, I have always tried to keep myself intellectualy aware by constant study and reading on my own.

Employment: For the several years I worked prior to the war, I had employment in various offices, clerk, typist, etc. My pride at the time however was being "foreign war correspondent" for the Pomona progress Bulletin each time the local unit of the California National Guard went to camp or special duty. This lasted three years and as important as I thought it was, it didn't seem to keep me off "KP" while in camp. And the company skipper had his own ideas about censorship. Had I know it at the time, this would have been good practice for Argentina.

Following the war, I worked for CBS in Hollywood in their Public Relations department for one year. I stayed as close to the news room as possible during that time.

Having an unusual opportunity to drive south over the Pan-American highway to Panama, I left the States and arrived broke in San Jose, Costa Rica. I talked the owner of a local radio station into the idea of an English language news show for English speaking residents of the country. Successfully handled a 15 minute daily news program with Station TIV for three months until a revolution played havoc with the country's economy. I traveled on to Panama.

With Station HOG, Panama City, a full-time English language station, I worked little short of a year as announcer, writer, salesman and finally in charge of our news room which I managed to organize for a better service.

During the year and a half I had so far spent in the Latin Republics, I had come to like the life and the people and wanted, as a natural result, to learn more about them and their customs, etc. in order to understand better. As the Universidad de San Marcos in Lima, Peru was offering special courses to North American students, I decided to take advantage of my G.I. Bill of Rights for Education. While in Lima I had an opportunity to work for the Peruvian Government in their tourist setup. I organized a radio news service in English for the local residents and visiting tourists. Finishing school in Lima, I came on to Buenos Aires. I was employed first by the Argentine Government to organize a radio news service for their short wave "Voice of Argentina". However such pressure was finally put on to increase the flow of "news propaganda" rather than straight news, that I gave up the job.

Shortly after, I became a stringer for the Mutual Broadcasting System and later with the National Broadcasting Company. As a stringer for NBC and as my only source of income, I have managed fairly well financially even to cover expenses traveling to Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile on my own in search for spot news and feature stories. I have been with NBC for two years.

Present Employer:

Stringer for NBC, William B. McAndrews, Manager, NBC's News and Special Events. Duties reporting spot news and special features; lately filming TV newsreels. Paid per spot.

War Service: Four years United States Navy. Enlisted 1942, honorable discharge due to termination of the war, 1946. Aside from three years general sea duties with the rating of Boatswain's mate 2nd class, served one year in public relations ashore in the United States.

References:

Mr. Edward A. Morrow
New York Times Staff Correspondent
344 San Martin
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Mr. Tom Curran
Vice-President in charge of South America United Press
United Press
Belgrano 271
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Mr. Fred Stozier
Manager
Associated Press
344 San Martin
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Mr. Jack Convent
London Daily Express staff correspondent
344 San Martin
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Mr. Joe Meyers
News Editor
National Broadcasting Company
RCA Building
New York 20, N.Y.

A

George Natanson

Statement of Intention

At the outset, it is obvious that my actual experience as a working correspondent is limited to only several years. More than that, I am not a staff member although I have been informed that my work is at least comparable to one. Even in free lancing I represent only this one organization, NBC. But I should like to say that my intense interest in the profession of reporting the news from abroad is not limited to my personal standing in the field or in the amount of money I receive.

For this reason perhaps more than any other, the opportunity presented by the Council is invaluable. First of all, I am most interested in an overall study of world affairs in relation to Latin America. To me, this is a continent (Mexico and Central America as well) greatly underrated and underestimated as a potential world power. There is a story here that should, in view of present day world affairs, be put over to the people of the United States. It is my opinion that the section of the world which has heretofore been considered as the "backdoor" of the U.S., may soon become North America's "front" and only door. Through the Council I should like to better prepare myself; to study the more detailed economic and political aspects of all the Americas in relation to each other from a world-wide point of view. This, combined with my present knowledge gleaned from extensive travel, practical experience, study and association, will greatly assist me in reporting that story.

Yet another advantage of receiving a fellowship is the opportunity of associating with other members of the same profession, participating in group discussions, etc. I have been and still am faced with problems, especially here in Argentina, that with the possible exception of correspondents behind the Iron Curtain, I do not believe are met elsewhere around the world. Argentian's strict radio news censorship and at times, "anti-Yank" feelings, has caused me to use whatever ingenuity I may possess to report the news.

The advantages of a well equipped library (especially coming from a country where good books are rare and most expensive); of meeting and hearing the opinions of outstanding men of affairs, and the opportunity to follow several general courses of study are, of course, obvious. In short, it means a chance to marshal and "edit" facts at home learned in the field.

Though I have entered the profession of foreign news reporting without previous practical experience, without the usual required amount of formal education and having had to start from scratch, I believe aptly covered my term of apprenticeship. To the best of my ability, I've managed to cover most of the phases of the Argentina political scene during the past several years. On my own and sometimes with personal financial loss, I have traveled to neighboring countries in search of stories, and have established excellent contacts (Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay). I have managed to break at least one big story plus several minor ones. In an interview with President Juan Perón of Argentina for TV and radio, I marked up a "first" and I have been told that the story had a fair measure of success.

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, Inc.

A Service of Radio Corporation of America

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

Circle 7-8300

May 11, 1954

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

My dear Mr. Barber:

I have known Mr. Natanson in a business way for the past two years and have always found him a man of honesty, integrity, and intelligence.

He acts for us in Argentina as a radio and television "stringer" - a man paid, not salary, but for every broadcast and every piece of television film he obtains for us and which we use.

I do not know the man personally, (I assume he has submitted references of a personal nature), but I can vouch for him as a person of integrity in business. He has done some remarkably good news coverage jobs for us - all of them well handled. The highlight of these was the first radio and television interview ever obtained from Peron.

I believe that with the background he has in South American affairs, he might profit considerably from a scholarship.

If there's any further information I can give you, please let me know.

Sincerely,

J. O. Meyers
Manager, Central News Desk

JOM:et

AIR MAIL

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Calle San Martin 344

Casilla de Correo 1296

Buenos Aires, Argentina

May 14, 1954

Council on Foreign Relations Inc.
New York 21.

Dear Mr. Barber:

While I have not worked directly with Mr. George Natanson, I have known him rather well during the past two years and I feel no hesitancy in recommending him to you.

He has certain distinct advantages for what I conceive to be your program: he is young, active and very bright. He has shown interest and eagerness to learn fundamentally about territories in which he has worked in South America. In his case this is clearly distinguished from the work of men who are interested solely or primarily in covering the surface of news events as they come up from day to day.

I think one of your resident fellowships would be highly profitable to him and to your program.

Sincerely yours,

Fred L.Strozier
Chief of Bureau

UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS
Incorporated in New York

Thomas R. Curran
Vicepresident

Buenos Aires
May 15, 1954

Mr. Joseph Barber, Director
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

This will answer your letter of May 10 about George Natanson's application for a fellowship.

I have no intimate relationship, either professional or social, with Natanson. From what I have seen of his work, however, I can report that he seems to be serious, industrious and capable. I think he might well profit from the opportunity you mention.

Sincerely,

Thomas R. Curran

Council on Foreign Relations

February 8, 1954

Dear Joe:

Thanks for the reminder. I will beat the bushes and see if I can't come up with a likely candidate or two.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68 Street
New York 21, New York

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COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

February 5, 1954

Dear Ed:

I thought you would like to know that we are continuing our fellowship program for American foreign correspondents, and that I am now in the market for likely candidates, looking toward appointment for the period, September 15, 1954 to June 15, 1955. If you know of any promising candidates, or run across one in the weeks ahead, do please steer him this way.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Council on Foreign Relations
gr.

July 28, 1953

Dear Mr. Barber:

This is in answer to your letter of July 2.

Mr. Murrow was in the office one day last week and he read the fellowship applications. He asked me to tell you that he favors appointing David Richardson only.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Cammarota
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council On Foreign Relations
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

LE 5-3300

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

July 2, 1953

June 1
Can do 2
Jess says
David Richardson
Only.
RC

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

May I ask you, as a member of our Advisory Committee on Fellowships, to review the enclosed applications for fellowships at the Council, and to let me know as soon as you can: 1) your order of preference for appointment; 2) whether you favor appointing one of the applicants, or both, or neither.

The applicants are: Edward Hymoff, Seoul Bureau Chief, International News Service; David Richardson, Middle East Correspondent, Time-Life.

There were other applicants but we have eliminated them from consideration as being obviously unsuited for the purposes of the fellowships as defined in the enclosed pamphlet.

The deadline for applications was June 1. Funds, granted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, are available for two fellowships for the period September 15, 1953 - June 15, 1954. We are, of course, primarily interested in the quality rather than the number of applicants, and do not feel under any compulsion to appoint two Fellows for the coming year, merely for the sake of having them on the premises.

We feel that we owe it to Messrs. Hymoff and Richardson to let them know as soon as possible the Advisory Committee's decision with respect to their applications -- particularly since the descriptive pamphlet promises the awarding of fellowships by June 15.

Nevertheless, we are aware from experience in the past, that good men sometimes become available in July and August. For this reason, we have made it known that additional applications will be considered until August 1. If additional applications come to us, which we think are worthy of your consideration, we will take the liberty of passing them along to you later in the summer.

You recall that, besides yourself, the Council's Advisory Committee on Fellowships is composed of Carroll Binder, Gardner Cowles, Grayson L. Kirk and John K. Jessup. As usual, the criterion for appointment is apparent promise for future achievement in the field of foreign correspondence.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

JB:emm
Enclosure

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Name, address, date and place of birth, nationality:

David Richardson, Hotel St. Georges, Beirut, Lebanon. Born, July 13, 1916, at Maplewood, New Jersey. American citizen.

Formal education (schools attended, dates of attendance, major and minor fields of concentration, degrees received, other pertinent information):

Upon graduation from Columbia High School, Maplewood, New Jersey, in 1936, I went to Indiana Unviersity, majoring in journalism and minoring in psychology. These subjects represented only about 40% of my total four-year curriculum, as the Department of Journalism required a broad range of liberal arts study. Was graduated with A.B. in Journalism in 1940 (Further information may be obatined through Prof. John R. Stempel, head of the Department of Journalism, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana)

Previous employment (names and addresses of employers, duties performed, periods of employment):

While in high school I worked two years (1934-36) as a sports writer for the Orange, New Jersey, Daily Courier. The sports editor at the time was Len Golden, and I believe the newspaper now publishes under another name. While in college I worked my way in various jobs, including campus correspondent for the Indianapolis Star, editor-in-chief of the Indiana Daily Student, editor of the Indiana Athletic Review (the football program). Upon graduation I wasa copy boy for the New York Herald Tribune for a few months before being drafted into the U.S. Army in February, 1941. The managing editor of the Herald Tribune at the time was George Cornish. During the war I was for about three years a combat correspondent (holding the rank of technical sergeant) for Yank, the Army Weekly. The editor of Yank was Joe McCarthy, now a free-lance writer who should be reachable through the Overseas Press Club.

Name and address of present employer, exact nature of duties, date of employment, present salary:

Time-Life International, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City (my immediate superior is Manfred Gottfried, Chief of Correspondents). I joined Time-Life in Octo 1945, shortly after my discharge from the U.S. Army, was assigned to open a New Delh bureau and have been a foreign correspondent ever since. As a foreign correspondent for the Luce publications, I collect, evaluate and transmit foreign news and backgro information to the editors. The job requires considerably more background researchin than a comparable job with a news agency or a newspaper, as the history of current events and the "inside" story of how they have come about is Time's forte. My presen salary is $11,000 a year.

War service, publications, awards:

As a Yank correspondent in New Guinea and Burma during the war, I took part in several battle actions in two and one-half years overseas. At Buna I was with the U.S. infantry, at Lae I landed with the U.S. amphibion engineers and continued in with the Australian infantry, in the Bismarck Sea I went on PT boat missions agai Japanese shipping with Commander Bulkeley, in Burma I walked 500 miles with Merrill' Marauders on short-range penetrations behind Japanese lines, parachuted behind Japanese lines to cover an OSS guerilla operation, jumped again with Ghurka paratroops in the capture of Rangoon, went into Bhamo with the Chinese Army, flew on five bomber missions, served as low gunner in the first U.S. tank action in Burma and

rode in the first convoy over the Ledo-Burma Road from India to China.

My work has appeared in the anthologies The Best from Yank and Yank:The GI Story of the War. I did a retrospective piece on Burma for New Republic in 1947.

As for awards, upon graduation from Indiana University I was presented with th Department of Journalism cup as the Outstanding Journalism Graduate, awarded on the basis of scholarship, promise and journalistic achievement. Upon leaving the Southwest Pacific in 1943, I was awarded the Legion of Merit by General MacArthur for helping to set up an edition of Yank in that war theatre and, by my coverage of the battle areas, making "a substantial contribution to the morale of the troops in the Southwest Pacific area." In 1944 the National Headliners Club awarded me one of its Valor Medals, again for war reporting.

References (names and addresses of five persons who may be called upon for further information):

1) Philips Talbot, Room 634, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York.
2) Ernest Leiser, Associate Editor, United Nations World, 319 East 44th Street, New York 17, New York
3) Preston Grover, Chief of Bureau, Associated Press, 21 Rue de Berri, Paris
4) Emmet Hughes, Administrative Assistant, White House, Washington, D.C. (former Time Bureau Chief in Berlin.)
5) Thomas Griffith, Foreign Editor, Time, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.

APPRAISAL OF EXPERIENCE

Here is the required statement of roughly 500 words, summarizing and appraising my experience as a foreign correspondent, and describing the use which I would make of a fellowship:

I have worked abroad as a foreign correspondent for Time & Life for seven of the last eight years. I began in India, where for a year (1945-46) I covered the rallies, riots and tortuous tripartite negotiations among the British, Congress party and Moslem League that culminated in independence.

After a year in the United States recovering from a bout of poliomyelitis and working on the foreign cable desk, I was assigned to Germany for two and one-half years (1947-50) for what turned out to be the most momentous period in its postwar history, covering the Soviet blockade of Berlin, the West's answering airlift and the formation of the Western German government.

Next I went to London for two years (1950-52), specializing in defense, economics and the foreign office, which enabled me to study and report the economic difficulties which beset and doomed the Socialist government and to follow Whitehall's reactions to such events as Mossadegh's oil nationalization and the Korean war.

A year ago I was transferred to the Middle East, just in time to cover the coup d'etat in Egypt that ousted Farouk and the corrupt old politicians and brought Naguib's army movement to power. I have since covered events throughout this vast area, from Greece in the West to Iran in the East to Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia in the South, reporting on the almost universal striving for independence, social reform and economic betterment that keeps almost the entire Middle East in a state of revolution.

In appraising this experience, I would say that it has been one continuous process of education in men and affairs around the globe. I started with a real handicap; I had not had a thorough grounding in history, politics and economics in school. But I have been constantly confronted with the need to make up for this deficiency, which I have done my best to meet through on-the-spot study. My natural interest has never been as much in spot news as in trends. The background of events and the "inside" on why and how they came about have interested me as much as the news itself has seemed to interest my news agency colleagues. I do enjoy narrative writing, however, and have always sought to turn out a more graphic account of big news than anybody else on the same story. The coup in Egypt provided an ideal opportunity to combine these approaches to the news; I drew a parallel to a similar coup that had taken place in Egypt 70 years before, posing the big question whether this reform movement could avoid the same pitfalls that doomed that one; I went into the reasons for this one and the secret preparations that preceded it, and I wound up with a play-by-play of the take-over itself.

If granted a fellowship, I would use it as sort of a post-graduate course in foreign affairs to cap my more specialized on-the-spot study and give it greater perspective. I would not specialize in any one area, for Time transfers us regularly. Away from the pressure of deadlines, I feel I would have a chance to re-examine my experience, round it off and apply it to the broader context of world affairs, so as to better fit myself for the increasingly exacting job of interpretative foreign reporting.

DAVID RICHARDSON

C - O - P - Y

TIME-LIFE
International
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York

June 12, 1953

Dear Mr. Barber:

David Richardson, one of our foreign correspondents, now stationed in Beirut, Lebanon, cabled me a few days ago saying that he would like to apply for one of the fellowships offered annually by the Council on Foreign Relations. He asked whether in the event he were chosen we would grant him a nine months leave of absence.

Our personnel advisory committee has considered Richardson's application. Because of his good record with us and the useful purpose of the project the committee has been glad to grant the nine months leave for Richardson provided he is given one of the fellowships.

In the attached envelope, which just arrived this morning, is Richardson's application to you.

Very truly yours,

Manfred Gottfried
Chief of Correspondents

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

MG-em
enc.

TIME - LIFE
International
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York

June 15, 1953

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have your note about David Richardson's salary. He stated it correctly as $11,000 a year. In addition, he receives a cost-of-living allowance from us, primarily because of the high rents since Point Four people moved into Beirut. But that is entirely apart from salary.

Very truly yours,

Manfred Gottfried
Chief of Correspondents

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

MG-em

C - O - P - Y

AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES FIELD STAFF
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, N. Y.

Executive Director

June 8, 1953

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Joe:

I write in connection with David Richardson's application for a Council fellowship. He and I came to know each other well when we were both members of the small core of American correspondents stationed in India during the tumultuous days of 1946 and 1947.

I found Dave to be a bright and lively youngster, with tremendous professional drive. A most engaging individual, he made an asset of a slight speech impediment that might have interfered with the journalistic success of another person. He struck me then as a person with considerable potential for growth, and what I have heard of his progress since confirms that impression.

I think he is a serious and competent correspondent who would profit from an opportunity for a year's study, and would carry into the profession the fruits of his experience. I would commend him for a fellowship.

Sincerely yours,

Phillips Talbot

C - O - P - Y

C - O - P - Y

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bureaux Principaux
NEW YORK
50 Rockefeller Plaza
LONDON
83-86 Farringdon St. E.C.4.

PARIS
21, Rue de Borri
Elysee 86-76, 77, 78
Adresse Telegraphique
"Associated Paris"

Paris,
June 30, 1953.

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary, Advisory Committee on
Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

I must apologize for my delay in replying to your letter about David Richardson. I was on a Middle Eastern tour which unfortunately did not include Beirut so I did not see him there.

I have known Richardson for ten years or more beginning in India and China where he was an army correspondent for "Yank" and a very good one. I have met him every year or so since and have been able to follow his work because I knew where his assignments with Time had taken him.

He is intelligent, serious-minded in his work and at the same time very vigorous and full of life.

I am certain he would gain from a year's study such as is possible under the Council on Foreign Relations. It will be a good opportunity for him and at the same time I feel you will be proud of what he may do for you.

Sincerely,

Preston Grover
Chief of Bureau

C - O - P - Y

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
Bloomington, Indiana

Department of Journalism June 19, 1953

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

re: David Bacon Richardson

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am happy to recommend David B. Richardson to the consideration of your committee for the grant of one of the resident fellowships for American foreign correspondents.

Mr. Richardson received the A.B. degree here in 1940 with a major in journalism and the equivalent of a second major in psychology. He fulfilled the usual requirements for the A.B. His grades were above average. His undergraduate activities represented a well-rounded program, and included service on The Indiana Daily Student, including the editorship; holding of office in Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalism fraternity, and activity in the Indiana Union and in sports. He earned most of his way through college.

After brief employment with the New York Herald Tribune he was drafted in January of 1941 and soon found himself in public relations assignments with the Army. He was among the first men selected for the staff of Yank and served in the South Pacific and Burma areas. The Yank collection contains more of his work than of any other correspondent. This experience with Yank led directly to his employment by Time and Life, first in India, then in England and now in the Middle East.

He has the capacity to gain a great deal from the kind of experience the fellowship can offer. Both he and his employers recognize the Middle East as a key point in the present complex international picture, and I can imagine that as a result of his experience he realizes the importance of occasionally getting away from the front line of news and looking at it in perspective.

Cordially yours,

John E. Stempel, Chairman
Department of Journalism

JES: jrk

United Nations World
The International Magazine
319 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Murray Hill 6-1338 Cable: UNATWORLD

June 16, 1953

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

Your letter, asking for comment on David Richardson's capabilities, has arrived on my desk and it is a pleasure to give you a prompt answer.

I had the opportunity to observe Mr. Richardson's work during some three years when we were in Germany together and, in fact, I saw a good deal of the raw copy he sent in to Time. He is a thorough and unusually perceptive reporter; he is also an extremely competent analyst of foreign affairs. To his credit it should be noted that the range of his reportorial interests was considerably wider than most of his colleagues' and he did not restrict his reportage to politics although that was the mainstay of his assignment.

I feel that Mr. Richardson would be an exceptionally good candidate for the fellowship you offer and that his selection would add distinction to the list of candidates you have chosen in previous years.

Very truly yours,

Ernest Leiser
Associate Editor

EL/ap

C - O - P - Y

Personal History

Edward Hymoff
Seoul Bureau Chief
International News Service
PIO EUSAK
APO 301 c/o Postmaster
San Francisco, California

Home Address: 59 Wilcock Street
Dorchester 24,
Massachusetts

Age: 28 Date of Birth: October 12, 1924; Boston, Massachusetts

Nationality: United States

Education: English High School, Boston, Massachusetts

1946-47 Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts

1947-49 Boston University B.S. Journalism 1949

1949-50 Columbia University M.A. Public Law and Government 1951

Undergraduate studies consisted of major studies in News Writing, Feature Story Writing, Magazine Writing, Radio News Writing and Reporting, Newspaper Law, Make-up, Photo Journalism, Graphic Arts, Public Relations Media and Public Relations Principles and Practice. Minor studies included American History, European History, International Relations, Economics, American Government, Russian History, Far Eastern Studies and two years each of studies in the Russian and Spanish languages.

Graduate Studies consisted of major courses in the field of Russia-Eastern Europe-Balkan area studies. Minor studies in European Governments, European History, International Relations and American Public Administration. Thesis entitled: "Weakness of United States International Broadcasting and Radio Propaganda: An Analysis of Contributing Causes."

Previous Employment:

February - June 1952 Freelance correspondent Japan and Korea for 15 New England newspapers (Boston Traveler, Providence Journal-Bulletin, Hartford Courant, Gannett Newspapers (Maine), Worcester Telegram-Gazette, Quincy Patriot-Ledger, New Bedford and Cape Cod Standard-Times, etc.) Accredited to Medford (Mass.) Daily Mercury with daily columns in most newspapers covering Korea from Panmunjom to Koje Island and back to the frontlines hitting the local angle.

February - August 1951 N.Y. World-Telegram and Sun as News and City Desk Clerk with varied duties. Operated wirephoto machine; worked wire room with responsibility for distribution of all wire copy to proper news desks. Attended city desk phones as assistant to city editors taking news tips and information for their use. Also did some news writing. Reference: Mr. B.O. McAnney, Man, Ed.

March - July 1951 Freelance writing assignment. Wrote short weekly current affairs news features for translation and print in Japanese language for U.S. Army Office of Occupied Areas, New York City. Japanese peace treaty concluded operations of this Army department.

Previous Employment: (Cont.)

December 1950 - February 1951 Rewrite desk Radio Reports, Inc., 220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. for this national radio and television monitoring service. Job called for fast rewriting of news and forum radio programs and television shows.

September - November 1950 Publicity and News Writer for Massachusetts Republican State Committee and Republican "21" Clubs, 6 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, during 1950 state election campaign. Wrote press releases on strict deadline schedule for daily and weekly newspaper publication. Also did some ghostwriting of speeches for candidates seeking public office as well as radio scripting short political commercials. Reference: Mr. G. Sherman Blair,

September 1947 - May 1949 Paid Position as News Editor Boston University News, 264 Bay State Road, Boston, Mass. Wrote editorials, special features, edited copy, worker on make-up in both the editorial office and composing room and directed the activities of a staff of 25 reporters. Reference: Prof. P.E. Bunker.

Have also written freelance for Boston Globe and FLYING Magazine. Presently FLYING correspondent in Korea and Japan.

Present Employer:

Mr. Marvin L. Stone, Tokyo Bureau
Far Eastern News Director
International News Service
Yomiuri Shimbun Building
1-3 Chome, Ginza Nishi, Chuo-ku
Tokyo, Japan

Seoul Bureau Chief responsible for all newsgathering in Korea and directing activities of three newsmen, a photographer and one Korean reporter. Have held down rewrite spot, covered frontline action with news and feature stories, covered Panmunjom for four months until breakoff of negotiations October 1952 and cover the Korean Government political and economic scene.

Began working on temporary basis for INS May 22, 1952 and joined staff full time July 10, 1952. Present salary $75.00 per week plus expenses.

Also stringing for NEWSWEEK Periscope Column averaging $20.00 per week. Reference: Mr. John McAllister, Associate Editor.

Military Service: U.S. Army March 1943 - December 1945. Served in North Africa, Italy and Balkans with Corps of Engineer Section on detached duty to OSS. Also served with Fifteenth Air Force on special supply drop missions. Trained as Engineer Supply Technician and Demolition Chief.

Publications: "Double Check and Double Cross," Reader's Digest, May 1952; FLYING Magazine, June 1952; SPORT Magazine, "Ted Williams Story," July 1953.

Awards: None

References:

Professor Philip E. Mosely
Russian Institute
Columbia University
431 West 117th Street
New York 27, New York

Mr. Irving R. Levine
Research Fellow
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Mr. Robert Alden
Tokyo Bureau
New York Times
40 Asahi Shimbun
32 Yuraku-cho, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo, Japan

Mr. Henry S. Hayward
Tokyo Bureau
Christian Science Monitor
Asahi Shimbun
32 Yuraku-cho, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo, Japan

Mr. James L. Greenfield
Tokyo Bureau
Time-Life International
APO 500 c/o Postmaster
San Francisco, California

Appraisal of Experience

The Far East today offers a challenge to newsmen unparalleled in modern journalism.

Asia is the "big story" today and will remain the "big story" tomorrow, a story that has to be adequately interpreted for the American public through our news media. Moreover, news disseminated by American agencies has to be properly interpreted for the foreign press.

In appraising my own experience I can truthfully say that I am not satisfied with the sometimes inexact reporting I have done on the government, political and social and economic level in Japan and Korea. Nor am I satisfied with most of the foreign correspondence I have read about far eastern affairs.

Why? Because other correspondents still haven't answered many of the questions I am unable to answer because of a lack of background knowledge.

While covering important stories affecting international relations on a broad scale, I have often felt an undercurrent or tempo motivating a particular pattern of events. But this sixth news sense is always lost covering the surface events of a fast moving story.

Background information is what I lack; sufficient background information to properly handle a story demanding correct interpretation.

These are the reasons why I want a Council on Foreign Relations Fellowship--to take the nine months of study offered by the Foundation and utilize this period of time to broaden my knowledge of far eastern affairs.

I particularly want to study what I regard as the under-current of Asiatic events -- the trend of Soviet political pressure and propaganda in the far east.

Most of the news, including background analysis of international affairs, overlooks the vacuum that is now Asia and the struggle between western democracy and communist-disguised oriental nationalism attempting to fill this void.

As a graduate student at Columbia University four years ago, I attended classes at the Russian Institute and, like the average American newspaper reader, overlooked historical Russian aims in Asia while concentrating on Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe.

I think the press and the nation as a whole tend to overlook the impact of events in Asia as they affect international affairs.

If a fellowship is granted to me, I will use it to concentrate on Soviet relations with Asia at the Columbia University Russian Institute and also concentrate on Asiatic studies at the East Asian Institute.

In spite of my on the spot reporting in Korea and Japan, the constant grind of covering only the surface of fast-breaking news stories has not given me the opportunity to study more thoroughly questions I often want answered; questions the newsreader often wants answered. Nine months of study will answer many of these questions and permit me to learn the answers to many more when I return to the Far East.

An opportunity to continue my studies means a great deal to me, even resigning from my present position in order to better myself for future on the spot reporting and interpreting of events in Asia.

Prior to the beginning of the Fellowship term I will have a year and a half in Japan and Korea and a month short of my 29th birthday. My age and a year and a half as a correspondent may be considered by some as inexperience. When I return to the Far East, however, I want to have the additional solid academic background and previous foreign news reporting experience behind me to make up for the inexperience of years of surface reporting.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE
General Offices
235 East 45th Street, New York City

Office of the
Editor-in-Chief

May 25, 1953

Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Gentlemen:

Mr. Edward Hymoff, an International News Service staff correspondent in Korea, has advised me that he has made a second and final application for a Nieman Fellowship.

I formerly wrote Mr. Lyons endorsing Hymoff's previous application.

I had to explain that under our present rules we cannot grant leaves of absence to men in posts such as Hymoff's, but that if he won one of the Fellowships, he would be high on our list for re-employment whenever he is available.

I can highly endorse Mr. Hymoff's application, as he is one of our ablest and competent correspondents. We have a very high regard for his work, and I would like to see him win one of the Fellowships.

Sincerely yours,

Barry Faris
Editor-in-Chief

BF:jpw

C - O - P - Y

IRVING R. LEVINE

June 11, 1953

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Joe:

This is in reply to your letter of June 9th requesting comment from me upon Mr. Edward Hymoff who is an applicant for a Council fellowship. I am pleased to do so.

I met Ed Hymoff almost two years ago and associated with him for about a year prior to my leaving the Far East. He had come to Korea as the stringer correspondent for a dozen or so New England newspapers to send them local-angle stories on hometown boys. With very great energy and application he traveled around wide areas of the front finding soldiers from the proper towns and writing stories about them. This type of work demanded persistence, application and long hours. In his friendly and cheerful manner, Ed Hymoff met those demands.

Later he joined the International News Service and it was my impression that he was doing a fine job for that wire agency when I left Korea.

I can readily recommend Ed Hymoff for his purposefulness, tenacity, intelligence and good humor. I believe he would apply himself to fellowship work so as to derive the greatest benefit from it.

Sincerely,

Irving R. Levine

C - O - P - Y

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
in the City of New York
(New York 27, N. Y.)

The Russian Institute
431 West 117th Street

June 23, 1953

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Joe:

Many thanks for your good note of June 9, concerning Mr. Edward Hymoff, who has applied for a fellowship at the Council. Mr. Hymoff took two courses with me in 1949-50, and completed his M.A. in Public Law and Government while working part-time on a newspaper. Mr. Hymoff was not a student of the Russian Institute. However, I had a rather large number of conversations with him about his work and plans and feel that I knew him fairly well at that time.

It is probably unfortunate that I have not seen Mr. Hymoff since the spring of 1950 (perhaps in the early fall of 1950), since at that time he left the impression of serious personal and social immaturity. It was clear that his mind was vigorous and inquiring, but he had difficult manners and obviously lacked confidence and experience. Perhaps these very traits have been overcome successfully during the past three years, but I cannot do more than record my impression, a mediocre one, as of 1950. It is too bad that he cannot be interviewed to see if he . . .

Sincerely yours,

Philip E. Mosely

PEM: jbb

C - O - P - Y

NEWSWEEK
Newsweek Building
Broadway and 42nd Street
New York 36

June 22, 1953

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

Edward Hymoff has been submitting news items and tips to us in a confidential capacity for about a year and a half.

We have found him to be an energetic, alert, reliable reporter with a good sense of news. Most of this time he has been in the Seoul-Tokyo area where military restrictions handicap reportorial enterprise. But he has turned in a good file. Members of our staff who have been in contact with him out there think highly of him.

In my opinion Mr. Hymoff is just the type of promising young newsman who could profit greatly from the excellent opportunities offered by your fellowships.

Sincerely yours,

John T. McAllister
Associate Editor
Periscope

C - O - P - Y

THE BOSTON GLOBE
Boston 7, Mass.

June 19, 1953

Dear Mr. Barber:

I don't think Mr. Hymoff wrote many pieces for us. He did, I think, write more for the Boston Herald-Traveler.

We have one well done piece by him in our files under the date of Dec. 6, 1951, but I am sorry to say we cannot give you a very vivid remembrance of his other correspondence.

Yours,

L. L. Winship

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York City

C - O - P - Y

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Office of
Student Activities
Philip E. Bunker,
Director

264 Bay State Road
Boston 15,
Massachusetts

June 17, 1953

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

My dear Mr. Barber:

I have your letter of June 15, inquiring about Mr. Edward Hymoff and also the enclosed material outlining the fellowships for American Foreign Correspondents.

I most certainly feel Mr. Hymoff would benefit greatly from such an opportunity and I would recommend him most highly. I have known Edward Hymoff for at least eight years and while at Boston University he worked under my general direction as an Associate Editor of the Boston University News. I consider him a young man of considerable ability, a fine personality, and with great initiative, and I am sure no mistake would be made if he were appointed to one of the Council's resident fellowships for American Foreign Correspondents.

Cordially yours,

Philip E. Bunker
Director

PEB:jp

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Fellowships for American Foreign Correspondents

THE Council on Foreign Relations offers two resident fellowships to American foreign correspondents for the academic year, September 15, 1953, to June 15, 1954.

The fellowships are for study and research at the Council in New York City, and at nearby universities.

American newspaper, radio and magazine correspondents who are now serving abroad, or who have recently served abroad and who plan to return to foreign posts, may submit applications.

All applications should reach the Council by June 1. The fellowships will be awarded by June 15.

* * *

THE purpose of the fellowships is to help correspondents to increase their competence to report and interpret events abroad.

There are no set study requirements. Fellows may concentrate on specific areas which they expect to cover in the course of their work abroad, or they may select general subjects about which they wish to learn more. The intention is to give men who have been preoccupied with meeting deadlines an opportunity to broaden their perspective by means of a coordinated program of reading, study and informal discussion.

Stipends will normally be equivalent to salaries relinquished by correspondents during the period of the fellowships. Academic charges for registration and tuition will be met from funds made available for the purpose. During their tenure, fellows should not expect to engage in the practice of their profession.

Council fellowships for the academic year, 1949-50, the first to be offered, were awarded to Robert Clurman, 30, of the *United*

Press, and to Henry R. Lieberman, 33, of the *New York Times*. When appointed, Mr. Clurman was working on the *UP* cable desk in New York. He had previously served as *UP* manager for Calcutta, chief correspondent and manager for the Netherlands East Indies, and Nanking bureau manager. Mr. Lieberman was serving as correspondent of the *Times* in China.

The fellowships for the academic year, 1950-51, were awarded to William J. Boyle, 35, of the *United Press*, and to Fitzhugh Turner, 35, of the *New York Herald-Tribune*. When appointed, Mr. Boyle was serving as chief of his agency's Vienna bureau, and Mr. Turner was covering the Department of State in Washington, following service for his paper in the Middle East.

The fellowships for the academic year, 1951-52, were awarded to Amos Landman, 37, former correspondent in China for the *National Broadcasting Company* and for various American newspapers; to Hal Lehrman, 40, free lance foreign correspondent and specialist on Eastern Europe and Palestine; and to George Palmer, 36, Rome correspondent of the *Associated Press*.

The fellowships for the academic year, 1952-53, were awarded to Alpheus W. Jessup, 35, chief of the Tokyo bureau of *McGraw-Hill World News;* and to Irving R. Levine, 30, Tokyo correspondent of the *National Broadcasting Company* and former chief of the Vienna bureau of the *International News Service*.

The Council on Foreign Relations

The Council is a non-profit institution devoted to study of the international aspects of American political, economic and strategic problems. It was established shortly after World War I, and is now composed of some 900 men who have an active interest in foreign affairs and whose experience or training qualifies them for membership.

The Council takes no stand, expressed or implied, on American policy. It is supported by membership dues and contributions, and receives grants from leading foundations for special projects. Funds for the fellowships are provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The Council brings together regularly groups of experts to consider specific foreign issues affecting American interest. It carries on a program of research and publication. It publishes the quarterly review, FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Among its other publications are annual volumes, *The United States in World Affairs* and the *Political Handbook of the World*, and many specialized works on various aspects of international affairs.

Members of the Council's supervisory Committee on Studies are as follows: Henry M. Wriston, Chairman; Hamilton Fish Armstrong; Arthur H. Dean; Allen W. Dulles; Grayson L. Kirk; Stacy May; Philip E. Mosely; George N. Shuster; and John H. Williams.

The Council occupies the building at the corner of 68th Street and Park Avenue, New York. Facilities include meeting rooms, offices, and a library which houses one of the outstanding American collections of books, pamphlets and documents in the field of international affairs.

Council Activities

Holders of the fellowships have office space at the Council and participate in such Council meetings, group discussions and other activities as assist them in their work.

In the course of each year, men who carry heavy public responsibilities visit the Council for the purpose of leading or participating in private discussions with members. During the fall and winter of 1952-53 they included: George V. Allen, John M. Allison, William L. Batt, Richard G. Casey, Bishop Dibelius, William H. Draper, Anthony Eden, Thomas K. Finletter, Ernest Gross, Karl Gruber, W. Averell Harriman, George F. Kennan, Hector McNeil and Robert Schuman.

Many men who were less well known, including other Council members who were concerned with the formation or administration of national and international policies, also discussed their special problems at Council meetings during this period. In addition, Council groups, composed of members who are especially qualified, were holding meetings regularly to consider specific issues affecting American interests abroad.

Fellows attending Council meetings during 1953-54 will have exceptional opportunities to supplement their own knowledge and otherwise to profit from group discussion and informal contact with members of the Council.

University Work

Fellows are not required to take university courses for formal credit toward an advanced degree, but may do so if they desire. Arrangements can be made with nearby institutions so that they may carry on such academic work as will meet their needs.

Upon appointment, the Council will advise fellows of available opportunities for study in chosen fields, and will assist them to pick university courses which should be most useful to them. Among the institutions at which fellows may find programs of particular value are: the Russian, European, East Asian Institutes and the School of International Affairs at Columbia University; the Yale Department of International Relations and Institute of International Studies; and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton.

Selection

Fellows will be selected, upon application, by the Council's Advisory Committee on Fellowships, which is composed of Carroll Binder, *Minneapolis Tribune;* Gardner Cowles, *Look;* John K. Jessup, *Life;* Grayson L. Kirk, Columbia University; Edward Murrow, Columbia Broadcasting System.

Candidates under 40 years of age will be considered for appointment. The Advisory Committee will take into account their past performance, experience and education, but awards will be based largely upon apparent promise of future achievement in the field of foreign correspondence.

Since there will be competition for appointment, each candidate should provide full information about himself, including the following biographical details:

Name, address, date and place of birth, nationality (if naturalized, when and where);

Formal education (schools attended, dates of attendance, major and minor fields of concentration, degrees received, other pertinent information);

Previous employment (names and addresses of employers, duties performed, periods of employment);

Name and address of present employer, exact nature of duties, date of employment, present salary;

War service, publications, awards;

References (names and addresses of five persons who may be called upon for further information).

Each application should be supplemented by:

1. A letter from the applicant's employer granting leave of absence in case of appointment (to be sent directly to the Advisory Committee);
2. A statement by the applicant of roughly 500 words summarizing and appraising his experience as a foreign correspondent, and describing the use which he would make of a fellowship;
3. Approximately ten samples of the applicant's journalistic writing from abroad.

* * *

Applications and requests for information should be addressed to Joseph Barber, Secretary, Advisory Committee on Fellowships, Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

September 5, 1952

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

The annual meeting of the Council on Foreign Relations will be held at three P.M. on Wednesday, October 8th, at the Harold Pratt House, 58 East 68th Street, for the election of Directors of the class of 1955.

The following gentlemen have been nominated for Directors by the Nominating Committee:

Hamilton Fish Armstrong
Lewis W. Douglas
Thomas K. Finletter
Devereux C. Josephs
David Rockefeller
Whitney H. Shepardson
John H. Williams

A formal proxy is enclosed. In case you approve the above slate, it is requested that you fill in and return to me this proxy with the understanding that I shall cast your vote for the election of the above nominees.

Very truly yours,

George S. Franklin, Jr.

George S. Franklin, Jr.
Acting Executive Director

(Enclosure)

SP

BU 8-6750

called Mr Barber at Mr. Murrow's request. re: order of preference 8/7

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

August 4, 1952

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

May I ask you to review the enclosed applications for fellowships at the Council, and to let me know as soon as you can your order of preference for appointment. There are only three men to be rated this year, as we have eliminated candidates who are obviously unsuited for the purposes of the fellowships.

The applicants are as follows:

Alpheus W. Jessup - Chief, Tokyo Bureau, McGraw-Hill WORLD NEWS — 1
Irving R. Levine - News commentator, Tokyo and Korea, National Broadcasting Company — 3 -
Sydney Mirkin - formerly London correspondent, Associated Press — 2

You recall that, besides yourself, the Council's Advisory Committee on Fellowships is composed of Carroll Binder, Gardner Cowles, John K. Jessup, and Grayson L. Kirk.

In renewing its grant of funds for the fellowships to cover the two year period, 1952-54, the Carnegie Corporation of New York made it clear that it was primarily interested in the quality rather than the number of applicants.

Funds are available to appoint two Fellows for 1952-53. Unless the members of the Advisory Committee object, we propose to appoint two of the three candidates as Fellows. However, if you feel that only one or indeed none merits appointment, please be sure to say so. The decision of the Advisory Committee is binding, with awards to be based largely upon apparent promise of future achievement in the field of foreign correspondence.

If it is at all feasible for you, may I ask you to give me your decision by August 15 at the latest. The fellowships are for the period September 15 to June 15, and we owe it to the candidates to get word to them at the earliest possible moment.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

S

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Answered by phone.

August 22, 1951

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Mr. Amos Landman, who has just published a book entitled "Profile of Red China" (Simon & Schuster), has applied for a Council fellowship. His qualifications seem to be such as to warrant our bringing him to the attention of the Advisory Committee on Fellowships, of which you are a member.

Would you be willing to read the enclosures, which describe his experience and qualifications, and to let us have your candid reaction?

You recall that last June the collective vote of the Selection Committee added up to awards to George Palmer and Hal Lehrman, who will shortly be in residence as Council fellows for the academic year, 1951-52. We are not sure that we can handle three fellows but if this should presently appear to be feasible, it would be helpful to have your assessment of Mr. Landman, for purposes of comparison with unsuccessful candidates earlier in the year.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

JB:nl
Enc.

C O P Y

Amos Landman - 200 West 86th Street, New York 24, N. Y.
Application for Council Fellowship

I am an American citizen by birth, and was born in Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 6, 1914. I was brought up in and around New York. In 1931, I was graduated from Townsend Harris High School in this city, a special school for advanced students capable of completing the usual four-year high school course in three years. This institution, formerly associated with the College of the City of New York, is no longer in existence. In 1935 I received an A.B. from Brown University, Providence, where I majored in history and English. I was editor of the college daily in my senior year.

Following graduation I joined the New York Daily Mirror as a reporter, and later worked as a rewrite man, editorial writer, promotion man, and, for a short period, as assistant night city editor. Early in 1940 I was invited to join the original staff of PM and went to work one month before publication began. I regard it as an honor to have been among the distinguished group of newspapermen who launched the paper. I was a reporter, rewrite man, makeup editor, and feature writer.

Two years later I entered the army, and was through no choice of my own assigned immediately to public relations. Although I was an enlisted man, I was selected in preference to several qualified officers to go to the Mariana Islands on a confidential public relations mission. Upon my return from overseas I was transferred to the division responsible for Yank, Stars and Stripes, and Army News Service. After my honorable discharge, I went on a three-month trip through Latin America. In 1945 and 1946 I did public relations work for the Standard Oil Co. (N.J.) on a contractual basis. I then returned to my job on PM.

In 1946 I decided that China would become increasingly important to the West, whatever the turn in the civil war, which had just been resumed there. My wife and I enrolled at the China Institute in America, 125 East 65th Street, New York, and undertook a study of the Chinese language. We also read extensively on the subject and kept informed on day-to-day developments. After receiving commitments from various American editors, we gave up our jobs in the spring of 1948 and went to China at our own expense.

While in the Orient, I served as correspondent for the National Broadcasting Co. and Overseas News Agency, and was a frequent contributor to the New York Herald Tribune, the Providence Journal, the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, and the Denver Post. Most of my tour of foreign duty was spent in Japan, Formosa, Hongkong, and the Philippines. I was the only trained American newspaperman who spent a full year observing developments in China after the Communist victory.

Out of this experience came a book, "Profile of Red China," written in collaboration with my wife, and published two weeks ago by Simon and Schuster. It has received considerable favorable notice.

Stuart Lillico in The New York Times Book Review of July 22 called it "tops in on-the-spot studies of the new Oriental enigma." It also received friendly reviews in the Christian Science Monitor, Chicago Tribune, Detroit News, Boston Herald, the New Yorker, and many others.

Edgar Snow, Associate Editor of the Saturday Evening Post, and author of "Red Star Over China," commented, "Not just another partisan fantasy or synthetic China 'story,' but the China truth, as nearly as two clear-eyed, clear-headed, and honest observers could report it, with no quarter to either left or right." Professor Nathaniel Peffer of Columbia University, called the book "a balanced, fair judgment of Communist China, the latest and solidest report on that country." And Sir Benegal N. Rau, Indian Delegate to the United Nations, declared that "our great need in Far Eastern policy is an objective survey of the facts, 'extenuating naught and setting down aught in malice.' If an earthquake has happened, it's little use acting as if all the old houses were still standing....(This book is) a most useful contribution toward making this clear."

My magazine articles have appeared in Colliers, Look, This Week, Popular Science, and the Foreign Policy Bulletin.

My salary at PM, the last place where I was employed as a regular, full-time newpaperman, was $7020 per annum at the time of my resignation in 1948. My income since then as a newspaper and radio correspondent and writer averaged $7475 per annum. However, for seven months during the last three years --- October, 1949 to April, 1950 -- I was prohibited from working by the Chinese Communists and was unable to leave China because of the Nationalist blockade and Communist refusal to allow foreigners to leave via non-blockaded ports. Had my income been the same during that seven-month period as it was during the rest of the three-year period, the average per year since 1948 would have been $8935.

At present I am being considered for several positions, one of which involves going to Japan as a correspondent. I would much rather spend a year studying about that country before working there, which is the reason for this application.

COPY

Amos Landman, 200 West 86th Street, New York 24, N. Y.

Statment appraising foreign experience and describing use to which a Council on Foreign Relations fellowship would be put.

An appraisal of my correspondence from China and the Far East by others is perhaps in better taste than one by myself and is likely to be more detached. Editors who have used my stories have remarked that they were impressed by their careful documentation. Others have said that they like the way I illumine current developments with a knowledge of Chinese history, geography, economic problems, and culture. Still others were pleased that I have been able to capture the color and flavor of the Orient. I regard it as a special tribute that leading papers in Japan, India, and Pakistan, whose editors certainly know whether an article on the Far East is authentic or not, have played my stories prominently.

Such knowledge of the Chinese milieu as I possess came in part from preparation before I went to China. For two years I studied the country and its people as well as the language. A correspondent who understands the history, literature, and mores of a foreign land is likely to avoid the obvious error of interpreting events in the light of his own tradition. A correspondent with appropriate training appreciates the motivation of a foreign people and realizes that it is likely to be quite different from the motivation of the American people.

In covering the Orient for 27 months, I rejected the think piece, the story off the top of one's head. I endeavored to gather facts, to put them down simply and palatably, to set forth the Oriental (in most cases the Chinese) point of view, and to make the complex and confusing affairs of the East comprehensible to Americans.

I am convinced that during the coming decade Japan will play an increasingly significant if not a critical role in world affairs. Japan will be an important and continuing news story.

The answers to many questions about Japan will be of vital concern to the United States. Will Japan be able to develop industrially and to rearm without the coking coal, iron, and food of Red China? Which of these indispensable resources is available elsewhere? How does the cost compare with that of China's resources? If Japan must import these goods from Red China, what will Peking's attitude be? What price will Peking demand? What will the consequences be of the inherent economic gravitation of the one country toward the other? What is the political impact upon Japan of the rise of Red China? May we expect a revival of the pre-war Japanese nationalism after Japan becomes stronger? What success has been achieved in the democratization of Japan?

I am applying for a Council on Foreign Relations fellowship so that if I am successful I would be better prepared to seek the answers to these and other pertinent questions. I would study Japanese history, economic problems, literature, art, theatre, and Shintoism for such clues as they provide to current Japanese thinking and behaviour. I would work toward an M.A. I would learn the language, which, incidentally, can be used in Korea and Formosa as well as in Japan. American friends who speak Japanese say that an adequate speaking knowledge can be acquired in one year.

In short I would welcome a year of academic training as an invaluable aid to working as a correspondent in Japan. I think I have demonstrated by the preparations I made before going to China and by my work while there that I am a serious student of the East who would make the most of the opportunities presented by a Council on Foreign Relations Fellowship.

Signed: Amos Landman

COPY

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR
Evening
And
THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

Gideon Seymour
Vice President
and Executive Editor

August 15, 1951

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East Sixty-eighth Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have your letter of August 8 inquiring about Mr. Amos Landman, who has applied for a Council fellowship for foreign correspondents.

Mr. and Mrs. Landman made an arrangement with us by mail from Shanghai more than a year ago to do some free-lance correspondence for us from China and we used a number of their airmailed background articles. Subsequently, they stopped here on their way back to New York and later I visited with them in New York about their future plans, which are to return, I believe, to Tokyo. I also have received from them and have read a book of theirs just published by Simon & Schuster, A Profile of Red China.

My opinion and that of our editors who have handled their material is that Mr. Landman is a careful, discerning and well-informed reporter, quite liberal in his political views but in my judgment not in any ideological sense a sympathizer or fellow-traveler with communism. I should not hesitate to engage him as an editor on the Minneapolis Star and Tribune staff if I had the right spot for him and he were interested in it. That is about all I can tell you about him.

Sincerely,

(signed)
Gideon Seymour

C O P Y

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL AND THE EVENING BULLETIN

Providence 2, R.I.

August 8, 1951

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have a very high opinion of Mr. Amos Landman, as a foreign correspondent and as a journalistic authority on the recent and current history of the Far East.

Mr. Landman and his wife, both jointly and singly, wrote a number of articles for us on a free-lance basis when they were last in the Orient. We found them well written, well informed and, above all, objective. We have already entered into an informal understanding with the Landmans, under which they will write regularly for us when they get back to the Far East.

I also had the opportunity of meeting Mr. and Mrs. Landman when they were in Providence recently for a speaking engagement, and found them intelligent people, with a very good grasp of their special subject.

If the Council can see its way clear to assisting Mr. Landman to return to the Far East for more journalistic work there, it is my considered opinion that you will be doing the American people a real service in facilitating a better understanding of a complicated and important problem.

Sincerely,

(signed)
Sevellon Brown, 3rd

SB3rd:jfb

C O P Y

NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE

230 West 41st Street New York 18, N.Y.

August 9, 1951

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

In Mr. Kelley's absence your letter regarding Amos Landman has come to my attention.

Mr. Landman has been a frequent contributor to the pages of the Herald Tribune since early 1949. His articles have appeared under the cartoon, in the second news section, and in "This Week" Magazine. All have been excellent. The most outstanding, perhaps, is a series that was published on the editorial page entitled "Behind the Bamboo Curtain".

I am not as well acquainted as Mr. Kelley is with Mr. Landman, but from what I know of him I do not hesitate to recommend him for one of the Council's fellowships.

Sincerely,

(signed)
Everett Walker
Assistant Managing Editor

EW:fb

C O P Y

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, Inc.

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N. Y.

August 9, 1951

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

Mr. Landman worked for us as a "stringer" in both China and Formosa; resigned to come home to write his book.

We found his work excellent, his ability to write of the first order, his sobriety unquestioned.

Very truly yours,

(signed)
J. C. Meyers
Manager
Radio News Operations

ebr

C O P Y

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
Second Judicial District
Borough Hall

Brooklyn 2, New York

Meier Steinbrink
Official Referee

August 14, 1951

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

Before me is your inquiry dated August 8th and referring to Mr. Amos Landman. Forgive the seeming delay in answering your letter but I was away from my desk.

I have known Mr. Landman since he was a very small boy. His father was the distinguished editor of the Jewish Encyclopedia, a tremendous work with which you are undoubtedly familiar. He and Mrs. Landman and our family were most intimate friends during many years especially through the period when Dr. Landman served as Rabbi of our synagogue.

Amos Landman, at college, made a most creditable record. His whole background is one which naturally would produce a scholar and an honorable gentleman.

I have read his book "Profile of Red China" and was much impressed with it. There is nothing kindly that I could say of him which, in the slightest degree, would be exaggerated. He is a loyal American and I commend him to you most highly.

Very sincerely,

(signed)
Meier Steinbrink

C O P Y

STANLEY M. ISAACS
475 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

August 13, 1951

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

I have known Amos Landman for a number of years - he represented PM as a reporter at City Hall, and I had many an occasion to come into close contact with him.

Later, he went to China and I have read various articles and letters published by him, mainly in the Herald-Tribune, which I found of great interest. I have just finished reading "Profile of Red China."

I do feel that I know him well enough to recommend him very strongly to you for the fellowship for which he has applied. He is a very conscientious and intelligent man, whom I found completely trustworthy. His outlook is liberal, but I do not for a moment believe that he is very far to the left. I thought his recent book well balanced, intelligent and, so far as I could judge, reasonably impartial. I cannot say that I know Mr. Landman intimately, but I do believe that my knowledge justifies the recommendation that I am giving.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)
Stanley M. Isaacs

C O P Y

Dr. Dorothy Borg
c/o Catherine Porter
2430 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

August 11, 1951

My dear Mr. Barber,

I am writing in response to your letter concerning Amos Landman.

It seems to me that Mr. Landman would be an excellent person for a Council fellowship. In China - which is my own area of study - I found that the group of good correspondents performed an invaluable and irreplaceable function. Partly owing to their energy and mobility and to their personal connections. I believe their knowledge of contemporary developments was probably better than that of any other group of Americans - which includes of course governmental and academic.

The only conspicuous weakness of these correspondents was lack of background knowledge and specialized skills - primarily language. It seemed to me (and to them) vital that these weaknesses be overcome.

Amos Landman fits into this group of correspondents and the above comments apply to him. He was of course a "new China Hand". But to some extent he inconspicuously turned this into an asset by never pretending to be anything else. He and his wife have the qualities you see in "Profile of Red China": a freshness of spirit, a youthful enthusiasm, great energy and earnestness, objectivity in so far as it is humanly possible, and integrity - very real integrity.

I hope that this is of use to you but if you want any more concrete - or in any way different information, please let me know. I shall return to my home in New York - 172 Sullivan Street - next week.

Sincerely,

(signed)
Dorothy Borg

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

August 21, 1951

To: The Advisory Committee on Fellowships

From: The Secretary to the Committee

In connection with Mr. Amos Landman's application for a fellowship, it seemed useful for him to meet and talk with Professor Hugh Borton, Acting Director of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University. A meeting between the two was accordingly arranged by me and took place on August 15 at Professor Borton's office.

This morning Professor Borton reported by telephone his impressions of Mr. Landman. There seemed no doubt, according to Professor Borton, that Mr. Landman, if appointed, would put his year to good advantage in pursuit of a program of Japanese studies. He appeared to be intensely serious about preparing himself for work as a correspondent in Japan. Professor Borton stated to me that Mr. Landman might have difficulty in keeping up with the courses in which he was interested, for the reason that they are keyed to personnel who already have more than a nodding acquaintance with Japan; however, Mr. Landman's extensive experience in China might help him to keep up with the other graduate students in the field.

Professor Borton was asked by me to appraise Mr. Landman's personal convictions and political sympathies with respect to the Far East in general. Professor Borton reported that he had not been able to make much progress in this direction. He had asked Mr. Landman a number of pointed questions about Far Eastern developments, particularly those in China, and had gotten perfectly straightforward answers which were entirely acceptable but which did not disclose very much about Mr. Landman's own attitude beyond what was set out in his book, "Profile of Red China."

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Council on Foreign Relations

May 29, 1951

Answered by phone

To: The Advisory Committee on Fellowships

From: Joseph Barber, Secretary to the Committee

Enclosed you will find copies of applications for Council fellowships by the following correspondents:

1 Patricia Beck - Life
3 Hal Lehrman - free lance
2 George Palmer - Associated Press
4 Walter G. Weisbecker - American Broadcasting Company

The list for your consideration is smaller than in preceding years for three reasons: fewer applications were received; several were withdrawn by correspondents when their employers declined to give them leave of absence from their duties abroad; and those of candidates who are obviously unsuited to the purposes of the fellowships have been eliminated.

It is conceivable that additional applications will be received; if this proves to be the case, copies will be forwarded for consideration along with those of the candidates listed above.

As in previous years, the dominant criterion for appointment, we feel, should be apparent promise of future achievement. With this in mind, may we ask you to review the enclosures and to send us your recommendations by Tuesday, June 12, stating the order of your preference for appointment.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

May 29, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The list of applicants for fellowships at the Council is quite small this year for reasons which are explained in the accompanying memorandum. For this reason we consider it of the utmost importance that we have the recommendations of every member of the Advisory Committee on Fellowships before making the selection.

May I ask you to review the enclosures and let me have your comments, as requested in the memorandum, no later than Tuesday, June 12?

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barber

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

SP

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

September 11, 1950

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

The annual meeting of the Council on Foreign Relations will be held at three P.M. on Wednesday, October 11th, at the Harold Pratt House, 58 East 68th Street, for the election of Directors of the class of 1953.

The following gentlemen have been nominated for Directors by the Nominating Committee:

Frank Altschul
William A. M. Burden
John W. Davis
Joseph E. Johnson
W. Averell Harriman
Grayson Kirk
Henry M. Wriston

A formal proxy is enclosed. In case you approve the above slate, it is requested that you fill in and return to me this proxy with the understanding that I shall cast your vote for the election of the above nominees.

Very truly yours,

W. H. Mallory

Walter H. Mallory
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

(Enclosure)

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

June 22, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The order of preference for the Council fellowships, as finally determined by pooling the votes of all six members of the Selection Committee after they had had an opportunity to review all of the material in support of applications, was as follows:

(1) Dana Adams Schmidt, 34, New York Times

(2) Fitzhugh Turner, 35, New York Herald Tribune

(3) William J. Boyle, 35, United Press

(4) Constantine Poulos, 34, Overseas News Agency.

Mr. Schmidt declined the Council award in favor of a Nieman fellowship. Since he already has his Masters degree from Columbia University, it may have made more sense from his point of view to spend a year at Harvard - in spite of the smaller stipend.

The two Council fellowships therefore go to Turner and Boyle. Both are elated and have confirmed acceptance of their awards. Not much more than a whisker separated Boyle from Turner in the final voting. Poulos was listed as No. 2 by two members of the Selection Committee and was not listed by the other four members among the first four applicants in order of preference.

Public announcement of the awards is being made on Friday, June 23.

Please know how grateful we are to you for taking the time and trouble to sift over the evidence and review each application with such care.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barber

Joseph Barber

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Fellowships for American Foreign Correspondents

THE Council on Foreign Relations offers two resident fellowships to American foreign correspondents for the academic year, September 15, 1950, to June 15, 1951.

The fellowships are for study and research at the Council in New York City, and at nearby universities.

American newspaper, radio and magazine correspondents who are now serving abroad, or who have recently served abroad and who plan to return to foreign posts, may submit applications.

All applications should reach the Council by May 1. The fellowships will be awarded by June 1.

* * *

THE purpose of the fellowships is to help correspondents to increase their competence to report and interpret events abroad.

There are no set study requirements. Fellows may concentrate on specific areas which they expect to cover in the course of their work abroad, or they may select general subjects about which they wish to learn more. The intention is to give men who have been preoccupied with meeting deadlines an opportunity to broaden their perspective by means of a coordinated program of reading, study and informal discussion.

Stipends will normally be equivalent to salaries relinquished by correspondents during the period of the fellowships. Academic charges for registration and tuition will be met from funds made available for the purpose. During their tenure, fellows should not expect to engage in the practice of their profession.

Council fellowships for the academic year, 1949-50, the first to be offered, are currently held by Robert Clurman, 30, on leave

from the *United Press*, and Henry R. Lieberman, 33, on leave from the *New York Times*. When appointed, Mr. Clurman was working on the *UP* cable desk in New York. He had previously served as *UP* manager for Calcutta, chief correspondent and manager for the Netherlands East Indies, and Nanking bureau manager. Mr. Lieberman was serving as correspondent of the *Times* in China.

The Council on Foreign Relations

The Council is a non-profit institution devoted to study of the international aspects of American political, economic and strategic problems. It was established shortly after World War I, and is now composed of some 900 men who have an active interest in foreign affairs and whose experience or training qualifies them for membership.

The Council takes no stand, expressed or implied, on American policy. It is supported by membership dues and contributions, and receives grants from leading foundations for special projects. Funds for the fellowships are provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The Council brings together regularly groups of experts to consider specific foreign issues affecting American interest. It carries on a program of research and publication. Its quarterly magazine is FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Among its other publications are annual volumes, *The United States in World Affairs* and the *Political Handbook of the World*, and many specialized works on various aspects of international affairs.

Members of the Council's supervisory Committee on Studies are as follows: Henry M. Wriston, Chairman; Hamilton Fish Armstrong; Allen W. Dulles; Grayson Kirk; Stacy May; Beardsley Ruml; George N. Shuster; and John H. Williams.

The Council occupies the building at the corner of 68th Street and Park Avenue, New York. Facilities include meeting rooms, offices, and a library which houses one of the outstanding American collections of books, pamphlets and documents in the field of international affairs.

Council Activities

Holders of the fellowships have office space at the Council and participate in such Council meetings, group discussions and other activities as assist them in their work.

In the course of each year, men who carry heavy public responsibilities visit the Council for the purpose of leading or participating in private discussions with members. During the

fall and winter of 1949-50 they included: Edward W. Barrett, Ales Bebler, Ernest Bevin, Henri Bonnet, General Lucius Clay, Benjamin V. Cohen, Lewis W. Douglas, Major General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, George C. McGhee, Field Marshal Montgomery, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Andre Philip, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, J. Leighton Stuart, Sir Mohammed Zafrulla Khan.

Many men who were less well known, including other Council members who were concerned with the formation or administration of national and international policies, also discussed their special problems at Council meetings during this period.

In addition, Council groups, composed of members who are especially qualified, were holding meetings regularly to consider the critical issues in Western European recovery, American policy toward China, the power of the Soviet Union, problems and prospects for the investment of private capital in underdeveloped areas, the non-self-governing territories, the political future of Western Germany, political and economic programs offering an alternative to those now being developed in Eastern Europe, and cultural cooperation and foreign policy.

Fellows attending Council meetings during 1950-51 will have exceptional opportunities to supplement their own knowledge and otherwise to profit from group discussion and informal contact with members of the Council.

University Work

Fellows are not required to take university courses for formal credit toward an advanced degree, but may do so if they desire. Arrangements can be made with nearby institutions so that they may carry on such academic work as will meet their needs.

Upon appointment, the Council will advise fellows of available opportunities for study in chosen fields, and will assist them to pick university courses which should be most useful to them. Among the institutions at which fellows may find programs of particular value are: the Russian, European, East Asian Institutes and the School of International Affairs at Columbia University; the Yale Department of International Relations and Institute of International Studies; and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton.

Selection

Fellows will be selected, upon application, by the Council's Advisory Committee on Fellowships, which is composed of Gardner Cowles, *Look;* John K. Jessup, *Fortune;* Walter Kerr, *New York Herald Tribune;* Grayson Kirk, Columbia University;

Eugene Meyer, *Washington Post;* Edward Murrow, Columbia Broadcasting System.

Candidates under 40 years of age will be considered for appointment. The Advisory Committee will take into account their past performance, experience and education, but awards will be based largely upon apparent promise of future achievement in the field of foreign correspondence.

Since there will be competition for appointment, each candidate should provide full information about himself, including the following biographical details:

Name, address, date and place of birth, nationality (if naturalized, when and where);

Formal education (schools attended, dates of attendance, major and minor fields of concentration, degrees received, other pertinent information);

Previous employment (names and addresses of employers, duties performed, periods of employment);

Name and address of present employer, exact nature of duties, date of employment, present salary;

War service, publications, awards;

References (names and addresses of five persons who may be called upon for further information).

Each application should be supplemented by:

1. A letter from the applicant's employer granting leave of absence in case of appointment (to be sent directly to the Advisory Committee);
2. A statement by the applicant of roughly 500 words summarizing and appraising his experience as a foreign correspondent, and describing the use which he would make of a fellowship;
3. Approximately ten samples of the applicant's journalistic writing from abroad.

* * *

Applications and requests for information should be addressed to Joseph Barber, Secretary, Advisory Committee on Fellowships, Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York.

June 20, 1950

Dear Mr. Barber:

Confirming yesterday's telephone conversation I feel, after reviewing the additional material submitted, that my original choices for the Council's newspaper fellows for 1950-51 remain unaltered. They are: (1) Harold R. Isaacs; (2) Dana Adams Schmidt; (3) William J. Boyle; (4) Fitzhugh Turner.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Joseph Barber
Council on Foreign Relations
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

June 16, 1950

called 6/19

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Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We held our meeting last evening to select the Council's newspaper fellows for 1950-51. The choices of Messrs. Binder, Kirk and Murrow had been received by mail. Three other members of the Committee were present: Messrs. Barber, Cowles and Jessup.

Dana Adams Schmidt, of the New York Times, was the first choice of four of the six members and was the second choice of the other two members. In other words, Mr. Schmidt is safely "in" as a Council fellow for the coming year.

The six members' order of preference after Schmidt showed no clear preponderance of opinion. Those present had certain supplementary papers before them which came to the Council after the papers which you have inspected were forwarded to you. It was the feeling of those present at the meeting that Messrs. Binder, Kirk and Murrow should have an opportunity to review the supplementary papers. It was felt that this might help to make clearer the order of preference for numbers 2, 3, and 4 on the list, from the point of view of the six members as a group.

Your choices as relayed to me were: (1) Harold R. Isaacs; (2) Dana Adams Schmidt; (3) William J. Boyle; (4) Fitzhugh Turner.

I regret having to bother you with this again but I must ask you to look over the enclosed supplementary material, consider it in the light of the material already forwarded to you (additional copies of which are enclosed), and let me know whether your choices should stand as originally set up or whether you wish to revise your order of preference in the light of the supplementary material.

Since I am leaving for Europe in a week's time, and naturally want to finish up this business before departing, I would appreciate word from you by telephone or telegram collect. For the record, we ought also to have a brief note from you in response to this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barber

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

May 31, 1950

Jessica Tuchman — what is your choice?

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The Council's Advisory Committee on fellowships for American foreign correspondents, of which you are a member, will meet here on Thursday, June 15, at 6:30 P.M. to consider applications submitted by the various correspondents and to award two fellowships for the academic year, September 15, 1950 - June 15, 1951. Cocktails and dinner will precede the selection.

The enclosures include the Council's pamphlet describing the fellowships, a memorandum relating to the candidates, copies of applications received and supporting material.

The enclosures are forwarded at this time so that you may have an opportunity to review the evidence in advance of our meeting. Naturally we hope that you can be with us, because we strongly feel that the awards should be based on decisions arrived at jointly. If you cannot attend the meeting, please be sure to advise us and to forward your recommendations before the 15th, indicating in numerical order of preference the two men to whom you would favor awarding fellowships, and two alternates.

Each applicant has submitted samples of his writing and these will be available for reference at the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barber

Joseph Barber
Secretary to the Advisory Committee

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

phoned 6/13/50

May 31, 1950

To the Advisory Committee on Fellowships:

As of this date, applications for Council fellowships have been received from the following correspondents:

A William J. Boyle, 35, Chief of Bureau, United Press, Vienna.

1 Harold R. Isaacs, 39, Special Correspondent, Christian Science Monitor.

James W. Michaels, 28, former Chief of Bureau, United Press, New Delhi.

John H. Rich, Jr., 32, Correspondent, International News Service, Tokyo.

2 Dana Adams Schmidt, 34, Correspondent, New York Times, Prague.

John Scott, 38, former Chief of Bureau, Time, Berlin.

A Fitzhugh Turner, 35, Washington Correspondent, New York Herald Tribune.

In some cases, all of the expected supporting papers have not been received as of this date. Those received by June 15 will be presented for consideration at the meeting of the Advisory Committee on the 15th, when the awards will be made. Should additional applications be received before the 15th, they will also be presented for consideration.

Should any member of the Advisory Committee find it impossible to attend the meeting on the 15th, he is asked to be sure to forward his recommendations to the Council sufficiently in advance of the meeting to enable presentation of his observations. Four applicants in order of preference should be designated (two awards will be made.)

Joseph Barber
Secretary

Add application by:

Marcus Purdue, 35, Chief of Bureau for India, Pakistan and Ceylon, Associated Press.

Consultative Comm.

March 15, 1950

Dear Mr. Barber:

Your note of February 17th has been received here during Mr. Murrow's absence from the city. The pamphlets describing the fellowships for correspondents will be brought to his attention upon his return to the office.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Platoff
Secretary

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

February 17, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I thought you would be interested to have for reference a couple copies of the new pamphlet describing the fellowships for American foreign correspondents which the Council is offering for the academic year 1950-51. Public announcement of the fellowships will be made on Tuesday, February 21.

The fellowships are somewhat better known than was the case last spring when we announced the first competition. Nevertheless, it is important to insure wide circulation of word about the new competition. We would welcome suggestions from you in this connection.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barber

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

Committee SP

January 27, 1950

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

I shall be glad to continue to serve on the Council's Advisory Committee to select fellows for the academic year 1950-51. I hope to be able to devote more time to the Committee this year than I did last year. Thank you again for asking me.

Sincerely yours,

corr. to Chester w. attached note

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 565-7/49

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Chester

From Mr. Murrow

Station

January 27, 1950

This is for your information. I have forgotten the exact amount of the stipend, but I believe it is a fairly liberal one. My understanding is that broadcasters are eligible.

E.R.M.

TO Mr. Murrow 1/30

From EDMUND A. CHESTER

I'd suggest Howard Smith but I'd hate to lose him. Unless you feel it essential that we nominate someone I'd recommend we pass it up. How do you feel about it?

EAC

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 559-2/49

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Chester

From Mr. Murrow

Station

January 27, 1950

This is for your information. I have forgotten the exact amount of the stipend, but I believe it is a fairly liberal one. My understanding is that broadcasters are eligible.

E.R.M.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

January 25, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I though you would be interested to learn that the Carnegie Corporation of New York has placed at the disposal of the Council a sum of money sufficient to provide resident fellowships for two American foreign correspondents for the academic year 1950-51. You recall that the Corporation did this last year for the first time and that you served as a member of a small Advisory Committee which selected the two fellows now in residence.

Holders of the fellowships for the academic year 1949-50 are Robert Clurman, of the United Press, and Henry R. Lieberman, of the New York Times. When appointed, Mr. Clurman was working on the UP cable desk in New York. He had previously served as UP manager for Calcutta, chief correspondent and manager for the Netherlands East Indies, and Nanking bureau manager. Mr. Lieberman was serving as correspondent of the Times in China. I believe you have already received an invitation to a dinner in their honor to be given here at the Council on February 9, at which both men will lead a discussion of the requirements of American policy in the Far East.

Both men are hard at work on their individual projects and, in our opinion, are fully justifying their selection as fellows.

Last year there was only a six-week interval between announcement of the competition for the fellowships and notification of the awards. We know now that a much longer interval is advisable. Accordingly, we propose to announce the new competition next month and to make May 1 the deadline for applications, with notification of the awards by June 1. Advancing the dates will, we feel, be helpful both to correspondents' employers and to applicants themselves. Moreover, it will help us here at the Council with our own scheduling of work.

This means that sometime in May we shall want to bring together the members of the Advisory Committee to select the new fellows. Naturally, we hope that you will wish to continue your membership on the Committee. Your duties will be no more arduous than was the case this past year. Should you have any questions about the fellowships, I should be glad to try to answer them. Any suggestions you may have regarding the conditions of appointment

or methods of circulating word about the fellowships will be most welcome. We contemplate making the new fellowships available on much the same basis as was indicated in last year's announcement, a copy of which is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barber

Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Fellowships for American Foreign Correspondents

THE Council on Foreign Relations offers two resident fellowships to American foreign correspondents for the academic year, September 15, 1949, to June 15, 1950.

The fellowships are for study and research at the Council in New York City, and at nearby universities.

American newspaper, radio and magazine correspondents who are now serving abroad, or who have recently served abroad and who plan to return to foreign posts, may submit applications.

All applications should reach the Council by July 1. The fellowships will be awarded by August 1.

* * *

THE purpose of the fellowships is to help correspondents to increase their competence to report and interpret events abroad.

There are no set study requirements. Fellows may concentrate on specific areas which they expect to cover in the course of their work abroad, or they may select general subjects about which they wish to learn more. The intention is to give men who have been preoccupied with meeting deadlines an opportunity to broaden their perspective by means of a coordinated program of reading, study and informal discussion.

Stipends will normally be equivalent to salaries relinquished by correspondents during the period of the fellowships. Academic charges for registration and tuition will be met from funds made available for the purpose. During their tenure, fellows should not expect to engage in the practice of their profession.

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The Council brings together regularly groups of experts to consider specific foreign issues affecting American interest. It carries on a program of research and publication. Its quarterly magazine is FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Among its other publications are annual volumes, *The United States in World Affairs* and the *Political Handbook of the World*, and many specialized works on various aspects of international affairs.

Members of the Council's supervisory Committee on Studies, which has approved the establishment of the fellowships, are as follows: Henry M. Wriston, Chairman; Hamilton Fish Armstrong; Isaiah Bowman; Allen W. Dulles; Grayson Kirk; Stacy May; Winfield W. Riefler; Beardsley Ruml; and John H. Williams.

The Council occupies the building at the corner of 68th Street and Park Avenue, New York. Facilities include meeting rooms, offices, and a library which houses one of the outstanding American collections of books, pamphlets and documents in the field of international affairs.

Council Activities

Holders of fellowships will have office space at the Council and will be invited to participate in such Council meetings, group discussions and other activities as will assist them in their work.

In the course of each year, men who carry heavy public responsibilities visit the Council for the purpose of leading or participating in private discussions with members. During 1948–49, they included:

Paul-Henri Spaak, Count Carlo Sforza, Robert Schuman, John Foster Dulles, Hubertus J. Van Mook, Ernst Reuter, George V. Allen, James D. Zellerbach, Robert Marjolin, Thomas K. Finletter, Admiral Richard L. Conolly, George F. Kennan,

Major General Bryant E. Moore , Cavendish Cannon, John J. McCloy, Major General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, and William H. Draper.

Many men who were less well known, including other Council members who were concerned with the formation or administration of national and international policies, also discussed their special problems at Council meetings during the year.

In addition, Council study groups, composed of members who were especially qualified, held meetings regularly through 1948–49 to consider what should be the American position with respect to economic reconstruction in Japan, western Europe after ERP, the power of the Soviet Union, objectives in Latin America, recovery in western Germany, the Moslem world, cultural cooperation and foreign policy, and air transport policy.

Fellows attending Council meetings during 1949–50 will have exceptional opportunities to supplement their own knowledge and otherwise to profit from group discussion and informal contact with members of the Council.

University Work

Fellows will not be required to take university courses for formal credit toward an advanced degree, but may do so if they desire. Arrangements will be made with nearby institutions so that they may carry on such academic work as will meet their needs.

Upon appointment, the Council will advise fellows of available opportunities for study in chosen fields, and will assist them to pick university courses which should be most useful to them. Among the institutions at which fellows will find programs of particular value are: the Russian, European, East Asian Institutes and the School of International Affairs at Columbia University; the Yale Department of International Relations and Institute of International Studies; and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton.

Selection

Fellows will be selected, upon application, by the Council's Advisory Committee on Fellowships, which is composed of Gardner Cowles, *Look;* John K. Jessup, *Fortune;* Walter Kerr, *New York Herald Tribune;* Grayson Kirk, Columbia University; Eugene Meyer, *Washington Post;* Edward Murrow, Columbia Broadcasting System; Shepard Stone, *New York Times.*

The Committee will take into account the past performance, experience and education of candidates, but awards will be based largely upon apparent promise of future achievement in the field of foreign correspondence. Except in unusual cases, preference will be given to candidates under 35 years of age.

Since there will be competition for appointments, each candidate should provide full information about himself, including the following biographical details:

Name, address, date and place of birth, nationality (if naturalized, when and where);

Formal education (schools attended, dates of attendance, major and minor fields of concentration, degrees received, other pertinent information);

Previous employment (names and addresses of employers, duties performed, periods of employment);

Name and address of present employer, exact nature of duties, date of employment, present salary;

War service, publications, awards;

References (names and addresses of three persons who may be called upon for further information).

Each application should be supplemented by:

1. A letter from the applicant's employer supporting the application and granting leave of absence (to be sent directly to the Advisory Committee);
2. A statement by the applicant summarizing and appraising his experience as a foreign correspondent, and describing the use which he would make of a fellowship;
3. Approximately ten samples of the applicant's journalistic writing from abroad.

* * *

Applications and requests for information should be addressed to Joseph Barber, Secretary, Advisory Committee on Fellowships, Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

July 5, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am enclosing the applications of:

Robert Clark Haney, New York Herald Tribune, Paris Edition

Edward M. Edwin, Public Information Division, Office of Military Government for Hesse

for one of the Council's fellowships. Will you please add these applications to those already forwarded to you, for consideration when the Advisory Committee on Fellowships meets here on the 13th.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barber/m

Joseph Barber

APPLICATION FOR A FELLOWSHIP

Name: Haney, Robert Clark

Present Address: 616 North Dubuque Street, Iowa City, Iowa

Date of Birth: February 24, 1921 Place: Independence, Iowa

Nationality: American

Formal Education

High School

Graduated, 1938, from Independence Public High School, Independence, Iowa.

University

College of Liberal Arts, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; from September, 1938, to June, 1941; again from February, 1942, to June, 1942; at present in attendance at the summer session, State University of Iowa; from June, 1949, to August, 1949.

Fields of Concentration

Major in French, minors in English and Russian. Courses undertaken this summer: comtemporary French literature, special work on American foreign relations in the twentieth century, philosophy of language.

Degrees

Will receive the Bachelor of Arts degree at summer session commencement, August 10, 1949.

Other Studies

Intensive Language Training Program (Civilian), Russian, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies; at the State University of Iowa; from October, 1942, to April, 1943; basic and advanced courses successfully completed.

Course in French Civilization, at the University of Dijon, Dijon, France; August and September, 1945 (under Army sponsorship.)

Courses in Russian, French, mathomatics, at the Army University, Biarritz, France; November and December, 1945.

Languages

Fluent French. Reading, writing and speaking knowledge of Russian.

Previous Employment

Los Angeles Times, Los Angeles, California; employed in the editorial library ("morgue"); from September, 1941, to February, 1942. Duties: Classifying and filing clippings, photographs.

Agence Europeenne de Presse, 27, rue de la Michodiere, Paris, France; from February, 1946, to November, 1946. Duties: reporting on events in France of international interest; covering the American "side" of international meetings in Paris.

Radio-Diffusion Francaise, Section Amerique du Nord, Robert Lange, directeur, 118 Avenue des Champs-Elysees, Paris, France; from September 12, 1946, to October 15, 1946. Duties: reporting, in English, on the Paris Conference for a short-wave program to the United States.

Present Employment

New York Herald Tribune, European Edition, 21, rue de Berri, Paris, France. Editor: Geoffrey Parsons Jr.

Duties

City editor. Responsible for the operation of the city desk (both city and nation-wide news). Reporting for both the European and the New York edition. Co-ordinate city desk operations with the Paris bureau chief of the New York Herald Tribune (New York edition). On occasion responsible for special editing (such as supplements on Switzerland, Belgium); this includes preparation of the editorial plan, on-the-spot survey and writing.

Date of Employment: December 1, 1946

Salary: $110 a week.

War Service

Inducted into the Army April 15, 1943. Basic training in Field Artillery at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Special work (in Russian), office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Pentagon, Washington, D. C., October and November 1943. Assigned to Military Intelligence Service, Military Intelligence Training Center, Camp Ritchie, Maryland, December, 1943. Overseas duty as Master Sergeant of Military Intelligence team, July, 1944.

Attached to XVIII Airborne Corps, August, 1944. Campaigns: Normandy, Northern France, Ardennes, Rhineland, Central Europe. Russian interpreter at juncture with Red Army on the Wismar-Schwerin-Ludwigslust line in North Germany in May, 1945. Relieved of service with XVIII Airborne Corps June, 1945. Returned to Headquarters, Military Intelligence Service, United States Forces, European Theater. Honorably discharged from the Army with grade of Master Sergeant, at Namur, Belgium, February 22, 1946.

References

George Cornish, Managing Editor
New York Herald Tribune
230 West 41st Street
New York 18, New York

Clarence K. Streit
Ontario Apartments
2853 Ontario Road
Washington, D. C.

Dr. J. Milton Cowan, Director of Modern Languages
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Hancy, Robert Clark

FOREIGN EXPERIENCE

Newspaper positions I have held abroad have been of a rather unusual nature. Variously, I have been "redacteur" on the foreign desk of a French wire service, radio newsman, city editor of an American newspaper published in Paris and roving reporter on special assignment in several Western European countries. Experience has shown me that this curious variety has in itself been of value and that my background in foreign reporting has only been enriched by it.

My first newspaper work in France was with the Anglo-American section of a French news agency, the Agence Europeenne de Presse. There I had the opportunity to work under the tutelage of an exceptionally well-equipped newspaperman, Mr. David Scott, who had been Paris correspondent for the London Times in the period between the two wars. He and I together did most of the reporting for our small section on the two meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris in the spring and summer of 1946. I covered all of the American press briefings and some of the press conferences given by the British and French delegations. Principal distribution of our English file was in Great Britain, although the foreign desk of the French agency also relied on our copy.

When the Big Four conference ended in July, 1946, the Anglo-American section of the agency was dissolved, and I was shifted to the foreign desk of the French agency proper. The foreign editor assigned me to the four-man team which covered the Paris Conference. I was, in particular, responsible for coverage of news from the American delegation. In addition, I followed the debates of the conference closely. From September 12, 1946, to October 15, 1946, I also reported on the peace conference for the North American Section of Radio-Diffusion Francaise. This consisted in doing a four-and-a-half minute "spot" in English four nights a week on a short-wave program to the United States.

My associations and work during this interesting period were stimulating and instructive. Necessarily close contacts with the French press proved helpful later in covering French political and economic developments for an American newspaper. A fluent knowledge of French has always been, of course, an invaluable asset.

I left the Agence Europeenne de Presse shortly after the Paris Conference ended because I had been obliged to write in French following the eclipse of the Anglo-American section. Obviously, my future was not in French news writing, and I went to work for the European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune on December 1, 1946.

Experience I have had with this newspaper as a reporter and city editor has been much broader than I could have expected from a foreign assignment for an American publication. As a "local" paper, in a sense, the European Edition carries more news of all types about France than American

newspapers published in the United States. I regularly covered newsworthy events which other correspondents passed up because of file limitations. For example, I might cover a party congress from start to finish, whereas space limitations on other American newspapers would allow for one story at the most. I had, as a result, a closer and more constant contact with news originating in France. At the same time, stories I wrote which fitted within the file limitations of the Paris bureau (New York edition) were sent to New York at the discretion of the chief of bureau.

Covering foreign news in the same city where the newspaper was published was also an advantage. I had a better chance to observe the editorial handling of all foreign copy and to see the value and proper place of "reaction" and "side" stories on news events originating principally in another capital.

Another advantage of my work has been the variety of subjects I have been required to cover. These include not only the economic and political fields, which foreign correspondents customarily concentrate on but also aspects of everyday life in France. This broader experience, I feel, has given me a better understanding of the French and their problems.

Paris has been my principal headquarters, but I have also had occasion to travel throughout France and in other parts of Western Europe. I planned, gathered material for, wrote a large part of and edited three special supplements: two on Switzerland and one on Belgium. (A copy of the first Swiss supplement has been included with the clippings.) On one particularly interesting trip, in August, 1948, I visited the island of Rhodes, where Count Folke Bernadotte's Palestine Mediation Mission was then located.

From April, 1947, until December, 1948, I did occasional broadcasts from Paris for Mutual Broadcasting System on a "stringer" basis, reporting on feature events and international meetings.

By chance, some of the most important international political meetings have been held in Paris since the war. The French capital is also the headquarters for Marshall Plan operations. My work in Europe has given me an opportunity to observe first-hand the aftermath of war and the attempts to restore political and economic order.

I have felt personally the slow recovery of one of the Western European nations, for I lived continuously in France from the winter of 1945 and '46, when we had little to eat but horse-meat and turnips, until May, 1949, when I left behind — regretfully - the renowned, now-unrationed French cuisine.

After five years in Europe, I had asked for a leave of absence. I needed a chance to become re-acquainted with the United States. At the same time, I wanted to finish my undergraduate college work, cut short by the war. I will now receive the Bachelor of Arts degree in August after attending the summer session at the State University of Iowa.

If the Council on Foreign Relations fellowship were granted me, I should like to enroll at the Russian Institute at Columbia University, for work on the language, history, government, economy and foreign relations of the Soviet Union.

My training and war-time experience, on the one hand, and post-war international political developments, on the other, point to further study of the Soviet Union. The fact that I am also interested in such a study makes the choice inevitable. The Council's fellowship would be an unparalleled opportunity for me to increase my competence in this special field of foreign reporting.

Robert Haney

(Note: I have submitted somewhat more than the number of clippings required for the application in order to illustrate better the variety of my work.)

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE
European Edition
21 Rue de Berri
Paris, France

June 18, 1949

Mr. Joseph Barber
Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

Robert Haney, who is on leave of absence from the European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune, has written me that he would like to apply for one of the Council on Foreign Relations scholarships. I was very reluctant to let Haney go this Spring when he had decided that he should re-visit the United States, after an absence of nearly four years, and then finish up his formal education. He left with the understanding that his departure was not permanent, but merely an interim absence, after which his job here would be open to him.

I have talked with Walter Kerr, one of the members of your advisory Committee who agrees with me that it would be difficult to find a young reporter who would get more out of one of your scholarships than Haney.

Since Haney has already studied Russian, I believe he may have already indicated to you he is interested in studying at the Russian Institute at Columbia. I had the opportunity of seeing him daily during the two and a half years he worked for us and watched him develop in his job here. I am confident that he would continue to grow through the opportunities offered by one of your scholarships. I assume that he is the type of reporter you are looking for.

As to his character, speaking of him as a person and a newspaperman, I would say that although he is still young and shy, he has a great deal of sound and matured judgment, a wide range of interests, and an exceptional degree of self-discipline.

In short, I strongly endorse his application for a Council on Foreign Relations scholarship.

If there is any additional information which I can give you, please let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

Geoffrey Parsons, Jr.
Editor

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

European Edition
Published Daily in Paris

230 West 41st Street, New York 18

June 30, 1949

Mr. Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am very happy to be able to give you an enthusiastic recommendation for Robert Haney, about whom you wrote me on June 23. He has worked on our European Edition for two and a half years as a reporter, rewrite man and as City Editor. All reports of his work are good. I am told that his French is excellent.

In addition to daily news coverage he assisted in the preparation of several special sections for the paper. He got along well with other members of the staff.

I believe that he is the kind of person to get profit from one of your Fellowships.

Sincerely yours,

George A. Cornish
Managing Editor

CORNELL UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
Ithaca, New York

Division of Modern Languages

June 28, 1949

Mr. Joseph Barber
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Barber:

I am happy to write a letter in support of the application of Mr. Robert Haney of the Herald Tribune for one of the Council's fellowships for American foreign correspondents.

I remember Mr. Haney well from my Iowa days when he was considered one of our most promising students. His subsequent record would seem to justify the confidence we had in him. Although I have not had any direct contact with Mr. Haney since the war broke, I have heard of his career through mutual friends. You yourself indicate that Mr. Haney's application is unusually appealing, and I know of nothing which would detract from this interpretation.

I sincerely hope that you will see your way clear to make it possible for Mr. Haney to continue his study at the Russian Institute with the assistance of one of your fellowships.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Cowan
Director

JMC:ec

April 13, 1949

Mr. Walter H. Mallory
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Walter:

My apologies for the delay in answering yours of the 5th, but I was in Washington for a week, and get behind in my correspondence. As I told you on the phone the other day, I will be glad to help in any way that I can with the selection of the fellows for the project which you outlined to me.

As ever yours,

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

April 5, 1949

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

The officers of the Carnegie Corporation have indicated that they would like to consider putting at the disposal of the Council on Foreign Relations a sum of money sufficient to provide fellowships which would enable younger American foreign correspondents to spend a year of study at the Council and at nearby universities.

The purpose of the fellowships would be to assist promising correspondents to broaden their grasp of subjects with which they have been dealing, or may deal, in the course of their work in specific areas abroad.

Holders of fellowships would have office space at the Council, would participate in Council meetings and group discussions, and would have full use of Council facilities for private study. Their university work would be at such institutions as Columbia, Yale, and Princeton, where they would select those courses which would, in their opinion, be most useful to them.

Stipends would be individually adjusted so as to conform as nearly as possible with salaries relinquished during the period of the fellowships. In addition, academic charges for registration and tuition would be met from funds made available for the purpose.

I am writing to ask whether you find yourself favorably disposed toward this proposal, and whether you would be willing to serve as a member of a small Advisory Committee, composed of Council members prominent in the newspaper, radio and magazine fields, which would select the fellows and supervise the project.

Of course, all the details of administration would be handled by the Council. Mr. Joseph Barber, of the Council staff, who has had newspaper and magazine experience here and abroad, would have charge of the undertaking. It probably would not be necessary for the Advisory Committee to meet more than two or three times a

year after establishment of the fellowships. In the early stages, however, we would be guided very largely by the recommendations of the Committee, and indeed, would depend upon its continuing interest.

If, as we expect, the necessary arrangements with the Carnegie Corporation can be worked out in the next few weeks, it should be possible to inaugurate the fellowships early in the fall. The plan provides for the appointment of only two fellows for the first year. For the time being, we are treating the matter as confidential.

At your convenience, would you let me know what you think of the idea, and whether you would be able to accept membership on the Committee?

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Mallory

Walter H. Mallory
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

WARD WHEELOCK COMPANY
Advertising

MEMORANDUM OF THINKING BEHIND THE PROPOSED
EISENHOWER INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS

Cecil Rhodes established what have been probably the most successful scholarships ever operated. Their objective was unique and sound for the times. The conditions regarding the selection of candidates made much sense for though they were "Scholars" and went to Oxford and were in the classics, by Mr. Rhodes' decision the best all around men were picked, not just the erudite. Rhodes scholars fitted their times, did good, acquired great prestige - but it would be totally out of character to start such a thing today with the Eisenhower name. It is outmoded.

If a similar idea is to be established in the name of President Eisenhower, it must have an objective, plan and requirements at least as distinctive. It must fit today's conditions, and be along the lines of President Eisenhower's basic philosophy. It must have no political connection or be subject to political attack. It must be the most desired Fellowship in the world. Further, it must be certain of continuance on a big enough scale to make it of real importance.

Briefly, the idea for the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowship is as follows:

Establish it with these dual objectives:

1) to help promote understanding between the United States and other nations and between other nations and the United States.

2) to give the best individual practical training for one year to the best "uncommon man" selected from each nation in the field of that country's greatest need.

To accomplish these objectives, exchange fellowships will be set up in pairs. For each foreign fellowship to the United States, there will be a United States Fellow go abroad for a year.

An Eisenhower Fellowship will be offered to various countries as decided by the committee varying each year. They will be countries in all parts of the world - Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, North America. There may be one, two or more offered to a country.

1) Each country will select the field in which they need most development. This will be practical. It might be hydro-electric power, or road or bridge building, or agriculture (the raising of cattle or pigs or sheep or crops), or business (they may have raw materials but need to learn mass production to get prices down for local usage or for selling abroad), or business administration, or specialized medicine, etc.

2) Then the best "uncommon man" in that field will be chosen for that country to be the Eisenhower Fellow.

It is our feeling that since we are aiming for a man who can quickly and practically absorb and use what is offered, the Eisenhower Fellow should be more mature than the usual scholarship or fellowship recipient - that he should probably have worked practically.

We want men who have more perspective and background than the usual college student or even post graduate. We want not just the scholar who wants learning for itself - but the man who wants to learn in order to do.

Therefore, while no rules can be laid down for "uncommon men" who have prover their character, we feel that we should take Eisenhower Fellows up to 32 years of age and not require a university degree - though obviously that will generally be held. But we will not want to exclude men like Knudsen or John Wanamaker or Thomas Edison or Benjamin Franklin or Jim Duff who are uncommon and yet have no degree. Many uncommon men show this at an early age. But we wish to make it clear that we have no restrictions on older than usual men for postgraduate work and that we feel practical experience a definite asset.

We say 32 or about because we feel he could take a year profitably then and then apply for 35 years or so his increased knowledge for his country in the field they most need.

3) To get such a man, who has started his work and has felt the joy of learning through doing and seeing results, much more than college must be offered. So the Eisenhower Fellowship will offer much more. The tentative plan of what it offers is: - one year (12 months) of the best America has to give in his chosen line - especially selected for his background and requirements - a custom planned year in three ways:

a) Post graduate selective college work.

b) Time for practical work at the various types of units he is interested in - plus time spent in 4 to 6 different work operations in the field selected.

c) Meeting and time with the leading men in the field he is interested in.

Let's be specific. Suppose an Eisenhower Fellow was interested in cattle raising. His country needed food. Cattle raising is the main problem. He was the outstanding young man. The United States Eisenhower Committee gets full information on the man and the country's requirements and problems. So his year is planned.

(1) He will have selected work at the outstanding Land-Grant University where conditions best suit the local conditions in the Fellow's country.

(2) Seven to ten days at King Ranch. Study of Gertrudis and their whole operation. What they have learned from shipping abroad. Breeding, characteristics, disease problems, etc. Not just a visit, but a real study into the operation - their problems, their progress, their thinking.

(3) A week or so on a western steer ranch.

(4) See the feeding pens and then to Kansas City and Chicago. From Swift or Armour to A&P to see the whole process from ranch to table.

(5) Perhaps to Florida to see a different operation in cattle at the most practical operation to apply to his country. It might well be planned that he stay and work for a couple of months.

(6) And to the New York Milk Shed with Borden or Sheffield - their kinds, costs, methods. To see the various types of milk produced - fluid, dry, evaporated, condensed - every practical detail.

(7) In the operation, the Eisenhower Fellow will cover the country fairly well, meeting all sorts of people where they have a mutual interest. And through arrangements, he will meet and spend time with the big men in various phases of this field. At his age and with his energy, he should get and give. And I am sure that the American big men will give an outstanding young man some time. It will not be often, for the fields are very wide.

But in this set-up in 12 months, the Eisenhower Fellow will get the best America has to give - a program specifically worked out for him - a) college, b) practical operation of all sorts and not just a quick visit, and c) a visit with the "great" in his field.

While each Eisenhower Fellow will have a specifically and carefully planned year from his specific background and problem let's look at 12 months of a possible plan:

	Months	Weeks
In Washington		
To meet President Eisenhower and to see the government people involved in his specialty		1
To University	6	
An average of a week each at 6 different work operations in various sections of the country	1	2
Work in the most applicable work operation	2	
Time in traveling and seeing the "top" men of his specialty (most of these will be in the work operation units)	1	
Vacation to see other places of America	1	
Travel to and from America		1
Total time	12 months	

How better could he spend a year - to learn in his specific field - to gain an understanding of America - to develop a broader outlook?

Any American of 30 who was going somewhere would give his eyeteeth for such an opportunity - even though the tug to keep in practical productive work would be great. It is self-evident that if this planning and carrying out of the year is practically done this will be the most productive way to spend a year in 95% of the cases of uncommon men. What the Eisenhower Fellowship has to offer will be of unique value and designed for the "uncommon man".

The plan is to offer 20 Eisenhower Fellowships in 1954-55. These will cost $175,000 (ten from the United States to go abroad and ten from abroad to come to the United States).

And in 1955-56 and thereafter, offer 100 per year (50 to and 50 from the United States) at a cost of $770,000.

Two temporary committees are being set up to investigate the practicality of this:

1) Policy Plans and Operations Committee

2) Finance Committee

Both will have final reports arrived at September 24th to determine the detailed specific propositions and plans, and the practicalities of operating and financing it.

The purpose is, if it is to be done, to have it underwritten by Pennsylvania for the first year ($175,000) and presented to President Eisenhower at his birthday party October 13th.

He is specifically and greatly interested in this plan. Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower is also greatly interested and is working with the committee in developing it. He will sit in on the Committee meetings.

After the two above committees report, they will cease to exist.

Their reports go to Mr. Philip Sharples, Chairman of the Republican Finance Committee of Pennsylvania, who with his associates will decide whether to proceed with the plan.

If they decide to do so it is planned in the first few days of October to take this to President Eisenhower (this will be done by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower with several members of the Committees).

If he approves, it will be put into final form and presented to President Eisenhower at his Birthday Party at Hershey, Pennsylvania on October 13th - the corporation set-up - the $175,000 budget underwritten - the long term plan specified and put immediately into action to select Fellows for the year September 1954 to August 1955.

At this time a National Board will take the place of the two temporary Committees - and the project starts immediately out of the hands of politics or any locality. It is then a national program set up as President Eisenhower wishes it - and underwritten by men - corporations - and Foundations, from all over the country because it makes sense.

The key to the success of this plan lies in the two hard working committees which will be appointed by the Board - the committee that will select and plan the year for the Fellow and see it works out, and the Finance Committee. But finding and handling the Fellow is the basic problem of this plan. This needs much more work by able people.

If this is well done the Eisenhower Fellowships will be the premier Fellowships in the world - the most sought after.

* * * * *

8/27/53

(Eisenhower Fellowship Committee Meeting 9/24/53)

AGENDA

1) Review and conclude points discussed and questions raised. (Attached A gives suggested conclusions, most of which have already been decided).

2) Vote on following resolution:

"It is the judgment of this Committee that the plan for the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships as decided is worthy, practical and useful, and, if finances can be secured, should be put into effect if President Eisenhower approves".

3) If the above resolution is passed, discuss and conclude:

   a) Suggested timetable (attached B)

   b) Suggested organization plan (attached C)

   c) Suggested outline of report from the Temporary Committee to pass on to the Permanent Committee (attached D)

   d) Discuss the specific names proposed for the 35 to 50 members of the Permanent Committee (attached E). This is the Committee to operate entirely the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships.

4) The Chairman will then declare this the last meeting of the Temporary Committee and request authority to appoint a Temporary Executive Committee of five, which Committee will function on all further questions of policy and carry out the work required to implement the decisions of this Committee.

   This Temporary Executive Committee will meet as a body, when required, to decide policy, and will be made up as follows:

   1. Member delegated to invite and organize the Permanent Committee along the general lines approved.

   2. Member delegated to write into final form and put into presentable shape the complete plan.

      a) For initial presentation to the President in Washington. (Preferably September 30 or as soon thereafter as possible).

b) For final presentation to the President at Hershey October 13.

c) For presentation to the Permanent Committee.

3. Member delegated to handle publicity.

4. Dr Milton S Eisenhower.

5. Mr Philip T Sharples.

Each of the above is empowered to set up committees to assist them in their work. But the five above will be delegated by this Temporary Committee to decide any policy questions arising.

This Committee will go to see President Eisenhower as soon as practical - so that if approved, the timetable can be put into effect so that a good basis for the national committee will be completed by October 13, a non-profit corporation established (if this is legally decided best), and the complete plan put into as comprehensive and specific form as the Committee deems advisable.

The Chairman suggests for these five men:

As Chairman and to organize Permanent Committee	.... Thomas B McCabe
To write plan and presentation	.... Ward Wheelock
To handle publicity	.... Walter Annenberg
	Dr Milton S Eisenhower
	Philip T Sharples

Attachment "A"

Review of decisions and other matters for review and discussion.

1) It is recognized that the value of this plan depends on

a) Selection of Fellows
b) Planning of each 12 months individually
c) Administrative handling.

How will these be handled?

On the Board will be three hard working men who will put time into their jobs - the heads of (1) Selection Committee, (2) Planning Committee (i. e. planning the 12 months for each Fellow), (3) Finance Committee.

In all of the above three points, I feel it absolutely necessary that we employ the Institute of International Education as administrator and advisor. But I think it should be clearly established that this does not mean they select and decide. This the Eisenhower Board must retain - as well as the identity of the Eisenhower Fellowships. In other words, we do not wish this to be one of a group of scholarships or fellowships that are applied for as a group. This is different in purpose, in age, and in handling, and it should retain fully its individuality at every stage.

a) The Selection Committee will recommend the specific candidates they decide to the Executive Committee, and will determine how the best men can be secured abroad and in the United States. Here is the general feeling:

1. Wide publicity would be given to EIEF here and abroad.

2. The Institute of International Education has working committees abroad and wide contacts and experience in the selection of the best from each country to get U. S. training. We feel that they should use, for us, their contacts to get recommendations and applications. These include local businessmen, government and U. S. officials.

3. But the Selection Committee has obligation for further work - to establish fields for which applicants will be chosen, to originate applications, and to check on applicants through other channels to assure themselves of the merit of the Fellows. Board members with foreign connections can be helpful in this. Also probably U. S. public servants. The Selection Committee and the Institute are partners in this.

4. In the U. S. it is felt that with the publicity plus our formal

announcement each year through the major companies of the United States, through the government, through colleges who would follow with pride their outstanding graduates, the applications of key men will not be difficult to obtain.

The evaluation of the man, the objective, and eliminating any sponsor pressure are the extremely important work of the Selection Committee.

This Committee is the key to the success of the Fellowships.

b) Regarding the Planning:

After the selection of the Fellow (either foreign or U.S.), his name and all data together with the needs of the country and conditions in the field covered - goes to the Institute of International Education and the Planning Committee.

Each Fellow is to get special custom study and program, and the member of the Board will be consulted in the field covered for advice, help in getting industry cooperation in visits that will give background and problems and conclusions instead of just a "look" - and to get the chief men in the field to give time to the Fellow - as well as a two to three months job where deemed desirable.

This planning is the second most important task.

c) Regarding Administration:

This will be done by the Institute of International Education whose experience in this field is unique.

2) It was decided:

a) This would be called the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships.

In general conversation it will be the Eisenhower Fellowships - and the recipients called Eisenhower Fellows.

1. "International" was deemed important because it is not for any section of the world, but truly International.

2. "Exchange" was deemed important because it was felt that we have much to learn of other nations and their thinking and reasons and background and problems as well as other things, and that further, the friendly exchange idea is better than all giving.

It was agreed however that

(a) There was no necessity or desirability in making the exch equal. In other words, the Board may well decide with

Fellowships the first year to get 13 foreign Fellows to come here - to get us wider representation of Fellows - and only 7 Americans to go abroad.

Where there are 100 - it might be 50-50 or 60-40 or 70-30, as the Board decides, but it is our feeling it should never fall below 30% U.S. Fellows.

(b) What country each American Fellow should go to should be decided on his own case. But there is no reason to feel it necessary to send an American Fellow to a country from which we take a Fellow.

(c) The Foreign Fellowships should be allotted first by area and then by country - and the policy should be, in general, to help the backward countries and make a weighting in favor of Latin America.

(d) The importance of the first year's trial run of 20 should be emphasized.

3) It was agreed that this TemporaryCommittee should not write restrictive specifications regarding operation - that our function is to set up the basic plan and policies and organization set-up. Beyond this, we will pass on any thinking expressed for consideration only. Every possible decision is to be left in the hands of the Permanent Committee. This can be done with all major operating decisions except:

a) Institute of International Education, because they must get to work.

b) Perhaps the 13 countries to whom Fellowships will be offered, which might be deemed important to break in our news announcement.

4) It was agreed that each member would suggest names for the National Permanent Committee (Board of Trustees is felt a better name), so that policy of type of Board can be established and specific names, so that this can be set up by October 13 - at least a majority.

5) The age limit was raised to 40 - with preference to be stated as ages 25 to 40. The reason is to get more established, more experienced "uncommon" men with a greater potential of getting a real leader in a shorter time.

6) It was agreed that the Temporary Committee should firmly establish name, objective, and broad policies, but that restrictions on operation should be avoided. This should be up to the permanent Board of Trustees.

7) It was suggested and agreed that we should ask for contributions from other countries - i.e., from individuals, businesses or foundations from other countries.

It was suggested and agreed that in such case, we should leave the way open to ask foreign representatives on the Board.

8) This is to report that Mr Dechert of the Finance Committee reports that this can be incorporated as a non-profit corporation in Pennsylvania before October 13 - and that the tax free factor for contributions is unquestioned.

I recommend that he be authorized to proceed (the cost has been contributed) and that the Temporary Executive Committee be empowered to approve the wording - the name to be The Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships, Inc.

9) Regarding the National Permanent Committee - would it not be better to call this the "Board of Trustees, Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships"?

And the four important Committees to be called:

Executive Committee
Selection Committee
Program Planning Committee
Finance Committee

10) Every member of the National Board should work and should this not be in the following ways:

a) Each member of the Executive Committee should be willing to give time - perhaps 10 to 12 meetings first year. Therefore geography and time are important in chosing them.

b) The three key working members are the Chairmen of the following Committees: Selection, Program Planning and Finance. They should form their own Committees, and considerable time and work is required from each.

c) Each other Board member is responsible for the following:

1. Attend one of the two meetings a year - and especially one in New York the first week in November.

2. Availability to advise on planning for a foreign student in his field - and assistance in working out program. This might not happen but once in a year or two.

3. Advice and help in finding the best candidates for Fellows - in U.S. and abroad.

4. Advice on foreign applicants where practical and they have foreign connections in that country.

5. Help in getting contributions.

11) The importance of administration of this entire program cannot be overemphasized. And while it is felt practically essential to use the worldwide organization of the Institute of International Education (which is available at cost), it is felt essential that every effort be made to keep individual each phase of the Eisenhower Fellowships.

12) The method of selection in countries should, it is felt, be arrived at by first ascertaining the field of that country's greatest need - and then selecting the best man from that field. Sometimes the fields of greatest need may be close and the men not of equal calibre. That is up to the Selection Committee. But it is felt we should not select just men - but men from "the fields selected as that country's greatest need". If this is stressed in applications and publicity and in foreign correspondence, it will keep our objective and simplify selection and reduce misunderstandings.

13) It was proposed and unanimously agreed that educational men should not dominate the Board - that in essence the value of the program is its practicality and therefore the composition of the Board should be based on this approach.

14) It is proposed that we ask Fellows (both foreign and U.S.) to be in Washington September 15 each year.

Purpose:

Both groups

a) To meet the President
b) To meet each other
c) To see Washington and the workings of the government.

Foreign Fellows

a) To meet their Ambassadors
b) To see how the government operates in the field in which they are interested.

U.S. Fellows

a) To be briefed by the State Department on the country to which they are going.

Notes:

a) To accomplish meeting the President, Ambassadors, and each other, the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships should give, with President Eisenhower the host, a dinner each September 15.

b) This would be the sparkplug for annual publicity - the only time there is a group of Fellows together, where the President and the Ambassadors make news about these Fellowships.

c) This will be perfect timing for our drive for funds about the time of the President's birthday - October 13.

15) Please study timetable. I recommend that since time is so short the Institute of International Education be employed for one year - on an actual cost basis, not to exceed $25,000. That they be authorized to hire a full time man to run the Eisenhower Fellowship Department of the Institute of International Education - this man and his salary to be subject to approval by the Temporary Executive Committee. The salary of this man comes within the $25,000.

Since the whole operation needs organization at the working level and the spending of money, I suggest, for the Committee's decision, authorization of the spending of up to $7500 before the Board of Trustees meets.

The Institute needs a working arrangement with the Committee immediately to proceed with work - getting the offers abroad and across the United States with application blanks. They need decisions - in order to even prepare these offers and applications.

All this should be done at once and presented to the Board the first week in November and in the mail end of November.

This needs immediate action.

Ward Wheelock
9/24/53

Attachment "B"

TENTATIVE SUGGESTED TIMETABLE

September 30 (or as soon as practical)	Temporary Executive Committee to see President Eisenhower - time and visit being arranged by Dr Milton S Eisenhower. Show him plan, explain idea, show him proposed National Committee, proposed distribution of Fellowships by countries. If he approves plan: a) Put any suggestions into effect and put plan into final form. b) Set up National Board of Trustees.
October 11 (Sunday)	Break publicity for Fellowships. (This is done because it would be buried in spot news of Birthday Party on the 13th.)
October 13 (Tuesday)	Presentation to President Eisenhower - by Mr Philip T Sharples at Hershey. This will be from the people of the United States and other nations. It is a non-profit corporation under a National Board of Trustees - which will be made international shortly. It is non-political and non-discriminating in every way. While this is originated, underwritten and presented by the Pennsylvania Republican Finance Committee, we are completely out of the operation, and this is a present not from us, nor from Republicans, nor from Pennsylvania - but from all sorts of people from all over the world.
Early November	Meeting of National Board of Trustees. To organize and become operative and decide action.
End of November	Invitations for applications of Fellows to the countries decided upon. Institute of International Education to use their organization abroad and here.

March 15	Close applications for Fellowships.
May 5	Decide on recipients of Fellowships.
September 15	Fellows due in Washington from U.S. and abroad. To meet President Eisenhower and 1) U.S. Fellows to be briefed on their countries 2) Foreign Fellows to see the government in operation, particularly in their field.

Attachment "C"

Recommended plan for
discussion and decision.

DRAFT ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN FOR EISENHOWER INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS

Board of Trustees

In order to administer the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowship program, there should be a Board of Trustees of from 35 to 50 members selected without regard to race, creed or color and drawn from all parts of the United States. Approximately 25 would be selected from various industries such as the automotive, transportation, mining, chemicals, metals, communications, etc; 5 from presidents of colleges and universities; and 5 in other categories such as civic leaders. The three most important members would be the chairmen of the three major working Committees - Selection, Program Planning, and Finance.

Three major functions of the Board of Trustees would be :

1) To meet two or three times a year for general review of the program

2) To assist in the recruitment of American candidates, and

3) To assist in obtaining program opportunities in the specialities they represent for foreign recipients.

Executive Committee

There will be an Executive Committee of 11 selected from the Board of Trustees who reside in the east and who would be available for frequent meetings. The Executive Committee would act for the Board of Trustees in working out the general plan for the program, and would be responsible for the general administration of the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships. The Executive Committee would meet as often as the chairman decided was necessary. The Executive Committee would include the chairmen of the Selection, Program Planning, and Finance Committees.

Finance Committee

There would be a Finance Committee of about 7, with at least the Chairman selected from among the members of the Board of Trustees. Some of the members of the Finance Committee might not be members of the Board of Trustees.

The major functions of the Finance Committee would be to utili

plans and policies for obtaining funds and would deal with the Institute of International Education for the accounting and disbursal of the funds.

Selection Committee

The Board of Trustees would establish a Selection Committee, the Chairman of which should be a member of the Board of Trustees, with the addition of such other members as seemed appropriate. This Selection Committee, of about 7 members, would establish, with the consent of the Executive Committee, the division of the Fellowships by countries, issue the invitations for candidates, and consider the applications received from Americans to study abroad and from foreign nationals to come to the United States, and would recommend to the Executive Committee the 20 recipients to receive these awards.

Program Planning Committee

The Board of Trustees would establish a Program Planning Committee whose Chairman would be a member of the Board of Trustees.

Upon the selection of Fellows by the Selection Committee, all data on each Fellow and the needs of the country will be given to the Institute of International Education and the Program Planning Committee.

The Program Planning Committee will then, after advice and help from the Institute of International Education, any member of the Board of Trustees, and any other individuals with specialized knowledge, decide the 12 month individual programs and work out the details for each Fellow.

Administration of Program

The Institute of International Education, as the administrative agency for the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships, would appoint a special director of this program who would work under the immediate direction of the President of the Institute. This is desirable not only because of the amount of work involved but in order to keep the Eisenhower Fellowships apart from other programs to the maximum extent. This director would correlate the work of the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships with that of the Foreign Student Department, U. S. Student Department, and the Special Programs.

The following is an outline of the steps to be taken in administering this program:

1) The Board of Trustees would meet during the first week of November 195 to approve the general plans for the program.

2) Announcements and applications would be distributed November 1953 by the Institute of International Ed

both here and abroad to organizations, institutions and agencies that might nominate applicants for these awards. Applications to individuals applying will be mailed by the Institute of International Education. It is at this point that the member of the Board of Trustees would be expected to obtain suitable nominations for the awards as would colleges and universities, research institutions, press and communications associations, etc.

Special attempts would be made to obtain applicants from the fields of business, agriculture, engineering, government and communications, though no strict restrictions will be placed on the fields to be covered by these awards.

Applications from abroad would be obtained through such channels as the representatives of American industries overseas, press associations and radio correspondents, Presidents of American colleges in foreign countries, particularly in the Near East, etc. In this process the assistance of the Public Affairs Officers and the Commercial Attaches in our embassies and consulates would be enlisted.

3) All applications from the Americans and foreign nationals are to be transmitted to the Institute of International Education where they will be studied by staff members to eliminate those who obviously do not meet the high standards of the program. A meeting of the Selection Committee would then be arranged when the applications would be studied and recommendations formulated on the Americans to go abroad and the nationals of other countries to come to the U. S. Such nominations would then be referred to the Board of Trustees for the final designation of awardees. The total number of awards the first year will be 20.

4) An announcement of the awards will then be made by the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships Board of Trustees. The award, in principle, for single men and women would be approximately $6,000 a year; for individuals with dependents it would be $8,000 a year, adjustable in accordance with the contributions that could be obtained from foreign governments, organizations and individuals that might contribute to this important program.

5) It would be the responsibility of the Institute of International Education to get in touch with the individual recipients to notify them of the terms of their awards and r[illegible]

specific information as to when they could begin their work, study, or travel. The Institute would then obtain the necessary governmental and other clearances and facilitate the international travel arrangements.

6) The Institute would then, in conjunction with the members of the Advisory Committee on Program Planning, work out individual plans for each one of the awardees after consultation with the awardees. Whenever necessary, meetings would be held with specialists in the working out of the program plans.

In the case of nationals of other countries coming to the U.S., the members of the Board of Trustees and the other committees discussed above would be asked to help in the placement of the individuals and seeing that their stay in the U.S. was a rich and varied one. In the case of Americans going abroad, the assistance of representatives of American corporations and other organizations abroad would be enlisted in the placement of the Americans abroad and seeing that their stay in the country is a fruitful and valuable one.

7) Reports by the Institute of International Education on the status and progress of the awardees would be made periodically to the Board of Trustees.

Countries to Participate in this Program

Since there will be not more than 13 awards to foreign nationals during the first year of this program it is important that worldwide representation be achieved. Therefore, it is suggested that they come (one each) from the following countries: India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Formosa, Great Britain, Germany, Egypt, Gold Coast, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Australia. As the program expands to 50 or more awards each way, the number of countries participating would be broadened and, where decided, more than one award made to a country.

Attachment "D"

Rough outline of things to be covered in the "turning over" letter from this Committee (to be drafted and delivered by the Temporary Executive Committee set up today).

Herewith the plan for the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships as presented to and approved by the President.

The objective and general policies are thoroughly agreed with by all concerned. And we are committed to, and pass on to you the obligation of carrying them out.

However, the Temporary Committee has been careful not to specify operating procedure that will be restrictive upon you in developing these Fellowships into the most desired, the most useful Fellowships in the world - worthy of the name. We pass on to you, in embryo, what we have confidence can and will become a major, continuing and growing force in international understanding and of great practical value to the world.

The Temporary Committee wish to express their strong feeling that the distribution and character and major value of this plan is its practical working value - and that it should avoid scholarly awards in favor of practically applicable ones. The principle of working from the basis of the country's need to the best "uncommon man" in that field is, we feel, vital. And in the selection and the individual custom planning lies the inestimable value of this plan.

It is typically American to believe in individual men - that if they are given the training, tools and the opportunity to serve in the fields that most benefit the people broadly that these "uncommon" men are the greatest assets of any country.

America has given much money. And we have contributed much in other ways. But in the Eisenhower Fellowships a new step has been taken to take young leaders and give them training and value they can get in no other way - not measured in money - but in terms of practical, specifically planned learning on the job and in the field and where practical in some college post graduate work. It is our feeling that these men should be selected and handled as they would be if selected by a big Corporation as the future potential President. They would be given individually decided training - perhaps including university exposure if worth while.

While the name, objective and general policies must be maintained, we want to make it clear that anything beyond that is not mandatory in any way upon your Board - specifically, to the contrary. We wish to expressly and clearly state that anything beyond that in our deliberations is passed on

to you as opinions for your consideration only.

Attached are reports and data from the

a) Temporary Policy Plans and Operation Committee

b) Temporary Finance Committee.

Both of these have now expired, and the complete operation of the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships is now in your hands.

Attachment "E"

The following list suggested by Mr. Thomas B. McCabe for consideration.

Suggestions - National Trustees of the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowship

Donald K. David	- Dean	- Harvard Business School
Frazar B. Wilde	- President	- Connecticut General Life Insurance Co. Hartford, Ct.
William Benton	- Ex Senator	- Chairman U.S. Del. to U.N. on Freedom of Press
General Lucius D. Clay	- President	- Continental Can Company
Philip D. Reed	- Chairman	- General Electric Company
Sidney J. Weinberg	- Sr. Partner	- Goldman, Sachs and Company
Dean W. Malott	- President	- Cornell University
Allan Sproul	- President	- Federal Reserve Bank of New York
Alfred H. Williams	- President	- Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia
Henry M. Wriston	- President	- Brown University
George H. Love	- Acting Chairman	- M. A. Hanna Company, Cleveland
Benjamin F. Fairless	- President	- U.S. Steel Corporation
Crawford H. Greenewalt	- President	- E. I. du Pont Company
John C. Baker	- President	- Ohio State University
Fred Lazarus, Jr.	- President	- Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati, O.
Charles Sawyer	- Former Secretary	- of Commerce
Henry Ford II	- President	- Ford Motor Company
John S. Coleman	- President	- Burroughs Adding Machine Company, Detroit
Allan Klein	- President	- American Farm Bureau, Chicago
Fred G. Hurley	- President	- Santa Fe Railroad
Meyer Kestnbaum	- President	- Hart, Schaffner & Marx and Chairman of the FED.
Gordon Gray	- President	- University of North Carolina
Edward L. Norton	- Former Governor	- Federal Reserve System, Birmingham, Ala.

Robert W. Woodruff	- Chairman	- Executive Committee of The Coca Cola Co.
Rufus C. Harris	- President	- Tulane University
John M. Hancock	- Chairman Partner	- Lever Bros., and - Lehman Bros.
Howard Bruce	- Vice Chairman	of the Board, Baltimore National Bank
William L. Clayton		Houston, Texas, (Und. Sec. State Economics Affairs)
Robert B. Anderson	- Secretary	of the Navy, (Vernon, Texas)
Lewis W. Douglas		Tucson, Arizona (former Ambassador to Great Britain)
Roy E. Larsen	- President	- Time, Inc.
Juan T. Trippe	- President	- Pan American Airways System
James B. Black	- President	- Pacific Gas & Electric Co., San Francisco
Paul G. Hoffman		- Pasadena, California (former ECA Adm.)
Chester C. Davis		- The Ford Foundation; Former Governor of the Federal Reserve System
Frederick K. Weyerhaeuser	Executive	- Weyerbaeuser Timber Company
William S. Paley	- Chairman	- Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
Donald W. Douglas		- Douglas Aircraft Company
Frank W. Abrams or Eugene Holman	- Chairman - President	- Standard Oil Company of New Jersey - Standard Oil Company of New Jersey
Lessing J. Rosenwald		- Philadelphia (retired merchant Sears Roebuck & Co)
Ben Hibbs	- Editor	- Saturday Evening Post, Philadelphia
Mrs. Helen Rogers Reid	-	- New York Herald Tribune
J. Cameron Thomson	- President	- Northwest Bankcorporation, Minneapolis
Ernst Mahler	- Chairman of	- Paper manufacturer, Neenah, Wisconsin, and the Board of Trustees of the Institute of Paper Chemistry
Jay C. Hormel	- Chairman	- Hormel Company, Austin, Minnesota
Jay Taylor	- Rancher	- Amarillo Bldg., Amarillo, Texas
William R. Wallace, Jr.	- Banker	- San Francisco, Calif.

Brayton Wilbur	- Chairman	- Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco; (Exporter and Importer)
William G. Reed	-	Business man and banker, Seattle, Wash.
E. Manchester Boddy	- Former Publisher	- Daily News, Los Angeles, Calif.
John D. Biggers	- President	- Libbey-Owens Ford Glass Co., and Chairman of the Business Advisory Council for the Dept. of Commerce
S. D. Bechtel	- President	- Bechtel Corporation, San Francisco
Warren L. Pierson	- Chairman	- T. W. A.; former President, Export-Import Bank Washington, D. C.
Paul C. Cabot	- Treasurer	- Harvard University
John Cowles	- President	- Star and Tribune, Minneapolis, Minn.
John L. Collyer	- Chairman	- B. F. Goodrich Company
John M. Franklin	- President	- U. S. Lines Company
Charles R. Hook	- Chairman	- Armco Steel Corporation, Middletown, Ohio
General George C. Marshall		- U. S. Army
Winfield W. Riefler	- Assistant to the Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Washington, D.C.	
Thomas J. Watson, Jr.	- President	- International Business Machines Corp.
John Hay Whitney	-	J. H. Whitney & Co., New York
C. S. Ching	- Former Director	- Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, Wash. D.C.
Charles T. Fisher, Jr.	- Pres.& Dir.	- National Bank of Detroit
Clarence Francis	- Former Chairman	- General Foods Corporation (Retired)
Henry F. Grady	- Former Ambassador	to Greece, San Francisco
W. Averell Harriman	- Former Ambassador	and Secretary of Commerce
John Holmes	- President	- Swift & Co., Chicago, Ill.
Eric A. Johnston	- President	- Motion Pictures Association of America
Roger D. Lapham	- Former Mayor	of San Francisco and former head of American Hawaiian Steamship Company
Paul B. McKee	- President	- Pacific Power & Light Co., Portland, Oregon

Langbourne M. Williams, Jr. President - Freeport Sulphur Company, New York

Charles E. Wilson - Former Director - of Defense Mobilization

In addition, we should consider the following names as representative of the labor, educational and political life of our Country.

Ex-President Harry S. Truman

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Ralph Bunche

Bishop Oliver James Hart of Pennsylvania
or
Bishop Malcolm Endicott Peabody of Central New York

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio

Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman

Mrs. John G. Lee, President, League of Women Voters of the U.S.

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Federal Security Administrator

Mrs. John K. Howard, Secretary, Republican National Committee

Chauncey McCormick, Chicago

David Rockefeller, New York City

John J. McCloy, Chairman, Chase National Bank, New York City

David Beck, Labor Leader of Seattle

Robert G. Sproul, President, University of California

Mrs. S. T. Nicholas, Executive Director General Federation of Women's Clubs

Katharine E. McBride, President of Bryn Mawr College

Sarah G. Blanding, President of Vassar College

Attachment "X"

SUGGESTED DIVISION OF FELLOWSHIPS FOR FIRST YEAR

Total - 20.

For foreign countries - 13.
For U.S. to go abroad- 7.

Countries to which Eisenhower Fellowships will be offered:

Europe	-	England, Germany
America	-	Mexico, Brazil, Chile
Africa	-	Egypt, Gold Coast
Asia	-	a) India, Indonesia
		b) Japan, Korea, Formosa
Australia	-	Australia

Above total 13 countries and is based on a recommended distribution of 13 foreign Fellows to the U.S. in 1954-5 and 7 U.S. Fellows abroad.

Other especially desirable countries:

Pakistan, Italy, Yugoslavia, Turkey,
Greece, Israel.

Of course, in 1955-6 with a total of 100 Fellowships, we can cover more countries with multiple Fellowships where deemed desirable.

The above list is based on world coverage by areas as well as need and other factors.

CHARLES A. BRECHT
Vice-President

December 8, 1960

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The 8.11 percent figure in my letter to you today, refers to the year 1946, which fact was inadvertently omitted.

Sincerely yours,

Charles A. Brecht

Charles A. Brecht

John Price Jones Company, Inc., 150 Nassau Street, New York 38, N.Y.

Eis Exchange

JOHN PRICE JONES COMPANY · *Incorporated*

CHARLES A. BRECHT
Vice President

150 Nassau Street, New York 38, New York · Telephone: BEekman 3-1981

December 9, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I appreciated your chatting with me on Tuesday concerning the matter of stimulating endowment support for the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships program. I have reported the substance of our conversation to Mr. Barnes. You will probably be hearing from him soon.

During our talk, you inquired into the current state of private philanthropy. Just today I ran across an item which indicates that philanthropy's current status is reasonably healthy. An analysis of preliminary Internal Revenue figures for 1958 shows that America's 235 millionaires (i.e. - those with incomes in 1958 of one million or more) claimed as deductions for charity contributions 16.8 percent of income - compared to 8.11 percent. The average amount given was $346,000.

In the light of our conversation, I thought you might be interested in this information.

Thank you again for your observations on Tuesday.

Sincerely yours,

Charles A. Brecht

Charles A. Brecht

CAB:jd

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November 23, 1960

Dear Mr. Barnes:

Mr. Murrow was in the office for a short time today and asked me to thank you for your letter of November 21st and to tell you that he will be happy to see Mr. Charles Brecht.

I shall expect to hear from Mr. Brecht in the near future regarding an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

Gabrielle Wachsner
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. J. Hampton Barnes, Executive Director
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
256 South Sixteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

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Institute of International Education, New York City
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of America, Inc., Washington, D. C.
W. ALTON JONES, *Chairman, Executive Committee*
Cities Service Company, New York City
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PHILIP D. REED, *Retired Chairman*
General Electric Company, New York City
CLIFFORD ROBERTS, *Partner*
Reynolds & Company, New York City
ANDREW W. ROBERTSON, *Chairman*
Special Financial Advisory Committee
Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Pittsburgh
JOHN A. ROOSEVELT, *Bache & Co., New York City*
CHARLES SAWYER, *Taft, Stettinius & Hollister*
Cincinnati
PHILIP T. SHARPLES, *Chairman*
The Sharples Corporation, Philadelphia
COURTNEY C. SMITH, *President*
Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
JOSEPH P. SPANG, JR., *Director*
The Gillette Company, Boston
JUDGE THEODORE O. SPAULDING, *Philadelphia*
JESSE W. TAPP, *Chairman, Bank of America, Los Angeles*
JAY TAYLOR, *Rancher, Amarillo, Texas*
J. CAMERON THOMSON, *Retired Chairman of the Board*
Northwest Bancorporation, Minneapolis
JUAN T. TRIPPE, *President, Pan American*
World Airways, New York City
ARTHUR B. VAN BUSKIRK, *Vice-President*
T. Mellon and Sons, Pittsburgh
FRED M. WARING, *Orchestra & Choral Conductor*
New York City
THOMAS J. WATSON, JR., *President, International*
Business Machines Corp., New York City
SIDNEY J. WEINBERG, *Partner*
Goldman, Sachs & Co., New York City
JOHN HAY WHITNEY, *Ambassador to Great Britain*
FRAZAR B. WILDE, *President, Connecticut General*
Life Insurance Co., Hartford
ALFRED H. WILLIAMS, *Chairman of the Board of*
Trustees, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
ROBERT W. WOODRUFF, *Chairman, Finance Committee*
The Coca-Cola Company, Atlanta, Georgia

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

J. HAMPTON BARNES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

256 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.
KINGSLEY 6-1738
CABLE: EIFFELL

November 21, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
Executive Offices
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Will see

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Tom McCabe and many others who were there tell me that your remarks at our Annual Meeting and Reception last September carried a great impact. Several of our Trustees, and Tom, particularly, told me of your idea concerning the possibility of a nation-wide appeal for funds for the Eisenhower Fellowships.

Tom and I agreed that before embarking on any such project, it would be wise to have advice from a professional fund raiser. For that reason, we called in John Price Jones Co., Inc. of New York and discussed the matter with them. Their representative, Mr. Charles A. Brecht came over to Philadelphia today to go over the entire Eisenhower Fellowships situation with me. I think it would be of great importance if Mr. Brecht came to talk with you personally so that you could outline your views directly to him. If you would be good enough to see Mr. Brecht sometime during the week of December 5th, we all would be most grateful and appreciative. As soon as I hear from you, I will tell Mr. Brecht to get in touch with your secretary so that an appointment convenient for you can be made.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Hampton Barnes

J. Hampton Barnes
Executive Director

JHB/daw

Thomas McCabe

March 7, 1960

Dear Mr. McCabe:

Thank you for your letter of March 4th, which was received here in Mr. Murrow's absence.

Since Mr. Murrow is traveling abroad and will not be returning to the States for several months, I have forwarded your letter on to him.

Sincerely yours,

Gabrielle Wachsner
Secretary

Mr. Thomas B. McCabe
Scott Paper Company
Chester, Pennsylvania

SCOTT PAPER COMPANY
CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA

THOMAS B. McCABE
PRESIDENT

March 4, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Now that the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships have proved themselves a completely successful operation, a number of the Trustees who have retired from business have told me they would like to resign from the Board.

However, the group that helped found the Fellowships and nurtured it in the early years is really a distinguished one, whose counsel and advice we certainly don't want to lose. I am writing to ask your reaction to the elevation of such Trustees to the rank of Honorary Trustee. In this way we might comply with their wishes to bring new members to the Board and at the same time retain the advice and services of these good and true old friends.

Attached is a list of those whom we would plan to designate "Honorary Trustee", and another list of new candidates for membership on the Board. You will notice that sixteen names are listed as candidates. However, since only eight vacancies exist, I hope you will express an opinion as to the eight individuals that would in your view be most helpful in this important enterprise. Perhaps you will want to write in a suggestion of your own. I can assure you it would be most welcome.

I should much appreciate hearing your viewpoint on this. If you feel this would be a good course for the organization, it would expedite matters if you and the other Trustees authorized the Executive Committee to go ahead. I shall look forward to hearing from you.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tom

Thomas B. McCabe

Candidates for Membership on the Board of Trustees

Roger M. Blough	Chairman United States Steel Corporation, New York
Charles H. Bell	President General Mills, Inc., Minneapolis
Ray R. Eppert	President Burroughs Corporation, Detroit
Harvey S. Firestone, Jr.	Chairman Firestone Tire & Rubber Company, Akron
Robert W. Galvin	President Motorola, Inc., Chicago
J. Victor Herd	Chairman America Fore Insurance Group, New York
Frederick L. Hovde	President Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana
H. F. Johnson	Chairman S. C. Johnson & Son, Inc., Racine, Wisconsin
Augustus C. Long	Chairman Texaco, Inc., New York
Robert A. Magowan	Chairman and President Safeway Stores, Inc., Oakland, California
Joseph A. Martino	President National Lead Company, New York
James A. McCain	Eisenhower Fellow, 1957 President, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas
William H. Moore	Chairman Bankers Trust Company
Charles H. Percy	President Bell & Howell Company, Chicago
Reuben B. Robertson, Jr.	President Champion Paper & Fibre Company, Hamilton, Ohio
Gardiner Symonds	President Tennessee Gas Transmission Company, Houston

Suggestions for Honorary Trusteeship

William Balderston	Retired Chairman Philco Corporation, Philadelphia
Honorable James F. Byrnes	Columbia, South Carolina
Fred G. Gurley	Retired Chairman Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, Chicago
Meyer Kestnbaum	President Hart Schaffner & Marx, Chicago
John L. McCaffrey	Retired Chairman International Harvester Company, Chicago
Edward R. Murrow	Columbia Broadcasting System New York City
Honorable Charles Sawyer	Taft, Stettinius & Hollister Cincinnati
Fred M. Waring	Musical Conductor New York City

Eisenhower Exchange

SCOTT PAPER COMPANY
CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA

THOMAS B. McCABE
PRESIDENT

April 22, 1958

Personal

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

It is a pleasure to enclose the Annual Report of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships for 1957. The report is a story of growth and accomplishment in bringing more Fellows here, in assembling funds, and improving the Fellows' program while in our country. I think you will find it worthwhile looking over.

On the President's birthday this fall it will be five years since the Fellowships organization was started. Our experience in this time has made clear the great usefulness of these awards. To date the Fellowships has raised funds through annual requests to the business community, individuals, and foundations -- and we must continue to do so. By living within our income, we have accumulated about one year's resources in advance. This small measure of security does not make adequate provision for permanence, however.

We are therefore broadening our efforts to seek capital funds as well. I think you will agree with me that it is time we plan more thoroughly for the future.

This letter is to ask that you help in this long-range plan in the following ways: First, will you give us the names of some of your friends who have the financial means to assist us with a capital fund, and indicate how you think we might approach them? And second, do you know of anyone who you think might be persuaded to include a bequest to the Eisenhower Fellowships in his will?

I am writing to you and to several of your fellow Trustees and other good friends who know the value of this important program, asking your help in this manner. I hope you will feel, as I do, that our opportunity in the Fellowships to build a proved, strong force for peace is an important one and that you will want to help.

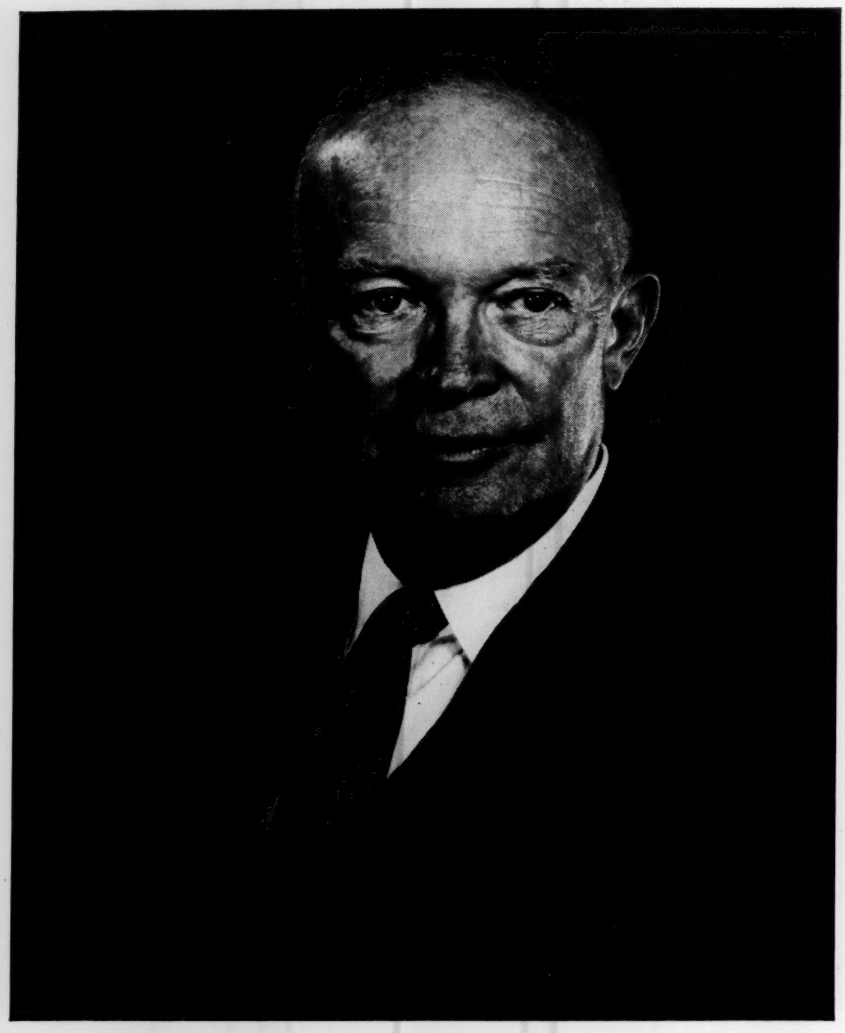
With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Tom McCabe

ANNUAL REPORT

1957



. . . can well become the most meaningful thing of this kind that has been developed in our time.

. . . I know almost every man or woman on the Board of Trustees – and I am proud to have my name associated with theirs.

October 14, 1953

Dwight D. Eisenhower

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

As I talk with Eisenhower Fellows from time to time, I am always impressed with the fact that through this interchange we have an invaluable opportunity to influence men who in their homelands deal face to face – and from a position of leadership – with exactly those problems which are foremost in our thoughts today. Let me cite a few examples:

The direction being taken by lesser developed countries to achieve economic growth is a prime concern of all of us. (A group of distinguished men has just labeled this area as our "most important" problem over the next twenty years.) From the beginning, Eisenhower Fellowships have been awarded almost exclusively to such countries. The nature of modern, American-style capitalism invariably makes a strongly favorable impression on the Fellows. They have seen its operation and no amount of propaganda can distort such knowledge.

The Middle East is much on our minds. Through the Eisenhower Fellowships we have mingled men from Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, the Sudan, and this year from Morocco. Arab and Jew have become acquainted and gained new respect for each other.

Since the Russian earth satellite has sharpened our awareness of the need to improve our educational processes, there has been debate and discussion throughout the country on our best course of action. By the award of an Eisenhower Fellowship, the head of one of our State colleges was able to visit 40 universities and university-level technical institutes in 13 countries. His findings in the field of scientific and technological training, as well as in other areas, will prove most valuable, I believe, particularly because they are made by a man of high standing in this field.

I am sure that we are most fortunate to have in the Eisenhower Fellowships an instrumentality which is so responsive to timely problems. Our benefit is increased many times over because the Fellows are men of proved leadership in a position to put into practice what they have learned.

This was one of the key details in the original plan for the organization. Another consideration was that the Fellow's field of interest be of critical importance in his country. Thus we have helped to provide training for railroad maintenance and engineering in India, increased agricultural productivity in Mexico, hydro-electric installation in Turkey, communications in Ghana, and economic development in Pakistan.

We felt that a Fellowship should extend for the better part of a year. We encouraged the Fellow to bring his wife. We made certain that he got to see and know all parts of the United States – the Northeast, the South, the West Coast, and the Middle West. We saw to it that he met Americans from all walks of life. We set the value of his fellowship so that it would permit him to live at a proper standard – not luxuriously on the one hand, nor parsimoniously on the other. We counted it most important that, because of his maturity and experience, each Fellow's program be tailored to meet his special needs, even though this was more expensive than handling our visitors in groups.

All of these carefully planned details have now proved to be of great value through our experience with 67 Eisenhower Fellows from 33 different countries.

I have received any number of letters from Americans who have met the Fellows. They speak with great enthusiasm of the evident ability and calibre of these men. The Fellows, too, have given themselves wholeheartedly to exploring our country. They are always interested in the nature and real working of our free enterprise system; they want to know what made the United States a great country and how they can transplant this knowledge; they invariably comment on race relations in our country.

President Eisenhower meets the Fellows and their wives

Because many of the Fellows' observations are so stimulating, I should like to pass along to the readers of this report some of the things they have told me . . .

from Mohamed Kailani, Senior Trade Officer of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the Sudan. . . .

> ". . . a simple successful private American enterprise in the countries of Africa and Asia, carried out in the same spirit which is so observable in this country, would give a great boost to the work which is now being carried out by several of the United States Government agencies in widening the area of freedom."

from Mordechai M. Levy, Assistant to the President in charge of Academic Development, Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Israel. . . .

> ". . . the most outstanding experience was the meeting with President Eisenhower. His simplicity and the sincerity of his remarks about the need for peace made a deep and lasting impression on all of us and formed a wonderful keynote to the Princeton seminar that opened the following week.
>
> ". . . on my return to Israel I am to be entrusted with the task of establishing at the Technion an Institute for Vocational and Science High School Teacher Training."

from Kyriacos E. Zachos, Director of the Greek Institute for Geology and Subsurface Research, Greece. . . .

> ". . . I have studied the mining operations where productivity due to wide use of modern equipment is admired the world over. It was a big surprise to me that the majority of the large mines do not employ labor, but only operators and equipment. I can now well understand how the cost of production of the ores in the United States, despite the fact that the labor cost is five to ten times higher than elsewhere, is much lower than in the rest of the world.

"It is impossible for me to mention here the numerous laboratories and testing stations that I have visited. Besides the universities and government installations, private concerns and corporations maintain large research institutions. I have obtained the experience and consciousness of the need that in Greece applied research should be carried out at a greater scale in order to increase industrial and agricultural production quantitatively and qualitatively."

from Antonio Tarnawiecki, Industrial and Business Development, Lima, Peru. . . .

". . . the insights I have gained while visiting the United States will help me in the following areas: (1) better understanding of the economic possibilities of Peru. Potential foreign investors in Peru are interested in the outlook for their investments, which can be based only on sociological and economic studies. I feel I have acquired through contacts in the Federal Reserve Board, in the Department of the Interior, and in several universities and banks, knowledge which will help my industrial development work. (2) Management Development Programs—managerial skill in Peru is not available in the numbers required by our expanding economy. I have attended . . . and talked with the officials of several executive development programs sponsored by American universities and other institutions. I will wholeheartedly promote and help such programs in my country.

"But the main influence of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships on my work will be of a more general character. My observations of various leading American enterprises have helped my own executive ability. The variety of experiences I have had during my stay in the United States will be helpful in meeting the new situations that arise in a rapidly expanding country such as Peru, where the tasks to be performed often outstrip the preparation of personnel trained for them."

from Subramania I. Swayambu, Deputy Chief (Power), Planning Commission, Government of India. . . .

". . . The work with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company was most fruitful in that it gave me an insight into a large public utility corporation which sells in Northern California as much power as there is in the whole of India.

"The United States has attained a unique position in that private enterprise can undertake almost any activity which in most other countries only the State can do. Even in the defense industry, almost all of the work, including research, development and construction is being entrusted to different companies.

The Swayambus are interviewed on radio

"There is also an excellent system of interchange of technical information and know-how. When I inquired how an electrical company making power equipment could suddenly enter a new field like nuclear power, it was explained to me that they first formed a nucleus of a few hand-picked men with high organizing ability from existing departments and then expanded by the addition of talented men and specialists, building their own techniques. In about four or five years this group has grown into one of the nation's top

level nuclear engineering groups with its own research division ready to go into manufacture.

"A striking feature in large corporations of both manufacturing and utility operations is the fact that the dividend level is maintained at what may be termed a 'fair return' basis. It is very unusual for a large corporation to declare anything like a 10-15% dividend. They are usually 1% or 2% above the cost of money after retaining 1% or 2% for internal financing. It was pointed out to me that the natural law of competition of American business does not allow anyone to get away with large profits.

"The racial problem in the United States is often mentioned alongside those in other parts of the world. Unlike the 'Apartheid' in South Africa, where the problem is aggravated all the time by more and more legislative and other actions against the non-whites, one can notice clear indications that the leaders of public thought here are anxious to help solve the problem. To a foreign visitor the details of this problem are not of as much interest as the attitude behind them all, on which is pivoted the principle of the sanctity of the individual. It is on this issue that the United States will be called upon to prove itself in its bid to become the leading nation of the world."

from Yoichi Maeda, Professor, Liberal Arts Department, Tokyo University. . . .

". . . Coming from a country where 76% of the children in the last three years of compulsory education study English several hours a week (grades 7 through 9) I was very much surprised to find that even in some of the best colleges I have visited some of their freshmen have had no experience in any modern foreign language.

"Being partly responsible for creating and running the first Department of Liberal Arts in Japan, and having still to defend it and fight for it as a minority cause, I have been extremely encouraged in finding that liberal education constitutes so to speak the *core* of American higher education.

"Most significant of all has been the unexpectedly widespread good feeling of American people in general toward our country and our people, despite the fact that we were the enemy only twelve years ago. How many times have we witnessed the face of those we met casually in the streets or in trains lighting up when they learned that we had come from Japan!"

1957 was a year of substantial progress in the development of the Fellowships organization. The Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees again authorized an increase in the number of Fellows in the 1958 group. Countries represented for the first time will be Ceylon, Morocco, and Rhodesia. I am happy to report that this greater activity will again be handled without a corresponding increase in administrative cost. The improvement shown on page 10 in the ratio of "Overhead" to the outlays for Fellowships is, I believe, quite remarkable.

We felt keenly the death, in 1957, of the Hon. Henry Grady, who served as an active and interested member of our Board of Trustees. We reluctantly accepted the resignation of Albert Mitchell of New Mexico from the Board and were happy to welcome Mr. John T. Dorrance, Jr., of Philadelphia to fill this vacancy.

We owe a particular debt of gratitude to Mr. Stanley C. Allyn, Chairman of National Cash Register Company, who from the Fellowships beginning through

Mr. Calinawan (Philippines) at the Argonne National Laboratories

the end of 1957 headed the important Selection Committee. Perhaps as much as any one of the Trustees, his leadership in this important area was instrumental in the program's success to date. We were fortunate, indeed, that Mr. Juan Trippe, of Pan American World Airways System, agreed to assume the Chairmanship of this vital committee.

An outstanding contribution was made by General Lucius Clay as Chairman of the Finance Committee in 1957. His report is given in the following pages and shows another record high of funds received for the year. The pledge of support from the Donner Foundation, details of which are given in the Finance Chairman's report, was the financial highlight of the year. We are deeply indebted to General Clay, to Mr. Thomas J. Watson, Jr., and to Mr. Philip Reed, who preceded General Clay as Chairman of the Finance Committee and did so much to establish a firm financial foundation for the Fellowships' program. Mr. Charles Harding, Senior Partner of Smith, Barney & Company, has assumed the Finance Chairmanship for the coming year, and I am sure this important task remains in excellent hands.

We are immensely grateful to Price Waterhouse & Company, Certified Public Accountants, and to Barnes, Dechert, Price, Myers and Rhoads, Attorneys-at-Law, who again donated their significant services.

Mr. Edwin T. Gibson, Fellowships President, and Mr. J. Hampton Barnes, Executive Director, deserve the greatest credit for the year's progress. Very special commendation should be paid to Mrs. Barnes for her gracious and tireless efforts in receiving the wives of the Fellows and assisting in every way to make the Fellowships house attractive and home-like. In her activities she was ably assisted by Mrs. Darnell and Mrs. Sneath of the Philadelphia office staff.

Above all, I should like to express our great appreciation for the generosity of the many individuals and firms — now numbering over one thousand — who contributed funds to make possible this important enterprise.

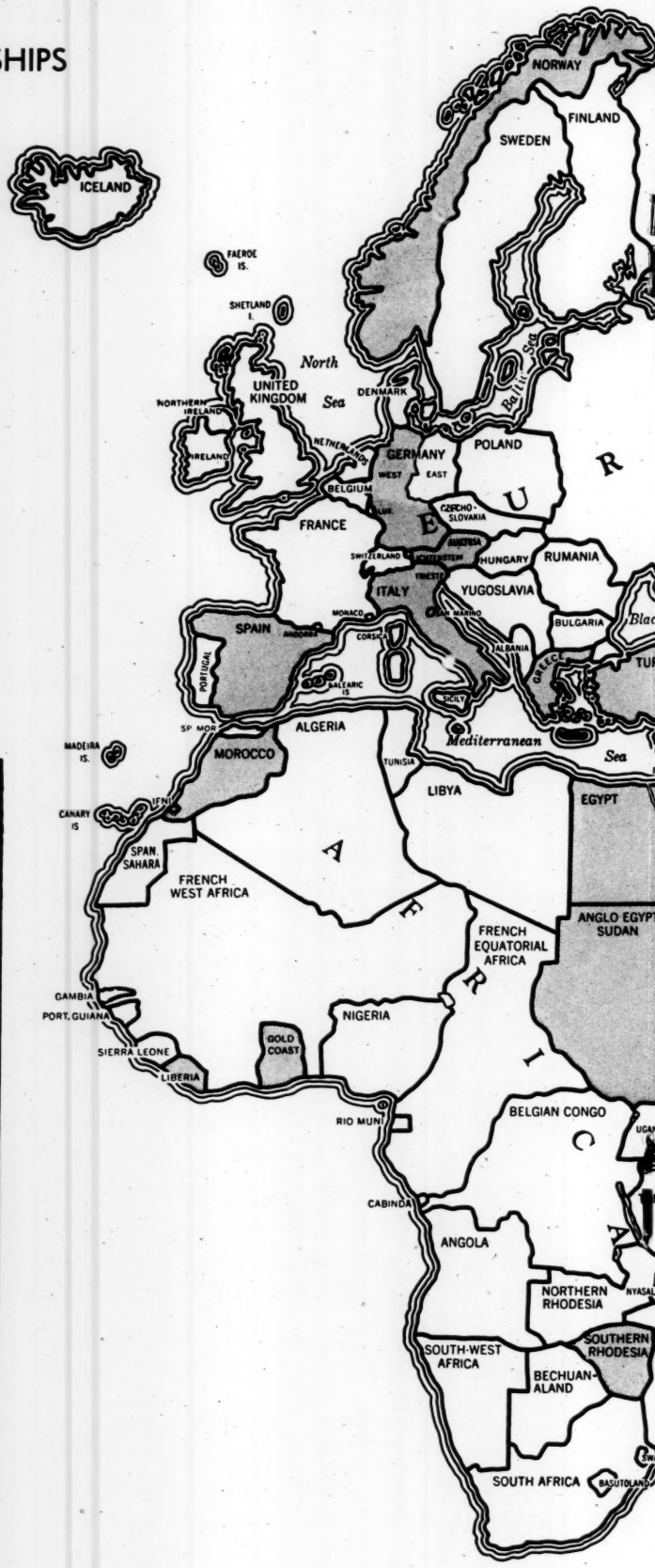
Thomas B. McCabe

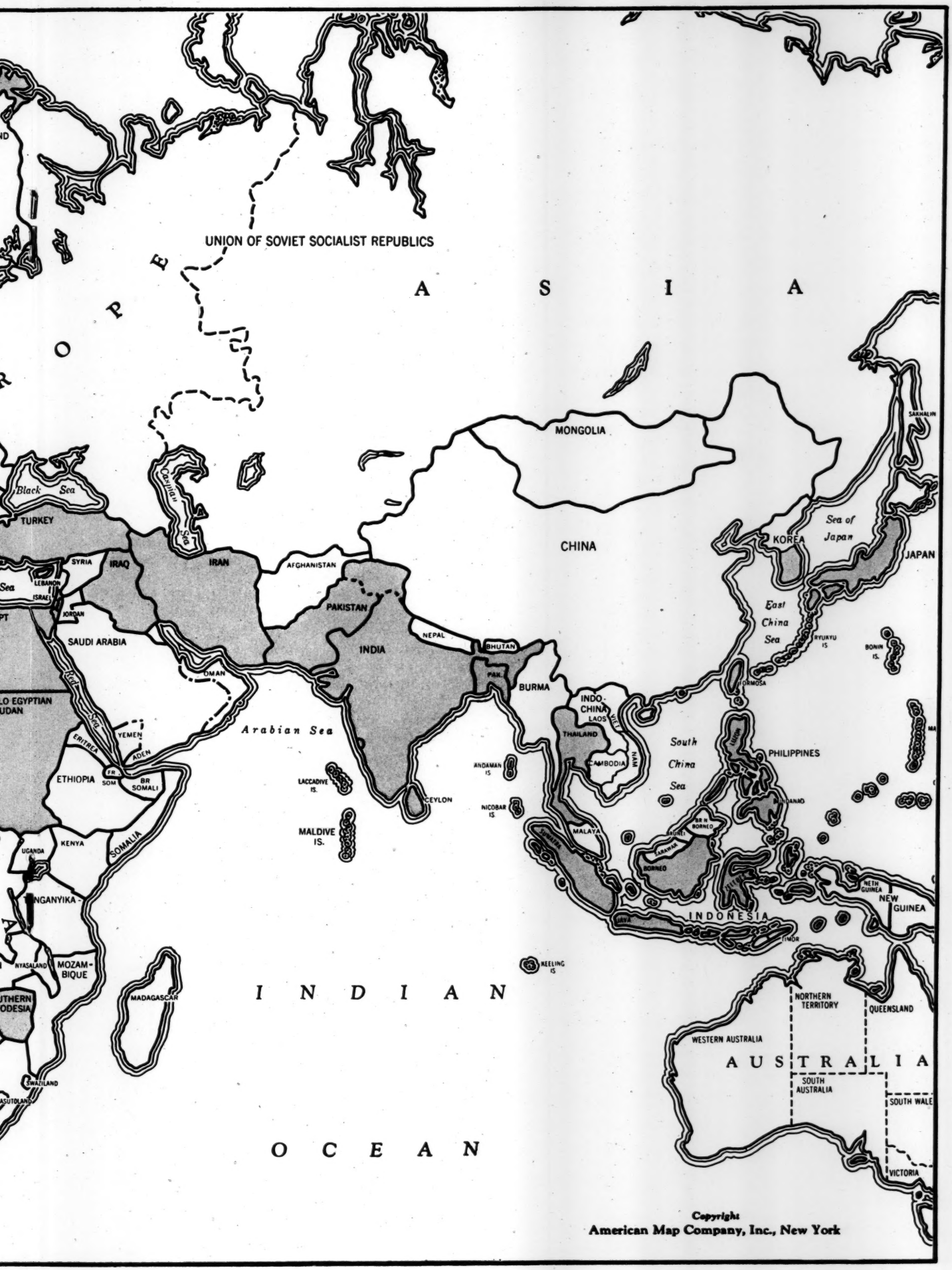
EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS

have been awarded to these countries

ARGENTINA	ISRAEL
AUSTRIA	ITALY
BOLIVIA	JAPAN
BRAZIL	KOREA
CEYLON	LIBERIA
CHILE	MEXICO
COLOMBIA	MOROCCO
EGYPT	NORWAY
FORMOSA	PAKISTAN
WEST GERMANY	PERU
GHANA	PHILIPPINES
GREECE	SOUTHERN RHODESIA
INDIA	SPAIN
INDONESIA	SUDAN
IRAN	THAILAND
IRAQ	TURKEY

UNITED STATES





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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWS—1958

Country	*Name*	*Position and Field of Interest*
ARGENTINA	Ernesto J. Lanusse	Administrative member of firm of Ernesto y Marcelo Lanusse, Buenos Aires. Field: Agricultural engineering.
BRAZIL	Francisco V. Rodrigues	Professor of Gynecology at Faculdade Fluminense de Medicina, Rio de Janeiro. Field: Medical education and training of physicians.
CEYLON	Chitra M. Fernando	Assistant Information Officer, Government of Ceylon, Colombo. Field: Public relations and information.
COLOMBIA	Alcibiades Riano	Lawyer, Secretary to Minister of Finance and to National Economic Council, Bogota. Field: Economics and finance.
GHANA	Silas R. A. Dodu	Doctor of medicine. First assistant to the physician specialist of Ministry of Health, Accra. Field: Internal medicine.
GREECE	George Contogeorgis	Director of Export Trade Division, Ministry of Commerce, Athens. Field: Foreign trade.
INDONESIA	Omar Tusin	President, Indonesian Chamber of Industries, Djakarta. Field: Industry.
IRAN	Ahmed Maleki	Owner and manager of large mechanized plantation, Teheran. Field: Mechanized agriculture.
IRAQ	Abdullah Sulaiman	Governor, under Ministry of Interior, of province of Sulaimania. Field: Rural development, covering industries and public service.
MOROCCO	Abdelkader Laraqui	Doctor of medicine and Director of the Cabinet of the Ministry of Health, Rabat. Field: Medical administration and preventive medicine.
PAKISTAN	Sheikh Ikramul Haque	Assistant Chief Secretary to Government of West Pakistan, Food and Agriculture Department, Labore. Field: Agricultural development, land reclamation, food administration.
PHILIPPINES	Hilarion M. Henares	Vice-President of H. G. Henares & Sons, Pasay City. Field: Management and industrial chemistry.
RHODESIA	William Shepherd-Wilson	Doctor of medicine, and surgeon with Southern Rhodesian Government Health Department. Field: Hospital administration and medical teaching.
SPAIN	Valentin Picatoste	Architect for General Committee for Madrid Urban Development. Field: City planning.
THAILAND	Prok Amranand	Chief, Foreign Trade Policy Division, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Bangkok. Field: Economic planning.
TURKEY	Veli Aytekin	Director of Research Department, Turkish Iron and Steel Works, Karabuk. Field: Metallurgical research.
U. S. A.	Douglass Cater	Chief of the Washington Bureau of *The Reporter*. Field: Relationship of press and government, public information.
	Raymond L. Collins	Superintendent of Schools, Manhasset, New York. Field: Educational administration at all levels.
	Pearson Hunt	Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Field: Methods of training in business administration and relationships between business and the educational institutions.

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

In 1957 contributions to the Fellowships were made by 550 companies, individuals, and foundations in the amount of $320,118.50. I am happy to say that this represents a record high both for the number of contributors and also the amount received in any single year. Since the Fellowship's beginning in October 1953 a total of $1,176,000 has been contributed.

It is a source of real satisfaction that the cost of raising these funds continues under 5% of the amount raised, as it has been since the organization's beginning.

An important step toward financial stability for the Fellowships was the pledge of the Donner Foundation to contribute $25,000 annually for three years, beginning in 1958. This gift, together with the annual grant from the Ford Foundation, which extends for eight more years, providing the Fellowships raises the matching funds needed, will be very helpful in assuring the organization's proper growth.

These results were possible only through the wholehearted cooperation of the leaders of the business community who served on the Finance Committee with me in 1957. I appreciate their efforts more than I can say. Their names are listed below:

S. D. Bechtel, Sr. – President, Bechtel Corporation
S. Bruce Black – Chairman, Liberty Mutual Insurance Company
Fred Bohen – President, Meredith Publishing Company
H. W. Brower – President, Occidental Life Insurance Company
Wm. G. Brumder – Chairman & President, First Wisconsin National Bank
Peter Colefax – President, American Potash & Chemical Corporation
Wm. L. Day – Chairman, First Pennsylvania Banking & Trust Company
Roy K. Ferguson – President, St. Regis Paper Company
Robert Heller – President, Robert Heller & Associates
Robert H. Hinckley – Vice President, American Broadcasting Company
Charles Jones – President, Richfield Oil Company
Robert Lehman – Partner, Lehman Brothers
Joel S. Mitchell – President, Standard Brands, Inc.
Walter H. Sammis – President, Ohio Edison Company
Warner S. Shelly – President, N. W. Ayer & Son
George Van Gorder – Chairman, McKesson & Robbins
Walter H. Wheeler, Jr. – President, Pitney-Bowes, Inc.
Col. Roy B. White – Chairman, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company

For 1958, Mr. Charles Harding, Senior Partner of Smith, Barney & Company, succeeds to the Chairmanship of the Fellowships' Finance Committee. I am sure that he, too, will have the fine support my efforts received, in seeing that this important work receives the resources necessary for it to prosper.

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INCORPORATED

GENERAL FUND
STATEMENT OF INCOME COLLECTED AND EXPENSES DISBURSED

(exclusive of Headquarters Purchase Fund, see note 1.)

	Year 1957	Year 1956
Income collected:		
Contributions (note 2)	$320,118.50	$318,410.62
Profit on sale of securities	189.68	637.18
Dividends	1,407.00	1,280.40
Interest	8,345.00	1,389.58
Total income collected	$330,060.18	$321,717.78
Expenses disbursed:		
Fellowships program:		
Maintenance of Fellows	$103,103.32	$ 65,970.08
Travel	100,204.29	57,076.14
Insurance	5,012.70	3,203.63
Books and materials	8,053.82	905.50
Tuition	4,457.84	2,400.00
Seminars	2,227.97	1,943.15
Miscellaneous	331.22	77.57
	$223,391.16	$131,576.07
Administrative:		
Salaries	$ 48,639.93	$ 46,666.30
Travel (net of refunds in 1956)	1,597.87	(2,234.92)
Executive director – special travel allowance	2,444.45	6,260.65
Rent	2,304.59	6,030.00
Printing and mailing	3,258.74	2,204.58
Office supplies and services	3,821.46	3,454.40
Telephone and telegraph	2,596.60	1,568.10
Office furniture and equipment	1,705.26	449.86
Office maintenance	1,491,87	–
Insurance	354.39	8.02
Miscellaneous	2,455.10	1,495.08
	$ 70,670.26	$ 65,902.07
Total expenses disbursed	$294.061.42	$197,478.14
Excess of income collected over expenses disbursed for the year	$ 35,998.76	$124,239.64
Balance of the General Fund at beginning of year	326,936.20	202,696.56
Balance of the General Fund at end of year	$362,934.96	$326,936.20

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INCORPORATED

STATEMENT OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES ARISING FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS

Assets	December 31, 1957
Cash	$ 63,261.60
Marketable securities, at cost (approximate market $53,700.00)	36,714.84
Short-term commercial notes, at cost	262,693.75
Philadelphia headquarters building (note 1)	42,582.26
Other assets	1,085.57
Total assets	$406,338.02

Liabilities and Fund Balances	
Liability for payroll taxes	$ 746.59
General Fund balance	362,934.96
Headquarters Purchase Fund (note 1)	42,656.47
Total liabilities and fund balances	$406,338.02

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

NOTE 1—$42,582.26 was expended for Philadelphia headquarters building and improvements out of a fund of $42,656.47 collected in 1957 ($36,757.54) and 1956 ($5,898.93) for this specific purpose. These amounts are not included in the contributions shown in the General Fund statement of income collected and expenses disbursed.

NOTE 2—Contributions in both years include $60,000 from The Ford Foundation under a 10-year commitment. Such commitment began in 1956 and is contingent upon the Fellowships' raising $180,000 annually from other sources.

PRICE WATERHOUSE & CO.
123 SOUTH BROAD STREET
PHILADELPHIA 9

January 29, 1958

To the Board of Trustees
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Incorporated

In our opinion, the accompanying statements present fairly the assets, liabilities and fund balances of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Incorporated at December 31, 1957 resulting from cash transactions, and the income collected and expenses disbursed and changes in fund balances for the year, on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year. Our examination of these statements was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances. It was impractical for us to extend our examination of contributions received beyond accounting for amounts so recorded.

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The Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships were established in honor of President Eisenhower on a non-partisan basis. Available to citizens of the United States and of the other free nations, they are non-political and independent of established educational institutions. They offer training in leadership in the countries of the free world as a positive force for international understanding.

EDWIN T. GIBSON, *President*
J. HAMPTON BARNES, *Executive Director*
256 South 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.
149 EAST 78TH STREET NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK

February 6, 1957

To: All Trustees

A list of the 1957 U. S. and foreign Eisenhower Exchange Fellows, together with brief sketches of each individual's background and area of interest, is attached herewith.

We will gladly supply any further information you may desire on these men.

Hampton Barnes

J. Hampton Barnes
Executive Director

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWS 1956-1957

Country	Name and Age	Position and Field of Interest
Argentina	Enrique PINEDO Age: 30	Chief of Investigations, Commercial Law Institute, University of Buenos Aires. Lawyer. Secondary school professor. Field: Economics of Labor.
Austria	Josef H. JAEGERSBERGER Age: 35	Chief, Quality Department, Boehler Steel Corp. Field: Metallurgy. Steel technological problems.
Chile	Sergio Salas CALVO Age: 34	Head, Foreign Department, Yrarrazaval, Rodriguez y Cia.. Field: Stock exchanges and development of private enterprises.
Greece	Kyriacos E. ZACHOS Age: 44	Director, Greek Institute for Geology & Subsurface Research. General Director, Ministry of Coordination. Field: Exploration and exploitation of mineral wealth.
India	Subramania I. SWAYAMBU Age: 45	Deputy Chief (Power), Planning Commission, Government of India, planning national power development programs. Field: High tension switch-gear testing (in field of power engineering research & practice).
Indonesia	Tojib Hadiwidjaja Age: 37	Deputy Head, Plant Pathological Division, Dept. of Agriculture; University of Indonesia.
Iraq	Nezir KIRDAR Age: 28	Managing director of N. Kirdar Civil Engineering & Contracting Co., N. Kirdar Felt Products Co., and Cement Industries Co. Ltd. Field: Management
Israel	Mordechai Max LEVY Age: 47	Assistant to President in charge of Academic Development, Technion-Israel Institute of Technology. Field: University policy and administration, placement services, technical training.
Italy	Silvio MONTARETTO Age: 30	Manager, Industrial Relations Department, Sicedison (industrial chemical firm), Milan.
Japan	Yoichi MAEDA Age: 45	Professor, Liberal Arts Dept., Tokyo University. Field: International studies programs, foreign languages and cultures.
Korea	Kyung Hi CHOI Age: 30	Director of planning and controls, Samho Textile Co. Ltd. Field: Textile industry.
Peru	Antonio TARNAWIECKI Age: 37	Associate Manager, New Business Office of W. R. Grace, Lima. Field: Industrial and business development.
Philippine Islands	Marcelino CALINAWAN Age: 34	Appointments Secretary and Naval Aide-de-camp to President of the Philippines. Vice-Chairman, Inter-departmental Atomic Energy Committee. Field: Nuclear science, applied fields and research.
Sudan	Mohamed KAILANI Age: 32	Senior Trade Officer, Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Field: Foreign trade.

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWS 1957

Country	Name and Age	Position and Field of Interest
U. S. A.	Courtney BROWN Age: 52	Dean, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, and Vice President in Charge of Business Affairs. Field: Possible new programs for development of administrative talents in foreign countries. Will visit Europe and South America.
U. S. A.	Robert N. BURR Age: 40	Associate Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles. Field: South American international relations and inter-American relations.
U. S. A.	James A. McCAIN Age: 49	President, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas. Field: University administration and operation. Role of universities in stimulating economic development. Cultural and student exchange programs. Will visit Europe, including Scandinavia.

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1957

Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships announced today the award of 1957 Fellowships to Courtney Brown, Dean of Columbia University's Graduate School of Business; Dr. James A. McCain, President of Kansas State College, and Dr. Robert N. Burr, Associate Professor of History, University of California in Los Angeles.

The announcement was made by Thomas B. McCabe, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the foundation, which was established in 1953 as a gift to President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Mr. McCabe is President of Scott Paper Company and former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

Mr. McCabe said that Dean Brown, after the close of the school year in June, will visit Europe and South America to inquire how the development of administrative talent can speed technological progress on the two continents. He will leave about June 15 for six months' study.

Dr. McCain's inquiry will be in Europe and will cover four points: (1) University administration and operation; (2) role of universities in stimulating economic development; (3) cultural and student exchange programs, and (4) European backgrounds of American culture. He will leave about April 1 and be gone seven months.

Dr. Burr will visit South America to study Latin-American relations and international relations among the various countries. He will leave January 28 for ten months of study.

Dean Brown, in addition to his post as head of the Graduate School of Business, is vice president in charge of business affairs for Columbia University. Widely known in business and educational circles, he is a member of the Boards of Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad and the American Gas and Electric Company, a director of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, and a trustee of the National Planning Association.

Dr. McCain has been president of Kansas State since July 1, 1950. From 1945 to 1950 he was president of the University of Montana. He was a lieutenant commander in the Navy during the War and before that he was on the staff of Colorado A & M College.

Dr. Burr has been with the University of California since 1948, and prior to that he was at Rutgers University. He has held a Social Science Research Council Fellowship for study of Inter-American relations in Washington, D. C., and has received a U. S. State Department Travel Grant for study in Colombia, South America.

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149 EAST 78TH STREET
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TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

April 2, 1957

To: All Trustees

Thomas B. McCabe, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, in accordance with the By-laws, is calling the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., for Monday, May 20, 1957, at 1:00 P.M.

The meeting will take place at the new, permanent Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships headquarters, 256 South 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The meeting will begin with a luncheon at which several foreign Fellows will be present. Immediately following the luncheon, the formal meeting will take place.

Would you please send your reply to 149 East 78th Street, New York 21, New York.

Yours sincerely,

Hampton Barnes

J. Hampton Barnes
Executive Director

Eisenhower Exchange

March 8, 1957

Dear Mr. Barnes:

The following is the excerpt from the WORLD NEWS ROUNDUP of March 5, 1957:

TOWNSEND: In West Africa this is the last day that the Union Jack flies over the Gold Coast. Here's the story, just a few hours before independence, from Howard K. Smith in Accra.

SMITH: The Gold Coast colony here still has about eleven hours to go before it becomes the free independent state of Ghana, the newest nation on earth. But already the courtship of the big powers has begun. On the sidelines of a continuous official program of ceremonies today, Vice President Richard Nixon presented the local secondary school with an Eisenhower Fellowship, which will permit one student to study a year in the United States. The Russians have extended an invitation to the Ghana Parliament to send a delegation to be feted in Moscow....

Sincerely yours,

Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. J. Hampton Barnes
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
149 East 78 Street
New York 21, New York

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March 7, 1957

Secretary to Mr. Edward S. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
Executive Offices
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Barnes asked me to remind you that you promised to send him a copy of the March 5th 8:00 A.M. radio broadcast with reference to Vice President Nixon and Ghana.

We'll appreciate your sending it along at your early convenience. Many thanks.

Shirley Barron
Secretary to
J. Hampton Barnes

Eisenhower Exchange

January 23, 1957

Dear Mr. Barnes:

Many thanks for your letter telling me about the second annual Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship Seminar to be held in Princeton.

I'm sorry to say that I'll probably be unable to come since present plans call for me to be out of the country at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. J. Hampton Barnes
Executive Director
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
149 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

fc

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

EDWIN T. GIBSON, PRESIDENT
J. HAMPTON BARNES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

December 12, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Executive Offices
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

No

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We are now making plans for our second annual Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship Seminar to be held at the Princeton Inn, Princeton, New Jersey, March 10-20, 1957. One of the principal features of this Seminar is to have a talk each evening, of an informal nature, delivered by a man who is distinguished in his field. Last year, Clare Francis, Tom McCabe, Bill Baker, and a number of others talked to the Eisenhower Fellows.

I wonder if it would be possible for you to go down to Princeton for dinner and a talk afterwards, sometime during the above period. I have in mind that you might discuss international understanding through communications; although, of course, we would be delighted to have you talk on any subject of your own choosing.

These sessions are usually characterized by informality, questions from around the table, and a general atmosphere of intelligent curiosity which always pervades these gatherings.

If it is possible for you to fit this date into your schedule, would you be kind enough to let us know. Thanks so much for your consideration.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Hampton Barnes

J. Hampton Barnes
Executive Director

JHB:dp

Eisenhower Exchange

GENERAL ELECTRIC
COMPANY
570 LEXINGTON AVE., NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

PHILIP D. REED
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

January 22, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Henry Suhrke has told me of the CBS Foundation's generous check in the amount of $1,000 on behalf of the Eisenhower Fellowships. Thank you so much for this support.

I am deeply grateful to you for enlisting the support of other radio and television stations. As one of my fellow Trustees of the Eisenhower Fellowships you know how important it is that we broaden the organization's financial base. Attached is a list of the stations and networks that have sent contributions.

You will be interested to know that with the beginning of 1957 General Lucius Clay has taken on the Chairmanship of the Finance Committee. I am sure you will agree that his leadership will insure the Fellowships' financial success in the coming years.

With warm regards and many thanks for your assistance,

Sincerely,

Phil

Chairman, Finance Committee
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.

PDR:ik
Enclosure

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

Contributions received from Radio and Television Stations during 1956

(N)	CBS Foundation, Inc.	$1,000.
	Storer Broadcasting Company	250.
(N)	W B E N, Buffalo	100.
(N)	W B T V, Charlotte, N.C.	100.
(N)	W R E C, Memphis, Tenn.	100.
(N)	W K Z O, (Fetzer Broadcasting Co.)	100.
	Radio Station W L S, Chicago	25.
	Total	$1,675.

N denotes new contributors

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

EDWIN T. GIBSON, PRESIDENT
J. HAMPTON BARNES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

January 22, 1957

To All Trustees and Fellows:

You will be pleased to learn that, thanks to the generosity of Thomas B. McCabe, Chairman of our Board of Trustees, we now have a permanent home of our own.

Mr. McCabe has donated to the Fellowships a fine house at 256 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to serve as the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships office and headquarters.

We expect to be in residence May 1, 1957. All communications should be sent to the new address as of that date.

Edwin T. Gibson
President

J. Hampton Barnes

J. Hampton Barnes
Executive Director

Eisenhower Exchange

CBS FOUNDATION INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York • PLaza 1-2345

WILLIAM C. ACKERMAN
Executive Director

December 31, 1956

Mr. Henry Suhrke
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
149 East 78th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Suhrke:

On behalf of the Board of this Foundation, I have the pleasure of advising you that a contribution of $1,000 to Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., has been authorized.

I am forwarding the check with this letter, and a copy of the letter to Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

CBS Foundation Inc., is the agency for making charitable and educational grants on behalf of CBS, Inc., and its divisions.

With all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

WCA

bcc: Mr. Murrow

COPY

Eisenhower Exchange

CBS FOUNDATION INC.

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Mr. Ackerman

December 27, 1956

The Board of CBS Foundation Inc. has approved a grant of $1,000 to Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.

I expect to have the check tomorrow and can forward it to you or elsewhere as you direct.

We are proceeding with plans to announce the fellowships at Columbia University in the next week to ten days.

WA

Subscribe

7241

Eisenhower Exchange

Channel 4 WRBL-TV

COLUMBUS BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

1350 13TH AVE. COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

December 20, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In response to your letter regarding Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, allow me first to express my personal interest in the objectives of this program.

I am unable to make any firm commitment or contribution until our annual meeting in January. The matter will be discussed by our Board, at that time, and I hope I may render a favorable report to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Woodruff, Jr.

J. W. Woodruff, Jr.
President & General Manager

JWWjr:vt

WEEREBEL

Eisenhower Exchange

GENERAL ELECTRIC
COMPANY
570 LEXINGTON AVE., NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

PHILIP D. REED
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

May 23, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Your reply to my letter accepting membership on the Finance Committee of the Eisenhower Fellowships is no less welcome because it is somewhat belated.

I am delighted to know that you are willing to give us a hand in this important undertaking. I have asked my assistant, Henry Suhrke, to call your office for a convenient time ~~to get the~~ solicitation underway. Will see.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Phil

Chairman, Finance Committee
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.

PDR:ms

Eisenhower Exch.

May 18, 1956

Dear Phil:

This is a hell of a time to be answering your letter of January 26th, but I seem to have been moving too fast to be able to deal with my correspondence. You wrote asking me to become a member of the Finance Committee for the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships representing radio and television networks. Of course I will do it, and if it isn't too late for me to be of some help, you need only tell me what you wish me to do.

As ever yours,

Mr. Philip D. Reed
Chairman of the Board
General Electric Company
570 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

rh

GENERAL ELECTRIC
COMPANY
570 LEXINGTON AVE., NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

PHILIP D. REED
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

January 26, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

As a Trustee of the Eisenhower Fellowships you will be happy to know that the Finance Committee of which I am Chairman has made a good beginning in securing funds for 1956. We are now enlisting the assistance of industry leaders in order to achieve the best possible results this year. The purpose of this letter is to ask you to join me as a member of the Finance Committee for 1956 representing radio and television networks.

I can assure you that to do so will not make any unreasonable demands on your time. We plan no meetings. If you will confer for not more than half an hour in your office with my assistant, Henry Suhrke, he will outline the plan of operation which will be substantially by letter. He will have with him an up-to-date list of radio and television networks and a draft of a suggested letter which I hope you will rewrite in your own style. Once you have given your approval, he will complete the typing and preparation of the letters.

I hope that I can count on your help to assure the support of this outstanding program in such a way as to do credit to the name it honors.

Warm regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

Phil

Chairman, Finance Committee
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.

P.S. You may be interested in seeing a list of the names of the present members of the committee which is attached.

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Frederic W. Ecker - Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
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L. A. Petersen - Otis Elevator Company
Reuben Robertson, Sr. - Champion Paper & Fibre Company
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Philip Sporn - American Gas & Electric Company
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Committee of the Coca-Cola Company, New York City

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

April 25, 1956

Dear Fellow Trustee:

At the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees held on February 15, 1956, in New York City, the following new Trustees were elected subject to their acceptance:

Joseph L. Block, President
Inland Steel Company
Chicago, Illinois

Justin W. Dart, President
Rexall Drug Company
Los Angeles, California

Theodore V. Houser
Chairman
Sears, Roebuck & Company
Chicago, Illinois

W. Alton Jones
Chairman
Cities Service Company
New York, New York

John L. McCaffrey, President
International Harvester Co.
Chicago, Illinois

Theodore S. Petersen
President
Standard Oil Co. of California
San Francisco, California

Joseph P. Spang, Jr.
President
Gillette Company
Boston, Massachusetts

Jesse W. Tapp, Chairman
Bank of America
Los Angeles, California

I am happy to advise you that all of the above have accepted election with the exception of Mr. Block, who pleads a multiplicity of commitments and requests that his name be withdrawn.

After consultation with a number of Trustees, the name of Mr. Charles B. Harding has been presented to fill the place which Mr. Block's declination leaves open. Mr. Harding is the senior partner of Smith, Barney & Company, investment bankers in New York City. He has a lively interest in international understanding and has been of great service to many of our Eisenhower Fellows.

Under the By-Laws, consent of a majority of the members of the Board of Trustees in writing to any proposed action of the corporation shall be valid corporation action. Under this provision of the By-Laws, I am requesting that you give me a mail vote on Mr. Harding's nomination. I am enclosing a form for this purpose.

Very sincerely,

Tom

Thomas B. McCabe
Chairman

Enclosure

EDWIN T. GIBSON, PRESIDENT
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Committee of the Coca-Cola Company, New York City

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

April 2, 1956

To: All Trustees

We are enclosing herewith a copy of the audit by R. G. Rankin & Co. of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships accounts for the year 1955 and also a report of fund raising accomplishments during that year. These are for your attention and files. If you have any comments or questions, I would be very glad to receive them.

We are also enclosing, as we think it will be of real interest to you, a compilation of comments from our 1954-55 Fellows who have returned to their own countries. You will see from these that most of them have increased their responsibilities and are already accomplishing some of the things we had hoped would result from their Fellowship experience.

Our 1956 foreign Fellows are now in the United States and it is possible they may visit your section of the country, in which case we will be sure to have them call on you. The three U. S. Fellows have been selected and have left for their trips and experiences abroad.

Very sincerely,

Edwin T. Gibson
President

Enclosures

Mr. Thomas B. McCabe, Chairman
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
149 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. McCabe:

I desire to vote in favor of Charles B. Harding to be a Trustee of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc. for one year or until his successor is elected and qualifies.

Very truly yours,

_____ _____
Date Signature of Trustee

EDWIN T. GIBSON, PRESIDENT
J. HAMPTON BARNES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

March 20, 1956

To: All Trustees

The annual meeting of Trustees was held in New York City on February 15, 1956. We had an excellent attendance, as you will see from the list of those present in the Minutes.

Our twelve foreign Fellows were with us and all of the Trustees present were very pleased with these men. All felt the Selection Committee had done an excellent job.

I am enclosing Minutes of the meeting, together with a list of our new Fellows and a picture of the group taken at the seminar held recently at Princeton.

I have directed the staff to send you a compilation taken from letters from last year's Fellows, a copy of the annual audit by R. G. Rankin & Co. and a report of fund raising in 1955, which will give you assurance that we continue to be in a good financial position. In their discussion of the future, the Trustees felt we should work toward a five-year plan and during that time develop endowment possibilities to carry on for a long term.

We appreciate the cooperation which our Trustees have given us whenever we have called upon them.

It is of value to us to make early determination of the countries from which we are going to select Fellows for our 1957 "class" as it takes some time to appoint committees in those countries and have them make their selections. If you have any suggestions or advices for the Selection Committee with regard to what countries should be included in 1957, please send them to Mr. Barnes, our Executive Director, now. Also suggestions for U. S. Fellows for the year 1957 would be helpful.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas B. McCabe
Chairman

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWS 1955-1956

Country	Name and Age	Position and Field of Interest
Bolivia	Luis Adolfo SILES Age: 30	Attorney. Head of Legal Department of National Chamber of Industries, La Paz. Field: Industrial law and labor relations.
Brazil	Luiz A. de Souza RANGEL Age: 45	Secretary of Finance, City of Rio de Janeiro. Field: Public and private financing, particularly financing of public works.
Colombia	Humberto RAFFO Rivera Age: 33	Attorney. Consultant lawyer of Government of the Valle del Cauca. Field: Public administration, education, labor relations.
Egypt	Mohamed Ibrahim SHABAYEK Age: 36	Manager, Spinning Department, Societe Misr de Filature et de Tessage Fin en Cotton Egyptien S.A.E. Field: Textile developments, particularly in synthetic fibres spinning and cotton.
Germany	Adalbert STOLTENHOFF Age: 43	Representative of main administration of German Federal Railways in Bonn. Assistant to Secretary of State in Federal Ministry of Transport. Field: Transport facilities.
India	Sateshwar Prasad NAUTIYAL Age: 39	Senior Geologist, Director, Geological Survey of India. Field: Petroleum geology.
Iran	Emir Aslan AFSHAR Age: 36	Member, Department of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Field: Finance and economic development plans. Preparation of economic/trade agreements.
Liberia	Charles Benedict ROBERTS Age: 37	Assistant Secretary of Public Works and Utilities, Government of Liberia. Field: Government services, personnel, housing.
Norway	Knut MARTINSEN Age: 32	Corporation Treasurer and Comptroller, Elektrokemisk A/S. Field: Business management.
Pakistan	Pyarali ALLANA Age: 25	Business enterprises include watches, plastics, construction. Field: Management development, industrial and labor relations.
Spain	Adolph MANTILLA Aguirre Age: 46	Member of Ministry of Finance, Engineer of State Petroleum Monopoly Division. Field: Management, productivity.
Turkey	Mahmut Sevket SIPAHI Age: 38	Administrative and Commercial Manager, Verdi Ltd. Co., distributors for Willys-Overland Export Corp. and others. Field: Business administration, finance and insurance.

U. S. A.	John A. BIRD Age: 45	Associate Editor, THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
U. S. A.	John E. IVEY, Jr. Age: 37	Director, Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, Georgia. (Higher education)
U. S. A.	Robert H. REID Age: 43	Executive Assistant, Committee on International Relations, National Education Association of the United States, Washington, D. C. (Primary and secondary education)

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

MINUTES

Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees

February 15, 1956

A luncheon followed by a meeting of the Trustees of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Incorporated, was held at the Cornell Club, New York City, at 1:00 p.m., Wednesday, February 15, 1956.

All the 1956 foreign Fellows attended the luncheon.

Trustees attending were: Chairman Thomas B. McCabe, Walter H. Annenberg, William Benton, Ralph J. Bunche, Arthur S. Flemming, Clarence Francis, Kenneth Holland, Eric Johnston, George H. Love, Albert K. Mitchell, John W. Nason, Philip D. Reed, John A. Roosevelt, Philip T. Sharples, Theodore O. Spaulding, Frazar B. Wilde.

Mr. Edwin T. Gibson, President, John Hampton Barnes, Executive Director and Secretary, and Henry C. Suhrke, Assistant Director, were also present by invitation.

Mr. McCabe opened the meeting by reading a telegram of greeting from President Eisenhower, a copy of which is spread on these minutes.

EDWIN GIBSON, PRESIDENT
EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.
149 EAST 78 STREET, NEW YORK CITY

PLEASE EXTEND MY GREETINGS TO ALL ATTENDING THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES, WITH A WARM WORD OF WELCOME TO THE EXCHANGE FELLOWS FOR 1955-56 WHO WILL BE THERE. I AM DELIGHTED TO CONGRATULATE THEM AND TO WISH THEM AN INTERESTING AND ENJOYABLE VISIT TO OUR COUNTRY.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

On a motion by Mr. Benton, seconded by Mr. Annenberg, the following present Trustees were re-elected for a period of one year.

S. C. Allyn	John L. Collyer	Oveta Culp Hobby
Robert B. Anderson	S. Sloan Colt	Paul G. Hoffman
Walter H. Annenberg	John Cowles	Kenneth Holland
William Balderton	Donald K. David	Eric Johnston
William Benton	Arthur S. Flemming	Meyer Kestnbaum
James B. Black	Clarence Francis	Allan B. Kline
Woodward H. Brenton	Henry F. Grady	Fred Lazarus, Jr.
Ralph J. Bunche	Fred G. Gurley	George H. Love
James F. Byrnes	Virgil M. Hancher	Thomas B. McCabe
Lucius D. Clay	Rufus C. Harris	Millicent C. McIntosh
John S. Coleman	Ben Hibbs	Albert K. Mitchell

Franklin D. Murphy	John A. Roosevelt	Fred M. Waring
Edward R. Murrow	Charles Sawyer	Thomas J. Watson, Jr.
William I. Myers	Philip T. Sharples	Sidney J. Weinberg
John W. Nason	Courtney C. Smith	John Hay Whitney
Edward Lee Norton	Theodore O. Spaulding	Frazar B. Wilde
Philip D. Reed	Jay Taylor	Alfred H. Williams
Clifford Roberts	J. Cameron Thomson	Robert W. Woodruff
Andrew W. Robertson	Juan T. Trippe	

On a motion of Mr. Benton, seconded by Mr. Annenberg, eight new Trustees were nominated as follows:

Joseph L. Block President Inland Steel Company Chicago, Illinois	John L. McCaffrey President International Harvester Company Chicago, Illinois
Justin W. Dart President Rexall Drug Company Los Angeles, California	Theodore S. Petersen President Standard Oil Co. of California San Francisco, California
Theodore V. Houser Chairman Sears, Roebuck & Company Chicago, Illinois	Joseph P. Spang, Jr. President Gillette Company Boston, Massachusetts
W. Alton Jones Chairman Cities Service Company New York, N. Y.	Jesse W. Tapp Chairman Bank of America Los Angeles, California

After some discussion, they were elected subject to their acceptance.

On a motion of Mr. Annenberg, the officers were unanimously re-elected for one year or until their successors are elected and qualify:

Chairman	Thomas B. McCabe
Vice Chairmen	Donald K. David Oveta Culp Hobby Philip D. Reed
President	Edwin T. Gibson
Treasurer	S. Sloan Colt
Secretary and Executive Director	J. Hampton Barnes

The financial statement for 1955, copy of which is attached to these minutes, was read and studied by the Trustees. On a motion by Mr. Holland, this statement was approved. Mr. Suhrke of the Fellowships staff read the report of the Finance Committee which was subsequently approved by the Trustees. Mr. Reed, Chairman of the Finance Committee, reported on our progress with the Ford Foundation. He stated that he had been in touch with Mr. James Brownlee and Mr. Shepard Stone of the Foundation and that the latter had suggested a presentation be made on behalf of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships.

It was the sense of the meeting that the request for funds made to the Ford Foundation be in the amount of $1,000,000 to cover a five-year period of operations and efforts made to match this amount with contributions from other foundations and contributors, both corporate and individual. Mr. Reed pointed out that the Ford Foundation officials were of the opinion that, in order to be useful, the Eisenhower Fellowships should amplify its program to the extent of bringing at least 25 men to this country per annum.

Mr. Gibson spoke on the subject of future financing and suggested that some attention be given to the idea of inviting individual memberships in the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships. Mr. Benton pointed out that it might be useful to send such membership invitations to those individuals comprising the Citizens for Eisenhower in 1952. Mr. Roosevelt noted that this list, consisting of some 40,000 names, should be approached with a certain amount of discretion in the light of the present political situation in the GOP.

Mr. Barnes reported on the recent seminar for the Eisenhower Fellows held at Princeton, New Jersey, February 5 - 13, 1956.

With the authority of Mr. S. C. Allyn, Chairman of the Selection Committee, who, while not able to attend the meeting, was present prior to the call to order, the Executive Director was authorized to request recommendations and advice from the Trustees concerning countries from which Fellows would be drawn for the 1957 group. The question of Messrs. Gibson or Barnes travelling abroad during 1956 in the interest of selecting new Fellows was discussed at some length. Mr. Barnes declared that such a trip as taken during 1955 would be in conflict with the program planning for the 1956 Fellows which takes place with some intensity during the first seven months of the calendar year. Mr. Reed asked whether this conflict was likely to exist in future years as well. It was Mr. Reed's feeling that these trips were all important since it was the only way that top notch Fellows could be insured over a period of time. This matter was left unsolved.

The so-called "alumni news letter," a copy of which was in each Trustee's folder was read and commented on with interest. It was suggested by Mr. Sharples that the letter be sent to all Trustees and donors. Mr. Suhrke indicated that this would be done.

The Trustees approved the selection of the 1956 Fellows as approved by the Selection Committee. List of such Fellows and their countries is hereto attached and made part of the minutes.

Upon a motion by Mr. Sharples, which was seconded by Mr. Roosevelt, the following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, that any two of the following:

Chairman, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer,

or any one of the above with one of the following:

President, Secretary,

be and they hereby are authorized in the name and on behalf of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., to sell, assign, transfer and deliver or to cause to be registered in the name of any nominee or nominees of Bankers Trust Company, New York, N. Y. which is a depositary of the securities of the corporation any corporate stocks, bonds or other securities which may now or at any time hereafter stand in the name of or belong to the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc. and to execute any and all assignments or releases therefor.

Mr. Annenberg suggested just prior to his departure that the next Trustees meeting be held in Philadelphia since a number of Trustees who reside there often find it difficult to attend meetings in New York.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

J. Hampton Barnes
Secretary

EDWIN T. GIBSON, PRESIDENT
J. HAMPTON BARNES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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National Cash Register Company, Dayton, O.
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CLIFFORD ROBERTS, *Partner*
Reynolds & Co., New York City
ANDREW W. ROBERTSON, *Chairman of Finance*
Committee, Westinghouse Electric, Pittsburgh
JOHN A. ROOSEVELT, *Industrialist, New York City*
CHARLES SAWYER, *former Secretary of Commerce*
Cincinnati
PHILIP T. SHARPLES, *The Sharples Corp.*
Philadelphia
COURTNEY C. SMITH, *President, Swarthmore College*
Swarthmore, Pa.
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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

March 19, 1956

Dear Trustee:

Attached herewith are some excerpts from letters of John Bird, one of our U. S. Eisenhower Fellows now travelling and working in the Middle East. Mr. Bird is an associate editor of "The Saturday Evening Post."

We thought you might find these few notes pertinent in the light of the present tense situation in that area. As indicated, this material is confidential and is not to be reproduced or published.

Yours sincerely,

J. Hampton Barnes

J. Hampton Barnes
Executive Director

Enclosure

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NOT FOR REPRODUCTION OR PUBLICATION

Khartoum, Sudan
February 24, 1956

Egypt is becoming a police state of the standard kind. I'll have more to say about it after I get farther along the route.

Have had a fine, large, but strenuous time in Sudan. Spent the past few days up in the Gezira project, a fabulous land development plus a new kind of social system that falls between the welfare state and free enterprise; a compromise these folks are trying to work out to get efficient production and a rising standard of living with a population of farmers who only recently have been nomads. Went up the Blue Nile as far as Sennar Dam. Would like to have gone farther inland, but the southern provinces are closed, having some uprisings and what not.

This new country is in a ferment almost as unpredictable as the native durra beer - and at the moment there's some question about the ability of the loosely cemented coalition government to sit on the lid. A mutiny of troops in the South Sudan and the recent tenant riots near Kosti both resulted from rather minor blunders on the part of Sudanese officials, and nobody knows what might happen if a major blooper occurred.

Right now the country is in a state of transition on all fronts -- economic, political and social -- and needs officials who don't panic under pressure. The Sudanese, as well-trained and self-confident as they appear to be, are finding that keeping a level head when the going is rough isn't quite as easy as it looked when the British were making the decisions. With reasonably good luck in maintaining balance, the country has an excellent prospect of working its way up the ladder to a fairly high standard of living for this part of the world. At least, it doesn't have an entrenched rich class and it does have vast land resources, a fairly light population load, and a large potential water supply. The country also has the demonstration of some extremely successful land development projects, such as the Gezira where the average tenant has 40 acres of high-class land and a standard of living three or four times as high as the Egyptian fellahin. So they know it can be done -- or at least was done under English tutelage and they believe the pattern can be repeated and improved.

But the problems of transition seem overwhelming at times and many mistakes have been made because of over-eagerness, struggles for personal and political power in which the major aims are subordinated to minor gains, and sheer naivete. Helping to complicate the situation have been the pressures from the outside, notably from Egypt, the English, and now the Communists who are stepping up their efforts as they see the opportunity. Internally there is the old struggle between the SAR and the SAM - Sayid Sir Abdel Rahman El Mahdi and Sayid Sir Ali Mirghani, rival Islamic leaders who change sides with the grace and frequency of a couple dancing the minuette. There also are half-a-dozen splinter political parties sparring for power.

Even the eagerness to oust the British, but to do it decently, has boomeranged. As one cabinet minister told me, "We wanted to get rid of the political British but to keep the technical British." However, in order to "Sudanize" as rapidly as possible, the government offered such attractive severance pay, across the board, that the majority of English civil servants jumped at the opportunity to get out of this torrid

climate with a big nest egg. Some technicians who had been here only three or four years drew as much as £7,000 to £9,000 farewell pay. Sudanese were put in their places wherever possible and some of them are excellent men. An outstanding one is Mekki Abbas, director general of the Gezira Cotton Board, an ex-school teacher, journalist and administrator who could run a large U. S. corporation without getting ulcers. However, there weren't enough trained men to go around, particularly in the technical jobs, and now German and Dutch engineers, U. S. mechanics, Scots field supervisors and the like are arriving daily to take over for awhile. In fact, some of the English technicians have been rehired.

The main peeve of the Sudanese these days seems to be the Egyptians. I doubt if one would hear any more anti-Gyppo talk around Tel Aviv than can be picked up in the Grand Hotel bar or most any government office. It seems that the Egyptians had a good hand but overplayed it badly. The Egyptians were confident that Sudan would opt for union with them, so sure that they took a patronizing attitude and neglected to get right with Sudan on the Nile waters question. True, the Egyptians did send a number of agents with bribe money, some of which got through to the Sudanese. Also, they believed the glowing reports sent back by the agents. The English saw that the situation was moving from under them, and so pressed hard for an early declaration of independence, while they still had some influence. Perhaps, on total, the Egyptian talk about the High Dam, as though the Nile was theirs alone, was the most decisive factor. Egypt was completely surprised at the result.

Events since independence haven't brought the two countries any closer. The Egyptians constantly underrate the Sudanese and deal with them as inferiors, while the Sudanese know they are better than their downstream relatives. I haven't been in one gathering where the talk didn't swing around, sooner or later, to the inherent knavery of the Egyptians, their police-state methods, their spying on Sudanese communications - including censoring any Sudanese mail that goes out via Egypt.

Strangely enough, the one outfit that claims to be pro-Egyptian here is a communist organization with the ringing name of Anti-Imperialist Front. This crew, headed by Hassan Tahir Zaroug issues regular manifestoes to the effect that Sudan is behind Egypt 100% in its struggle against Israel, that tool of the imperialistic United States. These statements are played up in the Egyptian papers but seldom get a line in Khartoum.

As I get it, the Communist Party in Sudan has been somewhat on the theoretical side in the past, but now some hard-core boys are moving in with the new diplomatic missions being sent by the Czechs, Hungarians and East Germans. At last count there were more than 60 Iron Curtain people here in 15 different missions. Part of their technical assistance, I'm told, is putting some fire and discipline into the local CP. Two of their targets are the Gezira Tenants Union and the Railway Workers Union. Between them, these two organizations are the heart of Sudan's economy, and if the Commies can infiltrate them and get them to working together, they would have a strangle hold on the country.

The U. S. folks here have tended to laugh off the Commies, saying that the Sudanese just aren't built that way - and they probably aren't. But recently the new government has played into the Commie hands due to sheer blunder. There's a tendency to play the effendi without knowing how to handle the workers in a crisis. I happened to be up at Wad Medani and Sennar Dam, not far from Kosti, at the time the trouble

broke out there, and I got some local versions of it that didn't appear in the official reports until several days later - and then in quite colored form. Apparently the tenant farmers on one of the big cotton "schemes" near Juda were unhappy with the way their cotton was being sold, and they were negotiating with the owners through the Federation of White Nile Tenants. The tenants finally decided to strike; that is, to stop delivery of their cotton to the gins. Strikes aren't unusual in this country and as a rule are carried out with a rather polite formula under which the strike is called for a specified number of days, after which work is started, whether the issue is settled or not. However, in this case the police were sent in and arrested 150 tenants, who were tried in a special court and given tough sentences. Other tenants then demonstrated against the Nazir who had tried the cases, and the police fired on them. In the ruckus anywhere from 15 to 150 tenants were killed, the number depending on who tells the story. After this riot, some 600 tenants were chased down and put in jail. One batch of 281 of them was shoved into a new army barracks with the windows boarded up. Despite the prisoners' screams for air and water, the guard kept the doors barred all night and in the morning there was a pile of farmers dead from thirst and suffocation - 189 of them, while 5 more died later.

The U. S. political officer doubts that the strike was Commie-inspired because it was a fairly normal one, up to the point where the police fired, and also because the folks in that area are 100% sewed up by the Mahdi, who is anti-communist. But the Reds are making much hay over the deal, and there is a fair chance the government may fall as a result of stupid handling of the whole situation.

The big long-range problem, no matter what the government may be, is the division of the Nile waters, and the U. S. has stepped all over the toes of the Sudanese and other upstream countries in the recent negotiations with Egypt on the High Dam.

The whole thing is a very complex issue. However, the main point now is that Egypt has gone ahead with her plans just as though she owned the whole Nile, and never even offered to consult with Sudan when making the High Dam deal with the U.S., England, and the International Bank. Premier Ashari and others were badly miffed because Black turned down their invitation to visit them, or even to make an appointment with them in Cairo. They took this to mean that the U.S. was ready to back Egypt without regard to a Nile waters agreement - which probably isn't the case. I'm fairly sure that one of the conditions of the grant and loan must be such an agreement; if not, it's a mighty loose document. Anyway, one irrigation official told me, "It appears that we'll have to threaten to go Communistic before your country will pay any attention to us."

Maybe they now have our number.

The main points the Sudanese make on the water question are:

1. They simply won't permit Egypt to go ahead with the dam without a suitable agreement to divide the water - and as they are upstream they should be able to make enough trouble to stop the dam.

2. The Nile should be developed as a <u>total</u> unit for the most effective use of the water and land. But if Egypt doesn't want to play ball, the Sudanese are willing to take their fair share and develop it on their own - a job that would take several generations.

3. Aswan is the worst place in the world for a "century storage dam," because it's in a dusty-dry climate, the location spreads out the water over a big surface area. Result: about 10 to 12 billion cubic meters of evaporation a year out of the mean flow of 84 billions. Thus, if Egypt wants the dam there, Egypt must take the evaporation loss, not "divide" it with Sudan.

4. The High Dam will flood Wadi Halfa, even in its early stages, knocking out some good land and forcing evacuation of about 50,000 to 75,000 people. Sudan doesn't like this being done in an offhand way without any agreement about damages and money in hand to resettle the "refugees." So far there has been no definite offer on this score - just an assurance that Egypt will do the right thing.

5. Egypt must reach a definite agreement with Sudan - and the only offer yet made was for 16 billion cubic meters, with Sudan taking half of the evaporation loss at Aswan. This would mean a total of 11 billion cubic meters for Sudan, including 4 billion now used, and 63 billions for Egypt, including the 48 billion now used, minus 5 billion evaporation.

Sudan says that on the basis of population and land, they should have 28 billion, but might settle for 25, or even 23.

Incidentally, they are deeply frustrated by the way the world press, especially that of the U.S., assumes that Egypt's is the only case. I tried to explain to their information director that it might help if they would get out some information and present their side of the story, but he obviously is a bureaucrat who is worried more about passport forms and proper internal protocol than in getting the word around.

What if Egypt goes ahead? First, say some of the Sudanese, they would appeal to the UN for an injunction. Second, they would quit observing the 1929 pact, to which they claim they weren't a party, anyway, and would start taking all the water they need to develop their land - and they have at least 5½ million acres of flat, rich soil that could be brought into production. It's a situation that could become rather touchy.

I'm just starting to dig into the South Sudan flare-up, which reflects a basic split in the country. The Southern Sudanese are an entirely different cup of tea than the Northern Moslems. I gather thus far that the Southern population of about 2½ million in the Upper Nile, Barh El Gazel and Equatoria didn't want the British to go and now find the North Sudanese tougher to deal with than they feared. These boys are the Dinkas, Shilluks, Nuer and Bari who can still remember the days when the Arabs raided them for slaves. They are sore about everything, it seems, particularly about the decree that Arabic is to be the official language, and that they get not self-government but governors-general and district commissioners. They are bucking for an autonomous state within the Sudan. I've talked with a few of the N. Sudanese officials who were run out during the mutiny of the native troops not long ago; these were the lucky ones, as a number of others were killed. Apparently it was more of a revolt than a mutiny - or rather, would have become a widespread revolt had the governor general not scrammed, at the same time turning back the northern troops that were being flown in. The area has quieted down now, I understand, but there will be continued pressure for a split off.

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.
149 East 78th Street, New York City 21

February 3, 1956

Dear Fellow:

We thought that many of you would like to have word of what is going on in the lives of former Eisenhower Exchange Fellows. These notes have been taken from letters that have come in from a number of Fellows who have written us from their homes during the past six months. It is our idea to send you such a news letter from time to time as similar information comes in to us. It is also our hope that this letter will encourage you to drop us a line occasionally giving news of you and your family.

We feel that the Eisenhower Fellows were such warm friends of ours and of each other during their stay in the United States that we want to continue that friendship through the medium of these Fellowship notes.

We also enclose a list of the 1956 Fellows so that you may see who your successors are.

Frederick Arkhurst - Gold Coast

August 30, 1955: "I have received notification from the Gold Coast Government that I have been selected for training for the future Gold Coast External Affairs Service. It has therefore become necessary for me to leave by air for London where I shall be attached to the British Foreign Office for six weeks while attending a course for Commonwealth diplomatic cadets. Thereafter I shall proceed to Rome where I will be attached to the British Embassy for another six months before I finally return to the Gold Coast." Mr. Arkhurst is now in Rome.

Muhammad Ayub - Pakistan

October 3, 1955: "You will be pleased to know that I have been appointed as a full-time Director of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation. This is a Government-financed institution which was set up January 1952 to assist in the promotion of industries which private enterprise was unable, or unwilling, to develop on its own. During these three years, the P.I.D.C. has played a very prominent part in the industrial development of Pakistan. Its total investments have been estimated at over 600 million rupees (approximately 150 million dollars), of which about one-third is private capital and the balance consists of Government investments, foreign aid and international bank loans.

"The post of Director ranks in status and pay with that of a Secretary to the Government of Pakistan. The Chairman of the Board is a former Secretary of the Ministry of Industries, while the other Directors are three of Pakistan's leading businessmen and industrialists. But, apart from the increase in pay and responsibility, this appointment gives me an opportunity of applying some of the lessons which I learnt during my ten months' stay in the United States under the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship."

Gabriel Baldovinos de la Pena - Mexico

October 6, 1955: "I have resumed my duties at the Technical Department at the Corn Commission and tonight the Eisenhower Fellowships Selection Committee will give a little dinner on account of my return.

"I have not had time to appraise the agricultural situation of Mexico yet. The evidences indicate that my training will be put into good use for the betterment of our agriculture."

Felix Sin Yah Chang - Formosa

November 23, 1955: "My wife and I arrived safely in Taiwan and I resumed my work the very next day. I have been kept busy from morning till night, with lots of social functions after business hours. In addition to regular office work, I have to learn the changes in foreign exchange regulations that happened during my absence. The International Monetary Fund sent a mission here for annual consultation and I was one of the delegates, which took me away from my desk for almost two weeks. Then came the fellow bankers from the States. All in all, I had a really rough and tumble time.

"During this extremely busy period, I still managed to speak at both the Taipei and Chilung Rotary Clubs, and I have made four other speeches. I am organizing an informal research group among the staff of my Foreign Department to encourage them to learn the various new phases of banking that I learned from the States. My thinking is to spread whatever I have learned to those who did not have the opportunity. USIS here asked me for an interview and made two recordings, one in English and the other in Chinese, which were both broadcasted here in the Voice of America."

Suleyman Demirel - Turkey

September 27, 1955: "I thought you would be pleased to hear that I have been promoted to the post of Acting Director General of State Hydraulic Works Department. This is the parent organization of Dams Division which I have been heading. I have been assigned to give a new shape and spirit to this organization. State Hydraulic Works Department is engaged in the development of natural resources, namely, water, power and land.

"I am sure that my study in the United States on the subject of the management of natural resource development will be most helpful to me. I have the determination to be successful and I will do my best. I have immensely enjoyed the study and I am confident that this study will be very helpful to me and to my country which is a strong member of the free world."

Enrique Edwards Orrego - Chile

October 20, 1955: "I had a very pleasant trip home with a stop over for a week in Lima, and went right to work. During the last few weeks some changes have taken place in my office and as a result of them I am now in charge of the operations. A decisive consideration for this promotion has been the experiences collected in the United States as an Eisenhower Fellow."

November 3, 1955: "I have been nominated Manager of our Metallurgical Manufacturers Association. Enclosed you will find the information concerning this designation which appeared in the Chilean newspapers, and also the interview about the general impressions from the United States received as an Eisenhower Fellow. The problem is that after one year abroad a tremendous amount of work gives me little time for lectures and interviews describing the United States. However a full schedule is already now going on and permanently I am talking about the things I saw in the States (and which so much enthusiasm developed in me) trying to promote a better understanding of this country in Chile."

Jose Pedreira de Freitas - Brazil

December 19, 1955: "Formal lectures, speeches, interviews and final examinations at our Escoba Politecnica have required my close attention after my return from your extraordinary country.

"As I told you while still in New York, the Governor of our State (Bahia) invited me to be his Director of the State Department of Commerce and Industries. Upon my return, I discussed very thoroughly with him his kind invitation and we agreed that it would be very much more fruitful to our State - due to my experiences as an Eisenhower Fellow - to be the General (Executive) Secretary of the new ambitious program of his government named "Commissao de Planejamento Economico" (C.P.E.). This program is indeed a magnificent effort to start something new in our State, a general planning for our whole economy, responsible for directing the government and, to a certain extent, private investment in the next five years. It will deal with all our basic and vital projects - such as transportation and communications, agriculture, rural electrification and irrigation, immigration and colonisation, etc., and - which makes it different from similar programs in the Country - a special emphasis will be given to the private management of the future projects leaving to direct State administration only the basic enterprises which by their own nature cannot attract the private interest. We are working very hard on some special projects which may give some 'momentum' to the entire program and I am very likely to see you again very soon.

"I am planning a special brochure in English about the possibilities for foreign investments in our area and as soon as I have it ready I shall be very pleased to forward it to you."

Yonosuke Goto - Japan

October 23, 1955: "After the return home, I contributed several articles to Japanese influential newspapers, in order to propagate correct understanding of American economic strength. I broadcast my opinion on the radio too....I am now polishing up the draft of my new book on the U. S. economy." Mr. Goto enclosed numerous newspaper clippings.

October 28, 1955: "I am now making efforts to correct misunderstanding of American economic strength by Japanese. There arises opinion that it was wrong to see American economy with Russians' eyes...."

November 22, 1955: "Recently, invited by business associations of Osaka, second largest city of Japan, I delivered several speeches on economic strength of American economy. At the same time, Prof. W. S. Woytinsky of John Hopkins University and Dr. W. L. Thorp, formerly Under Secretary of State Department, visited there and gave lectures on the same problems.... The Mainichi (one of the nation-wide leading newspapers) review of these lectures is of some interest, for it comparatively introduces different opinions on the cyclical movements of American economy, Mr. Ogura, member of the Board of Directors of World Economic Institute, on the pessimistic side, and Prof. Woytinsky and myself on the optimistic.... Since my return here I have kept busy, not a week having passed without some lectures or speeches relating, in some way or other, to my study in the United States."

Vittorio Lucarelli - Italy

January 3, 1956: "My home journey has been a very pleasant one. Now I am enjoying the warmth of my family and the fine weather of Campobasso, my home town. Unfortunately this will not last very long because on January 10 I shall go to Rome and define with Mr. Ogg, the Agricultural Attache, the conditions for my eventual employment by the American Embassy. On this occasion I will get in touch with Mrs. Luce's secretary in order to know when I can be received by Her Excellency."

David Moushine - Israel

January 15, 1956: "We had a very pleasant trip, never missed a train and never lost any of the twenty-odd pieces of luggage we dragged across from one continent through a second and onto a third.

"I visited the Prime Minister's Office to present myself and had a very pleasant reception, and as far as they were concerned I could have sat down and started work there and then....Within the next week I will have to decide with them what I will be doing....There are several quite interesting suggestions."

John S. Pesmazoglu - Greece

March 17, 1955: "Our return trip has been pleasant and we safely arrived in Athens where our children and families were all well. I was quite busy during our first days in trying to become informed of the developments since my departure. I shall now assume full responsibilities in my capacity as an advisor to the Bank of Greece and I shall accordingly resign from my position as Director General of the Ministry of Coordination. I believe that my acquaintance with banking practices in the United States will be particularly valuable in my work with our central Bank.

"I had long conversations with the American Ambassador in Athens and with other officials of your Embassy and your Economic Mission. I tried to convey to all of them the significance of the Eisenhower Fellowships."

May 21, 1955: "It was a very great pleasure for us to be able to greet and welcome in Athens Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Francis and, later on, Mr. and Mrs. Barnes who stayed for a couple of days in Greece on their way from Turkey to Egypt. In addition to the exceptional pleasure, these visits gave us the feeling that we are still not too far away from the United States and that we might be seeing our good American friends."

Chalong Pungtrakul - Thailand

September 28, 1955: "My wife and I reached Bangkok safely. We spent a few days in Honolulu and Tokyo on the way and enjoyed both places very much.

"As soon as I got back to Bangkok, I had to untangle much unfinished business in my office. At the same time, I was told to make preparations for the Colombo Plan meeting in Singapore which I was to attend. I am now in Singapore participating in the meeting which will last about one month."

Akhoury Sitanath - India

August 21, 1955: "Urmila and I arrived after an exceedingly pleasant and comfortable journey. We had a very interesting time on board ship and enjoyed the week we spent in London renewing old contacts and associations. I am still on leave, spending the time with my father and family, and expect to resume work with the Railway shortly. You will be happy to know that my father, who had been extremely unwell for a couple of months while I was away, has now completely recovered. The children are also very well.

"My address from now on should be: District Mechanical Engineer, North Eastern Railway, Alipur Duar, West Bengal, India."

Sincerely yours,

J. Hampton Barnes
Executive Director

COPY

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

March 14, 1956
Jerusalem

Mr. E. Gibson, President
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
149 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Gibson:

On behalf of the Prime Minister, I wish to express to you the gratitude of the Government of Israel for making possible an Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship to Mr. David Moushine, a citizen of Israel.

Mr. Moushine, an engineer by profession and formerly associated with the Prime Minister's Office as Director of the Technical Assistance Department, was a little over a year ago selected by the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship Committee as the first Israel Fellow. Mr. Moushine took a special interest in problems of productivity, and now on his return to Israel has been appointed Director of the Israel Institute of Productivity.

Upon his return, Mr. Moushine reported to us about his studies. We would like to express our appreciation to you, to Mr. Barnes and to the officials of your organization for the help and courtesies extended to him during this year. We are all confident that his experience in the United States will have a direct and valuable influence on his work in this new assignment. We are grateful that Mr. Moushine was granted an opportunity by the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship to learn first-hand about problems of productivity in the United States; this knowledge will now be of the greatest value to him and to the economy of Israel.

Will you kindly convey the appreciation of the Government of Israel to the President of the United States, Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, and to the Trustees of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Theodore Kollek

Theodore Kollek
Director General

TK/eo

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INCORPORATED

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

* * * * *

DECEMBER 31, 1955

R. G. RANKIN & CO.

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

56 PINE STREET

NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

March 8, 1956

To the Board of Trustees

Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Incorporated

We have examined the accompanying financial statements of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Incorporated. Our examination included tests of the accounting records and supporting documents as outlined generally below.

The cash on deposit was reconciled with a confirmation received from Bankers Trust Company, and the marketable securities were confirmed to us by the custodian. Contributions to the fund as recorded in the accounts were checked to correspondence either from the contributor or from the industry chairmen, and these, together with other receipts, were traced to deposits in the bank. Invoices and other data were examined in support of the expenditures.

In our opinion, the accompanying statements present fairly the position of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Incorporated at December 31, 1955 resulting from cash transactions and the receipts and expenditures for the period from October 9, 1953 to December 31, 1955.

R G Rankin & Co.

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INCORPORATED

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION

DECEMBER 31, 1955

Assets

Cash on deposit	$173,840.20
Marketable securities (market value $47,087.37)	29,105.91
Air-line deposit	425.00
Total	$203,371.11

Liabilities

Federal taxes withheld	$ 674.55
Fund balance	202,696.56
Total	$203,371.11

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INCORPORATED

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

	October 9, 1953 to December 31, 1955	January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955
Receipts:		
Contributions	$537,578.51	$212,206.00
Profit on sale of securities	36.90	-
Dividends received	1,752.40	1,078.40
Discount earned on bankers' acceptances	624.41	624.41
Total	$539,992.22	$213,908.81
Expenditures:-		
Fellowship program:		
Maintenance of fellows	$117,882.67	$ 73,161.67
Travel	65,404.53	39,859.76
Insurance	5,202.11	2,067.11
Books and materials	5,368.58	2,368.58
Tuition	4,069.50	4,069.50
Miscellaneous	270.00	-
	$198,197.39	$121,526.62
Administrative:		
Salaries, including social security taxes	$ 83,733.76	$ 50,275.74
Travel	18,330.47	9,154.32
Executive director - special travel allowance	4,595.36	4,595.36
Rent	8,360.00	6,000.00
Printing, mimeographing and mailing	4,423.77	2,971.37
Office supplies and maintenance	3,491.33	3,201.87
Telephone, telegraph and cables	2,644.23	1,608.07
Office furniture and equipment	3,315.63	2,583.63
Insurance	653.75	653.75
Entertainment	771.55	771.55
Organization	3,841.19	-
Miscellaneous	4,937.23	1,608.40
	$139,098.27	$ 83,424.06
Total	$337,295.66	$204,950.68
Excess of receipts over expenditures	$202,696.56	$ 8,958.13

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

Fund Raising Activities in 1955

The total of contributions to the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships for the calendar year 1955 stands at $212,206. This amount was received from 369 contributors. 273 of these renewed previous contributions, while 96 gave for the first time. The "New" givers contributed in the amount of $48,900, or 23.5% of the total.

This compares with $255,000 received in the calendar year, 1954. However, the 1954 figure includes an "un-renewable" gift in the amount of $25,000 from the Inaugural Funds for the President and Vice-President. Also the appointment of Mr. Philip D. Reed as Finance Chairman was not made until well into the year, and our full-time staff was added to the organization only in August.

Listed below are receipts for 1955:

January	$ 3,850.
February	5,000.
March	6,175.
April	12,325.
May	1,600.
June	40,418.
July	21,475.
August	17,100.
September	17,975.
October	24,325.
November	20,275.
December	41,688.
	$ 212,206.

We are all very grateful for the invaluable assistance given our fund-raising efforts in 1955 by the work of ten industry chairmen. Their names and the industries they represent are shown below:

Name	Company	Industry
Mr. Wm. R. Baker, Jr.	Benton & Bowles, Inc.	Advertising
Mr. Juan T. Trippe	Pan American World Airways	Airlines & Aircraft
Mr. Kenneth Spencer	Spencer Chemical Company	Chemicals
Mr. Lewis B. Williams	Nat. City Bank of Cleveland	Banks, Mid-West
Mr. Charles B. Harding	Smith, Barney & Co.	Investment Bankers
Mr. Frederic W. Ecker	Metropolitan Life Ins. Co.	Life Insurance
Mr. Charles Mortimer	General Foods Corporation	Food
Mr. Herman Steinkraus	Bridgeport Brass Corp.	Non-ferrous Metals
Mr. W. Alton Jones	Cities Service Corp.	Petroleum
Mr. John S. Knight	Chicago Daily News	Publishers

For the year 1956 we plan to obtain renewals from as many previous contributors as possible and also to bring in a substantial number of new contributors. The following men have already agreed to serve as Industry Chairmen for 1956:

Name	Company	Industry
S. Sloan Colt	Bankers Trust Company	Eastern Banks
John A. Diemand	Ins. Co. of North America	Fire & Cas. Ins.
L.A. Petersen	Otis Elevator Company	Electrical
Reuben Robertson, Sr.	Champion Paper & Fibre Co.	Paper & Pulp
Philip Sporn	American Gas & Electric Co.	Public Utilities
Robert Heller	Robt. Heller & Associates, Inc.	Consult. Engineers
Philip Sharples	Sharples & Company	Machinery
Alfred E. Driscoll	Warner-Hudnut Company	Pharmaceuticals
Stanley Marcus	Neiman-Marcus Company	Retail Trade

Rather than speak in terms of minimum or maximum, we will this year make a special effort to raise funds sufficient to provide a substantial backlog. We plan also to solicit individuals and foundations as well as to explore the possibility of obtaining endowment funds.

I cannot close this report without recording my deep appreciation for the splendid cooperation of Mr. Reed, Mr. McCabe, and all of the other Trustees whose aid we have enlisted in strengthening the financial structure of the Eisenhower Fellowships.

Henry C. Suhrke
Assistant Director

EDWIN T. GIBSON, PRESIDENT
J. HAMPTON BARNES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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Chicago
ALLAN B. KLINE, *President*
American Farm Bureau, Chicago
FRED LAZARUS, JR., *President*
Federated Department Stores, Inc., Cincinnati
GEORGE H. LOVE, *Chairman*
M. A. Hanna Co., Cleveland, Ohio
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Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
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Committee, Westinghouse Electric, Pittsburgh
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Cincinnati
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Philadelphia
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Swarthmore, Pa.
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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

January 23, 1956

To: All Trustees

Thomas B. McCabe, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, in accordance with the By-laws, is calling the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., for Wednesday, February 15, 1956.

The meeting will take place at the Cornell Club, at the Barclay Hotel, 48th Street and Lexington Avenue, New York City.

The meeting will begin with a luncheon at 1:00 P.M. at which all the foreign Fellows will be present. Immediately following the luncheon, the formal meeting will take place.

Would you please address your reply to me at the above address.

Yours sincerely,

J. Hampton Barnes

J. Hampton Barnes
Executive Director

no

EDWIN T. GIBSON, PRESIDENT
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149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

December 7, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We will have eight or nine of our new Fellows in New York City this month and are planning to have an informal open house on the afternoon of Wednesday, December 21st, from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m.

If you could drop in and see us, it would give you an opportunity to meet a number of Fellows in this year's group and to see our offices and meet the staff.

If you can do this, I would appreciate hearing from you, as there are some preparations we need to make.

Very sincerely,

Edwin T. Gibson
President

Eisenhower Exchange

November 10, 1956

Dear Mr. Suhrke:

Enclosed herewith is the suggested letter and the CBS Affiliates list which I have marked.

Sincerely yours,

Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Henry C. Suhrke
Assistant Director
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
149 East 78 Street
New York City

Eisenhower Exchange

November 9, 1955

Dear Mr. Barnes:

Mr. Murrow asked me to tell you that he would very much like to meet with Mr. David Moushine. Will November 29th at 3:00 pm be convenient for Mr. Moushine?

Sincerely yours,

Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. J. Hampton Barnes
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
149 East 78 Street
New York 21, New York

Cancelled

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149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

October 4, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Our Eisenhower Fellow from Israel, David Moushine, has expressed a wish to meet you before he leaves for his home in the latter part of November.

He is available for any appointment you might wish to set up between the dates of October 17-21, November 1-8, and November 16-30. If you would drop me a line saying what day would be suitable for you, I will confirm it by return mail. Nov. 29th

In order that you may have a general idea of who and what Mr. Moushine is in his own country, I enclose a resumé of his background.

With warmest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

J. Hampton Barnes

J. Hampton Barnes

JHB:AVA
Enclosure

yes

David Moushine, Eisenhower Exchange Fellow from Israel

Married
Age: 38 years.

Education:

B. Sc., Engineering at London University.
Associate Member of the British Institute of Mechanical Engineers.

Present Position:

Manager of Israel Branch, Construction Aggregates Corporation of Chicago, engaged upon several development projects, including the drainage of the Hula swamps, the construction of evaporation pans at the Potash Works at the Dead Sea, and the planning and survey of highways.

Training and Experience:

After receiving his engineering degree in 1940, he joined the firm of J.E. Arnfield Works at Manchester, England, where he worked as production engineer and subsequently production manager till his return to his home country. With the establishment of the State of Israel, he worked in similar capacity at the Israel defense armaments, subsequently transferred to the office of the Prime Minister as Private Secretary to the Prime Minister and Minister of Defense; Secretary of the Israel Scientific Research Council and Director of the Division for Technical Assistance, respectively. At this latter position, he was in charge of the introduction of Point Four and United Nations technical assistance in Israel, its planning, programming and supervision.

Was founder member of the Institute for Research into Production Efficiency and Chairman of its Time and Motion Study Committee.

Holder of a United Nations Fellowship in 1951 for the study of the Organization of Scientific Research and Technical Development in Britain and West European countries.

Served as Honorary Secretary of the Israel Foundations Trustees, administering the grants for Scientific, Economic, and Social research on behalf of the Ford Foundation and the Falk Foundation.

Fields of Interest:

Productivity and Management:

1.- The study of methods for measurement of comparative productivity of industries and of countries.

2.- The planning, organization, and execution of development work including the extraction of mineral resources, highways and dams.

3.- Financing of self liquidating projects and public utilities.

Eisenhower Exchange

November 2, 1955

Dear Mr. Barnes:

Enclosed herewith are the reports you sent to Mr. Murrow, for which he thanks you.

Sincerely yours,

Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. J. Hampton Barnes
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
149 East 78 Street
New York 21, New York

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September 22, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thanks so much for your enthusiastic response to the matter we discussed yesterday.

I am sending the enclosed reports from Eisenhower Fellows who have returned to their homes with the idea that you might be interested in some of the Fellows' comments.

Please do not bother to acknowledge this letter, though I would like to have the reports back when you have finished with them.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

J Hampton Barnes

J. Hampton Barnes

JHB:AVA

Enclosures 3

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September 14, 1955

Dear Fellow Trustee:

The conclusion of the terms of the first group of Fellows and the beginning of the terms of the 1955-56 group seems to me to be an appropriate time to give you a report on our Fellowships program. You will recall that in 1954-55 we awarded a Fellowship to each of the Following countries:

Brazil	Gold Coast	Israel	Mexico
Chile	Greece	Italy	Pakistan
Formosa	India	Japan	Thailand
			Turkey

and to three Americans for travel abroad. All of the foreign Fellows have returned to their own countries with the exception of Messrs. Lucarelli of Italy and Moushine of Israel, whose return will be sometime in December. The three American Fellows have completed their tours.

We are enthusiastic about the results and accomplishments of this first group of Fellows. They were without exception cordially and well received wherever they went. The President, cabinet officers, government officials, educational leaders, business executives and union officials all cooperated whenever called upon. We have had many letters expressing great interest in the visits of our Fellows. Many of you Trustees have unselfishly devoted time and effort to see that Eisenhower Fellows had the opportunities to meet interesting people and see the places they desired to see while they were in your area.

The reaction of the Fellows themselves has been very satisfactory. They tell us that they have gained a knowledge of the United States which they feel could never have been acquired in any other way. They profess to have an understanding of our principles, our economy, our brand of capitalism, and of our people which differs greatly from their previous conception and, in many instances, the conception generally prevalent in their countries.

The three American Fellows greatly increased their knowledge of foreign countries. The experiences of Theodore Repplier, President of The Advertising Council, who visited Asia, the Near East, and Europe, particularly with regard to the operations of the U. S. Information Service, have been personally reviewed by

the President, his report has been printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and we believe this will be of value to the U. S. Information Agency. Mr. Repplier is writing some articles based upon his experience which will appear in THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, THE SATURDAY REVIEW, and LOOK magazines. We will advise you of the dates so that you may have the opportunity to read these articles.

Plans are well on the way for the new group of Fellows who are expected about November first. These Fellows will come from:

Bolivia	Egypt	Germany	Pakistan
Brazil	Iran	Liberia	Spain
Colombia	India	Norway	Turkey

Messrs. Gibson and Barnes visited some of the countries in Europe, the Near East, and South America in the interest of assuring the selection of candidates of high standing and calibre. Both Mr. Gibson and Mr. Barnes met with enthusiastic reception and endorsement of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships program in the countries they visited. American businessmen and prominent nationals all recognized the value of personally planned visits to the U. S. by potential leaders who have already shown promise through high accomplishment in important fields of interest in their own countries.

There will again be three Americans selected to visit foreign countries. The selection committee is now working on the problem of their selection. We will advise you in due course of the names and backgrounds of all our new Fellows.

Mr. Philip D. Reed has accepted an appointment as Chairman of the Finance Committee for the current campaign. Messrs. Colt, David, Roberts, and Trippe have consented to serve with Mr. Reed. After study and advice from foundations and similar organizations, a permanent fund-raising department has been set up in the organization. Mr. Henry C. Suhrke, who gained his experience in the fund-raising department of the Committee for Economic Development, has been employed to head this department.

The additions to the organization brought about by the establishment of this new department have been accomplished without increasing the overhead. Mr. Gibson voluntarily and most generously recommended that his compensation be reduced from $25,000 to $6,000 a year to make funds available for this purpose. Your Executive Committee has been deeply impressed with the great competence and extraordinary devotion of Ed Gibson and Hampton Barnes in the Fellowships activities.

While our financial position is good and we have funds to meet all of our current commitments and expenses, it is necessary to raise additional funds to support the program for the new Fellows through the year 1956. Any help which you individually may be able to give to the Finance Committee will be greatly appreciated. I bespeak your cooperation with Mr. Reed, if and when he may call for it.

The interest and understanding of many people is of great help to us. Messrs. Barnes, Dechert, Price, Myers & Rhoads of Philadelphia have contributed and are contributing legal services without charge which are invaluable. Messrs. R. G. Rankin & Company, certified public accountants, are contributing their services and conducting without charge to us a continuous audit of the corporation's books and records. We are greatly indebted to these fine firms for their assistance.

I have said nothing to you in my previous reports about the tragic loss of one of our Trustees, Ward Wheelock. We have all hoped against hope that some trace of his yacht and some word of the fate of all aboard would be found. The last word from Ward was January 14th when his yacht left Bermuda for Antigua and there has been no trace of the party since that date. Ward was one of the founders of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships. He devoted much time to its affairs and problems in its early days. We miss and will continue to miss his aid and counsel.

I am happy to report to you that the organization is functioning well and satisfactorily. If any of you are in New York, I think you would find it worthwhile to visit the offices and meet the staff. I am sure that, when the opportunity arises, you will profit much if you can meet our Fellows. We have had meetings of groups of the Fellows in Washington and New York at which a number of our Trustees were able to be present. From their comments to me, I know that they both enjoyed the meetings and felt that they profited by them.

Knowing that you will be interested, I am attaching some excerpts from letters we have received about Eisenhower Fellows and also from the final reports which the Fellows have made as they finished their term.

Very sincerely,

Tom

Thomas B. McCabe
Chairman

EXCERPTS FROM SOME OF THE LETTERS RECEIVED FROM THOSE WHOM OUR FOREIGN FELLOWS SAW

3/10/55 letter from A. F. Armstrong, Assistant Director of Industrial Relations, Scott Paper Company, Chester, Pa.

"All of us who met and taked with Mr. Ayub were most impressed by his extensive knowledge of the paper industry and enjoyed hearing about new industrial developments in Pakistan. He should benefit a great deal from his year in the U. S. under the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships program."

7/16/55 letter from John L. Collyer, Chairman of the Board, The B. F. Goodrich Company, Akron, Ohio.

"Mr. Ayub was with us on Wednesday of this week and I believe that he had an interesting and useful visit. My associates who met him and I were very favorably impressed. I wish to thank you for affording us the opportunity of meeting him."

10/7/54 letter from Allan B. Kline, President of American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Ill.

"Just finished a fine visit with Dr. Baldovinos. He's a brilliant fellow and dedicated to progress in Mexico. Hope to be useful to him."

2/2/55 letter to Dr. Baldovinos from Leon Steele, Associate Director of Research, Funk Bros. Seed Co.

"We certainly did enjoy visiting with you when you were in our country and we are looking forward to another visit from you, or some other members of your group."

8/19/55 from Kenneth A. Kenyon, Assistant Secretary, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Washington, D. C.

"We were delighted to have Mr. Chang with us. The impression he made was such as to promote continued interest in the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships program."

1/19/55 letter from Geoffrey S. Smith, President of Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank, Philadelphia, Pa.

"We were only too glad to have Mr. Chang visit our bank. He is a very brilliant and delightful individual, and I believe we learned as much from him as he did from us."

1/19/55 letter from Alfred H. Williams, President of Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, Pa.

"We are pleased to learn that Felix Chang's stay in Philadelphia came up to his expectations. We allotted more time than usual to him because it was evident from the outset that he had the capacity to absorb tutelage."

9/1/55 letter from Frederic A. Potts, President, The Philadelphia National Bank, Pa.

"In the short time that Mr. Chang was in this country, I think he absorbed a great deal and has certainly returned to his native land with a fine understanding of banking practices here. If other recipients of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships do half as well as Mr. Chang in their reports, you should feel very pleased."

6/6/55 letter from R. H. Glover, Chairman of the Board, Anaconda Copper Mining Company, New York City.

"It was indeed a pleasure to extend some assistance to Mr. Enrique Edwards. He is a fine gentleman and I congratulate you upon having made such a fortunate choice of a recipient of the scholarship."

2/5/55 letter from Frank C. Baldwin, Dean of Men, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

"...Mr. Lucarelli felt his experience was worthwhile. Your committee chose wisely in asking him to come for we now feel much closer to Italy having had him with us those few weeks and we hope that he will have another opportunity to come up again before his year's fellowship is complete."

7/26/55 letter from Weldon B. Gibson, Director of Economics Research, Stanford Research Institute, Stanford, California.

"Mr. David Moushine spent yesterday with us here at Stanford...We enjoyed having him with us...We appreciate very much this opportunity to cooperate with the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships program and hope you will contact me whenever you feel we might be of additional assistance."

2/1/55 letter from William L. Kleitz, President of Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

"Mr. John Stephen Pesmazoglu called this morning and we had a very interesting conversation. He also met those officers who are handling our Greek business and stayed for luncheon. He has promised to see us again on his return from the West. Thank you for sending him to me."

12/20/54 letter from Charles B. Harding, Senior Partner of Smith, Barney & Co., New York City.

"Mr. Pesmazoglu stopped in to see me last week. He is an attractive and highly intelligent man, as you know. With the aid of Dr. Sheppard of New York University, we are arranging a schedule for him to cover as much as possible what he wants to learn while he is here."

8/12/55 letter from Ralph Bell of Public Utilities Commission of the State of California.

"It was a great pleasure to meet Mr. Chalong Pungtrakul, and I hope that his visit to San Francisco and to the California Public Utilities Commission are proving to be of benefit to him now that he has returned to Thailand...Mrs. Bell and I were particularly pleased that Mr. and Mrs. Pungtrakul could have dinner with us at home in Oakland. We found them to be charming...The Eisenhower Fellowships is to be congratulated upon its selection of Mr. Pungtrakul for study in the United States. If he is representative of those chosen by your organization for fellowships, it is indeed a program which stimulates the imagination by its magnificent concept and its possibilities for achievement."

6/30/55 letter from Ernest E. Veihl, Jr., Manager of Sales, Commonwealth Sales Corp., Granite City, Ill.

"We found Mr. Sitanath to be a very intelligent and interesting young man, and we are certain he found his visit with us to be very educational and worthwhile."

INTERESTING EXCERPTS FROM REPORTS OF SOME OF THE FOREIGN FELLOWS

(Final reports from all of the Fellows are not as yet in.)

Frederick S. Arkhurst - Gold Coast

"I was very impressed and heartened by the remarkable growth of interest in this country for Africa and its problems....The importance given to vocational education in America is, to my mind, something which could with advantage be emulated by many undeveloped countries....Another observable trait about America--the very healthy attitude toward work....Also remarkable was the real sense of responsibility shown by many business organizations to their employees and the community at large....The old-fashioned caricature of American business as an anti-social mastodon inexorably grinding profits out of a helpless labour force is now merely a laughable myth."

Note: It is interesting to learn that at the conclusion of his Fellowship term, Mr. Arkhurst has received an appointment which attaches him to the British Foreign Office for six weeks, after which he goes to Rome attached to the British Embassy for six months. This is all preliminary to his entering the new Foreign Service of the Gold Coast, probably in the United States. His Eisenhower Fellowship experience has enhanced his reputation and undoubtedly will increase his value to his own country in the foreign service field.

Muhammad Ayub - Pakistan

"The question may be asked has it been worthwile to spend eleven months in the United States? The answer is emphatically 'yes' as far as Mrs. Ayub and I are concerned. We have had the rare privilege of seeing from one end to the other the world's richest and most highly developed country. We have made many personal friends and added a good deal to our knowledge of men and things."

Note: Mr. Ayub was Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Finance. His immediate superior, the Finance Minister, Chaudry Mohammad Ali, has recently been made Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Felix Sing Yah Chang - Formosa

"I honestly feel that I have profited very much from this fellowship, and that this may well prove to be the most important year of my life."

Suleyman Demirel - Turkey

"Mrs. Demirel and I are pleased that we now know something more and understand better the country, the people and the American way of living....As Head of the Dams Division, I am responsible for planning, construction and administration of dams and related power facilities. As Adviser to the Director General of the Power Resources Surveying Department, I am concerned with the overall Planning, Financing, and the Developing of these Resources; as well as the Organization of the Power Industry as a whole....My study in the United States as an Eisenhower Fellow...therefore, is going to be very helpful to me in connection with policy matters as well as in routine matters."

Enrique Edwards - Chile

"Overall, I would like to mention the fact that this Fellowship has deeply influenced my personal attitude toward life. I realize that whatever activities I undertake in the future, the basic philosophy to which they will be attached shall be influenced by the experiences lived during one year in the United States as an Eisenhower Fellow."

Jose Pedreira de Freitas - Brazil

"This trip has given us a new hope for the future of our Country....Although we have been in this country before, only now we see the degree of distortion of our picture of the U. S. taken only in the big cities, without seeing how more deeply are its foundations in its small towns, villages and other rural settlements....We do not believe in any 'wonder drug' to heal all the ailments of any country, but we do believe that the experiences of one country can be utilized for the benefit of another nation...."

John Stephen Pesmazoglu - Greece

"Through the contacts arranged by the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, our stay in the United States made possible the accumulation of numerous experiences, leading to a deeper understanding of this country and of the American people.. ..I am sure that this has strengthened not only my knowledge of American viewpoints on these matters but also my ability to understand why certain American methods can be applied in foreign countries while others cannot....I do not think that the technical information and reflections, however valuable they might be, constitute the most important gain of our visit. The opportunity of becoming acquainted with Americans of various groups and professions, with their living habits and reactions has been most important and revealing."

Note: Mr. Pesmazoglu was recalled before he completed his Fellowship term to assume a more responsible position with the Bank of Greece. His friendship for America has been shown in some of his official actions since his return.

Chalong Pungtrakul - Thailand

"In all the institutions I visited during my training, I have been well received and given full co-operation, even though the officials of those institutions were heavily burdened with their own duties."

Akhoury Sitanath - India

"The opportunities provided by the Fellowship have been very great and I believe I have benefited enormously from both my study and my contacts in this country....I look upon my departure from this country after the completion of the present program not as a termination of my association with this Fellowship, but rather as the start of a relationship which I hope shall endure for many years to come."

Eisenhower Exchange

July 28, 1955

Dear Mr. Barnes:

Your letter of July 14 arrived in Mr. Murrow's absence on vacation.

This is merely a note to tell you that I do not expect Mr. Murrow back until early fall, but will be glad to bring your letter to his attention at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Florence Crissan

Mr. J. Hampton Barnes,
Executive Director
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
149 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

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149 EAST 78TH STREET
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4

Write Happy

July 14, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I wonder if I could come to see you sometime at your convenience. An idea has occurred to me that might prove to be a fine thing for both C. B. S. and the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships. Further development of the idea needs your counsel and cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

J. Hampton Barnes

J. Hampton Barnes
Executive Director

JHB:TA

yes next week
Wed. Sept 21
3pm

Eisenhower Exchange

May 3, 1955

Dear Mr. Gibson:

I am sorry I was not able to see David Moushine last month, but I hope to see him when he gets back.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Edwin T. Gibson
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
149 East 78 Street
New York 21, New York

rh

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April 12, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S. Executive Offices
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Our Fellow from Israel, David Moushine, is in New York at this time and has expressed a desire to meet a number of our Trustees. He especially would like to have a short meeting with you both to express his appreciation for what the Eisenhower Fellowships are doing for him and, also, because of your interest in world affairs.

I, too, am anxious to have the Trustees meet our Fellows whenever possible so that they will have a little more direct knowledge of the people we are choosing and have an opportunity to discuss with them the Program they are following.

Is it possible for you to make any appointment for Mr. Moushine this month? He starts West early in May, and if it is possible the latter part of the month, I would appreciate your letting me know. For your information I am enclosing a copy of Mr. Moushine's background.

Very sincerely,

Edwin T. Gibson

ETG:ee
Enclosure

David Moushine, Eisenhower Exchange Fellow from Israel

Married
Age: 38 years.

Education:

B. Sc., Engineering at London University.
Associate Member of the British Institute of Mechanical Engineers.

Present Position:

Manager of Israel Branch, Construction Aggregates Corporation of Chicago, engaged upon several development projects, including the drainage of the Hula swamps, the construction of evaporation pans at the Potash Works at the Dead Sea, and the planning and survey of highways.

Training and Experience:

After receiving his engineering degree in 1940, he joined the firm of J.E. Arnfield Works at Manchester, England, where he worked as production engineer and subsequently production manager till his return to his home country. With the establishment of the State of Israel, he worked in similar capacity at the Israel defense armaments, subsequently transferred to the office of the Prime Minister as Private Secretary to the Prime Minister and Minister of Defense; Secretary of the Israel Scientific Research Council and Director of the Division for Technical Assistance, respectively. At this latter position, he was in charge of the introduction of Point Four and United Nations technical assistance in Israel, its planning, programming and supervision.

Was founder member of the Institute for Research into Production Efficiency and Chairman of its Time and Motion Study Committee.

Holder of a United Nations Fellowship in 1951 for the study of the Organization of Scientific Research and Technical Development in Britain and West European countries.

Served as Honorary Secretary of the Israel Foundations Trustees, administering the grants for Scientific, Economic, and Social research on behalf of the Ford Foundation and the Falk Foundation.

Fields of Interest:

Productivity and Management:

1.- The study of methods for measurement of comparative productivity of industries and of countries.

2.- The planning, organization, and execution of development work including the extraction of mineral resources, highways and dams.

3.- Financing of self liquidating projects and public utilities.

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Committee of the Coca-Cola Company, New York City

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

March 25, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

The first year of operations of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships has been completed and I know you will want to know both how the Program is going and something of what we are planning for this year.

I am enclosing a report for your information and files. If you have any questions, I shall be very happy to answer them in more detail.

Very sincerely,

Tom

Thomas B. McCabe
Chairman

ED VIN T. GIBSON, President
J. HAMPTON BARNES, Executive Director

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

149 EAST 78TH STREET
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Report of Operations for the Year 1954

The year 1954 was the first year of operations of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., organized in November 1953 in honor of President Eisenhower for his contributions to humanity as a soldier, statesman and world leader. The first months of the organization's activities were devoted to a study of the objectives to be met, the selection of countries from which Fellows were to be chosen and the selection of the Fellows themselves.

The then Executive Director, Mr. John B. Fox, visited a number of European countries and the Secretary of the Board of Trustees, Ward Wheelock, visited countries in the Near and Far East. United States ambassadors, heads of foreign governments and prominent Americans and nationals in the various countries were visited and consulted. Committees for the selection of Fellows were set up in many of those countries designated, which committees, after study and deliberation, forwarded suggestions and nominations to the Selection Committee of the Trustees, headed by Mr. S. C. Allyn.

The countries selected were:

Brazil	Greece	Mexico
Chile	India	Pakistan
Formosa	Israel	Thailand
Gold Coast	Italy	Turkey
	Japan	

I am attaching a list of the individual Fellows, together with a short resume of their experience. Also you will find enclosed a picture of the President's reception held on January 11, 1955, in honor of our Fellows, showing the Fellows and some of the Trustees. All of these Fellows are now in the United States or, in the case of the three U. S. Fellows selected, abroad, pursuing their studies and training in accordance with the objectives of the Program. They arrived in the Fall of 1954 and will continue their various studies and activities until the Fall of 1955, so that you might say, while one year of operations has been completed, the first "class" under the Fellowship Program is still in full operation and will continue so throughout most of the year 1955.

Mr. Thomas J. Watson, Jr., was appointed Chairman of the Finance Committee, and, as such, conducted the initial campaign for funds with which to operate the Program. Mr. Watson conducted his campaign largely among businessmen and industry and, as a result of his efforts, we have received as of December 31, 1954, contributions totalling $326,000. Expenses through the end of 1954 totalled $127,000, of which $70,000 was paid for maintenance, travel and other expenses of the Fellows and $57,000 was paid out for administrative expense which included salaries of administrative officers, office space, travel, stationery, booklets, supplies and other general administrative costs. There are sufficient funds on hand to complete the Program for the Fellows presently in this country from abroad and for those in other countries from the U. S. The "class" which is now in process of being selected and which will be active from the Fall of 1955 to the Fall of 1956, will have to be financed by additional funds, which will be raised by the Finance Committee.

Payments to Fellows include their transportation from their own country to the United States and return as well as transportation and travel while in the U.S., such travel will cover a trip or trips throughout the country. While this transportation expense varies, it is estimated that it will average about $3,000 per Fellowship. In addition to their travel expense, Fellows are granted a monthly maintenance allowance for necessary living costs during their participation in the Program. Due to the fact that it is planned to have them see as much as possible, they remain in a travelling status at all times, and as a consequence, live in hotels and temporary quarters rather than in any fixed lodgings which might be contracted for at possibly lower rates. The allowance for maintenance as aforesaid, in addition to transportation costs, is $425 per month for a single Fellow and $725 per month for a Fellow accompanied by his wife.

During the first year of operations and in order to get underway quickly and efficiently, an agreement was made with the Institute of International Education, through the good offices of Trustee Kenneth Holland, its President, whereby that organization handled the details of transporting, housing and caring for the individual Fellows. This service was performed at cost and enabled the Eisenhower Fellowship Program to function without having to estimate in advance its own office force or the necessary detailed services it would have to perform for each of the Fellows. At the end of the year, the Institute, at its own request, was relieved of this operation and the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., set up its own offices and organization to carry on this very necessary work. All programming, routing, housing and other details with regard to the handling of each Fellow is now performed by the Fellowship organization itself.

Mr. John B. Fox, who had been engaged and had operated as Executive Director during the initial stages and installation of the program, expressed a desire to return to his work with Harvard University, where he was Assistant Dean of the Graduate School of Business on leave. His resignation was accepted as of the end of the year with great appreciation for the excellent work he had done in establishing the Program.

The Trustees approved moving to New York and elected Edwin T. Gibson, President, and J. Hampton Barnes, Executive Director and Secretary, to carry on the work and future development of the objectives of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships. The offices are located at 149 East 78th Street, New York City, and the organization is now functioning with all of the various operations under one control.

The immediate problems which are being studied are the financial situation and the necessary additional funds to continue to carry out the objectives of the Fellowship Program, and secondly, selection of countries and Fellows and the refinement of the program under which they are to operate in the coming and future years.

With regard to the latter problem, the Selection Committee has already designated the following countries to send Fellows for the 1955-56 Program:

West Germany	Egypt	Iran
Norway	Turkey	Pakistan
Spain	Bolivia	India
Liberia	Brazil	Burma
	Colombia	

Plans are being made to visit those countries for the purpose of assuring us of the interest of the government and important nationals in each country. It is felt wise at this stage in the development of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships Program to continue to keep close contact with the countries selected in order to obtain the calibre of Fellow desired.

We operate in a field in which no other exchange student or visitor program operates; we choose men and women who have already reached a position in the life and economy of that country which indicates future leadership possibilities. These people consequently have already been screened through their own efforts and accomplishments to a certain degree and should be treated on a higher level than most students or visitors. Under these circumstances, it is believed necessary to take the time and incur the expense to assure ourselves of men and women worthy of the opportunity offered them. These Fellowships are more costly individually than any in existence and are purposely made so in order to attract the type people desired if our objectives are to be met.

With regard to the first problem, the financial situation, it is, as has been previously stated, necessary to undertake a campaign for additional funds to cover our program for the present year. Plans are being laid to accomplish this purpose.

It is felt, however, that annual campaigns for operating funds are too unstable a basis upon which to develop a program of the value and with the hope of continuance that the Eisenhower Fellowships Program should have. Plans will be made and developments started to establish endowments either for the Program itself or for individual Fellows in connection with the Program, and it is hoped and believed, as time goes on, endowments of this nature can be developed to a degree which will make possible an increasing number of Fellows each year.

In regard to the accomplishment of the objectives of the Program, I feel we have been very successful. The selection committees, both the Board committee and those set up in foreign countries, have done an outstanding job. The calibre of the men selected as Fellows both from abroad and in the U. S. fully measures up to the high standards which have been set for an Eisenhower Fellow.

The Fellows from abroad who are now in this country have without exception made an excellent impression on all of those whom they have visited. We have met with enthusiastic cooperation from all of those upon whom we have called for instruction and aid to our Fellows. Word has come back to us from many sources applauding the fine men we have sponsored and assuring us of the desire on the part of individuals and industries to cooperate and work with us in the future. Banks, industries, universities, associations and government have all joined in welcoming and aiding Eisenhower Fellows.

The Fellows themselves are most appreciative and enthusiastic over the opportunity presented to them. They devote themselves unstintingly to the program laid out for them by our staff and, I am sure, will carry back to their own country a knowledge of America and Americans. They will also have a well developed idea of how and why things are done in the U. S.; especially in those fields in which each Fellow's own country needs guidance. This knowledge and these ideas will be of real benefit to the country from which the Fellows come and will help cement a friendship with the U. S. upon which we will be able to count in the future.

We now have a fine organization and administrative set up and an enthusiastic understanding of the objectives of the Eisenhower Fellowships that promises well for a long and increasingly important future.

Very sincerely.

Thomas B. McCabe
Chairman

Enclosures (2)

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWS 1954-55

Country	Name & Area of Interest	Home Address	Position
Brazil	Jose Pedreira de Freitas teaching methods in technical schools and organization of companies making primarily technical products	Rua Silva Lima 14 P. O. Box 588 Salvador, Bahia	Professor in the Polytechnic School of Salvador, Bahia. Council of the Foundation for the Development of Science in Bahia. Director of the "Engenharia Etel Company"
Chile	Enrique A. Edwards management associations	Providencia 2457 Santiago	Assistant Manager, Association of Metallurgical Industries
Formosa	Felix Sing Yah Chang banking operations	c/o Bank of China Head Office 15 Chung Shan Rd.(N) 2nd Section Taipei, Taiwan	Manager, Foreign Department, Bank of Taiwan
Gold Coast	Frederick S. Arkhurst dissemination of all kinds of information	Information Services Department, P. O. Box 627 Kumasi	Assistant Government Information Services Officer in Ashanti District
Greece	John Stephen Pesmazoglu economic planning	5, Sikelias St. Athens	Director General, Ministry of Coordination. Director-Deputy Economic Advisor, Bank of Greece. Lecturer of Political Economy, University of Athens.
India	Akhoury Sitanath railroad maintenance and operation, and manufacturing of equipment	Vill & P.O. - Dhamar, Dist.- Shahabad, Behar	District Mechanical Engineer and Works Manager, Samastipur, North Eastern Railway
Israel	David Moushine Productivity & management	26 Bustamai Street Katamon, Jerusalem	Israeli Manager, Construction Aggregates Corporation
Italy	Vittorio Lucarelli soil conservation and restoration	Via Ugo Petrella 6 Campobasso	Agricultural Chemistry Station of Rome
Japan	Yonosuke Goto economic planning	No. 1, 2-chome Kitasawa Setagaya-ku Tokyo, Japan	Chief, Research Section Economic Counsel Board

Country	Name & Area of Interest	Home Address	Position
Mexico	Gabriel Baldovinos de la Pena increased agricultural productivity with special interest in corn	Norte 79-B No. 66 Mexico 16, D.F.	In charge of Technical Department and Manager of Production, National Commission on Corn. Teaches in National School of Agriculture, Chapingo
Pakistan	Muhammad Ayub economic planning	8, Gizri Road Karachi	Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance and Financial Advisor (Development)
Thailand	Chalong Pungtrakul economic planning	23 Saint Louis Lane 2, Sathorn Road Yanawa, Bangkok	Chief of the Division of Economic Affairs of the National Economic Council
Turkey	Suleyman Demirel hydro-electric installations and equipment	Ozdemir Caddesi- Bugday Sokok 10/3 Kavaklidere - Ankara	Head of Dams Division, State Hydraulic Works Department and Technical Advisor to the EIE (Power Resources Survey Department)
United States	Roger T. Gilmartin private banking	Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Beane New York, New York	Buying Department, Underwriting Division
	Guy E. Noyes central banking	Board of Governors Federal Reserve System Washington, D.C.	Assistant Director, Division of Research & Statistics
	Theodore S. Repplier communications	The Advertising Council, Washington, D. C.	President

EDWIN T. GIBSON, President
J. HAMPTON BARNES, Executive Director

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

January 17, 1955

SPECIAL MEETING BY MAIL
ANSWER NECESSARY

Mr. Edward E. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Fellow Trustee:

The first year of the operations of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., has been concluded. Thirteen Fellows have been selected from foreign countries and three Americans have been appointed Fellows abroad. We will send you in due course a complete report on the operations for the year 1954 with the names of each of the Fellows, a background story of each, and a financial statement with regard to the whole operation of the corporation. You will be interested to know that as of this date, we have had upward of $300,000 subscribed through the efforts of our Finance Chairman, Thomas J. Watson, Jr. This amount includes securities which have been donated to us and are carried at market value. We anticipate ending the calendar year 1955 with a surplus.

John B. Fox, who has been executive director and secretary through 1954, resigned as of December 15th, 1954, to return to Harvard University. A study by a number of the members of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors indicated the need for a broader administrative set-up and a concentration of some of the activities which are now spread in several places.

It was felt that the work being done by the Institute of International Education, a good deal of the administrative work being done by the Finance Committee Chairman, and the bookkeeping, office payrolls and other operating records which have been handled by the Bankers Trust Company, should be brought together and carried on by an administrative staff of the corporation.

Accordingly a meeting of the trustees was called and held at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., on November 5, 1954, at which the following informal minute was recorded:

"There was then a discussion regarding the appointment of Edwin T. Gibson and J. Hampton Barnes, Jr., as successors to the present Executive Director, John B. Fox. Finally, Mr. Wheelock made a motion which was seconded and passed that Messrs. Gibson and Barnes be named to the Directorship of the Fellowship Program, the exact title that these two men hold to be worked out at a later date. There was, however, a suggestion that Mr. Gibson be appointed President of the Fellowship Program, with Mr. McCabe remaining as Chairman of the Board, and that Mr. Barnes be called the Executive Director."

Mr. Gibson was highly recommended by several of the Trustees. He was, until the time of his retirement, executive vice president of General Foods. He also has served at Washington as Defense Production Administrator, chairman and American member of the International Materials Conference, and also deputy chairman to Clarence Francis of the Mutual Security Evaluation Group which visited Europe in 1953 for a study of mutual security aid. Mr. Barnes has been personally well known to myself and to Walter Annenberg. He graduated from Yale University in 1931 and has been in the newspaper and publishing field. For the last several years, he has been editor and publisher of two newspapers in the state of Delaware. I believe we are fortunate to get men of the character and experience of both of these men. They believe firmly in the Program and will dedicate themselves to its success.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was later held on November 19, 1954, in New York City, at which the following minute was adopted:

"At this meeting of the Executive Committee it was unanimously agreed that:

1) The offices of the Fellowship Program should be moved from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to New York, New York.

2) The new officers, Messrs. Gibson and Barnes, were authorized to proceed to find appropriate premises.

3) The new officers were also authorized to take steps to obtain adequate secretarial help.

4) A budget was accepted which authorized the new officers to spend up to $75,000 annually. This figure is to include salaries of officers and secretarial assistance, office rent and equipment, but not travel expenses for the officers."

In accordance with the authority granted by the Board of Directors and by the Executive Committee as stated above, Mr. Gibson has been employed at an annual salary of $25,000 and Mr. Barnes has been employed at an annual salary of $15,000. Offices have been rented in New York City at 149 East 78th Street, at an annual rental of $6,000, an office staff has been employed, and the matter of taking over the various functions, consolidating them and smoothing out the operations is well under way. The office we had at Cambridge proved to be inadequate. The present premises, located at 149 East 78th Street, comprise the two top floors of a private dwelling, the balance of which is occupied by a doctor. The offices are served by an elevator and have been rented furnished at a very reasonable rental because of

the doctor's interest in our Program. They furnish adequate space for the staff and a common room where those Fellows who are in New York may meet, consult with each other, prepare reports and have a home base of operations.

It is now necessary that the Board of Trustees formally take certain actions in order to facilitate the change-over in administration and to put our new plans in operation.

It would be difficult to get a quorum at an actual meeting at this time of the year, and as there is need for quick action, I am taking advantage of a provision in the corporation's Bylaws which under applicable law permits written approval by a quorum of the Board to become proper corporate action. I am consequently writing these facts to you in order that you may give me your written approval and vote on resolutions to make them official.

Under the Bylaws the Board is empowered to create any additional offices which it may deem necesssary for the operation of the corporation. I therefore ask your approval for the establishment of the office of President and the election of Mr. Edwin T. Gibson to that office. This has been recommended by the Board at a previous meeting, as is shown in the minute quoted above.

I request the approval of the naming of Mr. J. Hampton Barnes, Jr., as Executive Director and as Secretary to fill the office vacated by the resignation of Mr. Fox.

I request the approval of the salaries of Mr. Gibson and Mr. Barnes as stated above, and the approval of the $75,000 administrative budget recommended by the Executive Committee and set forth in Attachment #1 enclosed herewith. In explanation of this budget I have already stated that the administrative staff will carry on a number of the operations which have been done in other places, especially the routing and payment of the funds to Fellows, which operations up to now have been carried on under contract by the Institute of International Education.

I request also approval of the following resolutions, which, because of the change in administration, are necessary to give authority to the new administration to handle the funds of the corporation:

> "RESOLVED, that Bankers Trust Company of the City of New York is designated a depositary of this corporation; and
>
> "FURTHER RESOLVED, that all drafts, checks and other instruments or orders for the payment of money drawn against the account or accounts of this corporation with said depositary shall be signed <u>by any two of the following</u>: Chairman, President, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, Secretary; and
>
> "FURTHER RESOLVED, that said depositary is authorized to place to the credit of the account, or any of the accounts, of this corporation, funds, drafts, checks or other property by whomever delivered to said depositary for deposit for account of this corporation, indorsed with the name of this corporation by rubber stamp, facsimile, mechanical, manual or other signature (and any such indorsement by whomever affixed shall be the indorsement of this corporation), or otherwise indorsed, or unindorsed, provided that if any such item shall bear, or be accompanied by, directions (by whomever made) for deposit to a specific account, then such deposit shall be to the credit of such specific account; and

"FURTHER RESOLVED, that said depositary is hereby directed to accept, and/or pay and/or apply any draft, check, instrument or order for the payment of money, or any proceeds thereof, drawn on such account or accounts when signed as required by these resolutions without limit as to amount, without inquiry, and without regard to the disposition of any such item or any proceeds thereof, and said depositary shall not be liable in connection therewith notwithstanding that such item may be payable to the order of a person whose signature appears thereon or of any other officer or officers, agent or agents of this corporation, or such item or any proceeds thereof may be used or disposed of for the personal credit or account of any such person or persons, officer or officers, agent or agents with the depositary or otherwise or in payment of the individual obligation of any such person or persons, officer or officers, agent or agents to the depositary or otherwise."

"RESOLVED, that Bankers Trust Company of the City of New York is designated a depositary of this corporation; and

"FURTHER RESOLVED, that all drafts, checks and other instruments or orders for the payment of money drawn against the account or accounts of this corporation with said depositary shall be signed <u>by any one of the following</u>: Chairman, President, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, Secretary; and

"FURTHER RESOLVED, that said depositary is authorized to place to the credit of the account, or any of the accounts, of this corporation, funds, drafts, checks or other property by whomever delivered to said depositary for deposit for account of this corporation, indorsed with the name of this corporation by rubber stamp, facsimile, mechanical, manual or other signature (and any such indorsement by whomever affixed shall be the indorsement of this corporation), or otherwise indorsed, or unindorsed, provided that if any such item shall bear, or be accompanied by, directions (by whomever made) for deposit to a specific account, then such deposit shall be to the credit of such specific account; and

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"RESOLVED, that Bankers Trust Company, of the City of New York, is designated a custodian depositary of this corporation for property of any nature and is authorized to take any action relating to any such property (including delivery for this corporation to any person ordering such delivery and registration in the name of any nominee or otherwise) upon written direction signed by any two of the following, Chairman, President, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, Secretary, or upon the receipt of any instructions contained in any message which is authenticated by any test-key which is then in force and agreed upon in writing by Bankers Trust Company and any official of this corporation; and

"FURTHER RESOLVED, that said depositary may pay for any property for any Custodian account of this corporation pursuant to any instruction given over the signature of those authorized to withdraw funds from deposit accounts of this corporation with Bankers Trust Company."

"RESOLVED, that any two of the group of officers consisting of the Chairman of the Board, the President, the Treasurer, the Assistant Treasurer and the Secretary are hereby authorized in the name and on behalf of the corporation to sell, assign, transfer and deliver, or to cause to be registered in the name of any nominee or nominees of the Bankers Trust Company, New York, N. Y., which is a depositary of the securities of the corporation, any corporate stocks, bonds or other securities which may now or at any time hereafter stand in the name of or belong to the corporation, and to execute any and all assignments or releases therefor."

I desire in closing this meeting "by mail" to put on record our appreciation of the generous contribution and excellent service which Mr. Thomas J. Watson, Jr., as Chairman of the Finance Committee has rendered, and also to express the appreciation of all of us to Mr. Kenneth Holland and the Institute of International Education for the service they have rendered in respect to our Fellows from overseas, and further to recognize and thank Mr. John B. Fox for the signal service he has rendered as Executive Director and Secretary during the first year of our operation and the establishment of our Program.

As I stated earlier, I request as early a response to this communication with your approval as you can conveniently let me have it.

Very sincerely,

Thomas B. McCabe

Chairman

Attachments (2)

"RESOLVED, that Bankers Trust Company, of the City of New York, is designated a custodian depositary of this corporation for property of any nature and is authorized to take any action relating to any such property (including delivery for this corporation to any person ordering such delivery and registration in the name of any nominee or otherwise) upon written direction signed by any two of the following, Chairman, President, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, Secretary, or upon the receipt of any instructions contained in any message which is authenticated by any test-key which is then in force and agreed upon in writing by Bankers Trust Company and any official of this corporation; and

"FURTHER RESOLVED, that said depositary may pay for any property for any Custodian account of this corporation pursuant to any instruction given over the signature of those authorized to withdraw funds from deposit accounts of this corporation with Bankers Trust Company."

"RESOLVED, that any two of the group of officers consisting of the Chairman of the Board, the President, the Treasurer, the Assistant Treasurer and the Secretary are hereby authorized in the name and on behalf of the corporation to sell, assign, transfer and deliver, or to cause to be registered in the name of any nominee or nominees of the Bankers Trust Company, New York, N. Y., which is a depositary of the securities of the corporation, any corporate stocks, bonds or other securities which may now or at any time hereafter stand in the name of or belong to the corporation, and to execute any and all assignments or releases therefor."

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As I stated earlier, I request as early a response to this communication with your approval as you can conveniently let me have it.

Returned
1/20

Very sincerely,

Thomas B. McCabe
Chairman

Attachments (2)

1954-55

Office Budget

1.	Salaries	
	Edwin T. Gibson, President	$25,000
	J. Hampton Barnes, Executive Director	15,000
	Miss Shirley Barron, Secretary and Office Manager	5,000
	Miss Paula Censor, Bookkeeper	4,500
	Stenographer-Typist	3,700
2.	Rent	6,000
3.	Services	1,000
	Janitor and cleaning woman Window washer	
4.	Telephone and Telegraph	3,800
	Budgeted @ $315 per month. The arrangement of appointments throughout the country for Fellows necessitates frequent telephone communications.	
5.	Office Supplies	2,400
	Rental of typewriters (3), postage, stationery, general supplies, miscellaneous.	
6.	Special Executive Director expenses	5,000
	Operating program, visiting universities, industries, etc.	
7.	Normal local travel; necessary courtesies to Fellows and wives; meetings and incidental expenses of Officers and Trustees	3,600
	TOTAL	$75,000

Attachment #1

EDWIN T. GIBSON, PRESIDENT
J. HAMPTON BARNES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

January 5, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The time of the President's reception of the Eisenhower Fellows is ~~9:00~~ 11:35 A.M., Tuesday January 11th, at the Executive Offices in the White House.

Entrance should be through the Northwest Gate, Pennsylvania Avenue, and you should be available in the Executive Offices by ~~9:45~~ 11:15 A.M.

We are having the Fellows meet us at the Statler at ~~9:00~~ 10:30 A.M., but it is felt that the officers and trustees who are going to be present would wish to report individually as I have above stated.

Very sincerely,

Edwin T. Gibson

ETG:pc

EDWIN T. GIBSON, PRESIDENT
J. HAMPTON BARNES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

149 EAST 78TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LYCEUM 6-1423

1

January 4, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Knowing of your interest in the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships Program, I am sure you will be interested in two major events that concern the Fellowships.

1. The Scott Paper Company, of which our chairman is president, has arranged with the Columbia Broadcasting Company for a five-minute spot on the OMNIBUS program. Mr. McCabe will appear and will introduce four of the Fellows who are now in this country enjoying the benefits of the Fellowships. This program will be seen on TV on Channel 2 over a national hook-up at 5:00 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, Sunday, January 9, 1955.

2. President Eisenhower is meeting and greeting all of the twelve Fellows now in this country on the morning of January 11th at the White House.

The Fellowship offices have been moved, as you can see from our letterhead, to New York City, and we welcome a visit or inquiry from you at any time.

I am glad to report to you that the Program is in full swing and moving forward successfully.

Sincerely,

Edwin Gibson

President

Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships

October 28, 1954

Dear Mr. Fox:

This is merely a note to tell you that Mr. Murrow will not be able to be at the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships meeting on November 5th. Due to his PERSON TO PERSON program he must remain in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. John B. Fox
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
102 Mount Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

rh

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ROBERT W. WOODRUFF, *Chairman, Executive Committee of the Coca-Cola Company, New York City*

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

102 MOUNT AUBURN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASS.

October 20, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thomas B. McCabe, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, in accordance with the By-Laws, is calling the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships for Friday, November 5.

The meeting will take place at the Shoreham Hotel, Suite B-100, in Washington, D.C.

The meeting will begin with a luncheon at 1:00 P.M. to which the Fellows currently in Washington will be invited. Immediately following the luncheon the formal meeting will take place.

Would you please address your reply to me at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Fox

John B. Fox

Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships Inc

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

102 MOUNT AUBURN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASS.

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ALFRED H. WILLIAMS, *President, Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, Philadelphia*
ROBERT W. WOODRUFF, *Chairman, Executive Committee of the Coca-Cola Company, New York City*

October 4, 1954

Mr. Edward R Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

The State of New York recently passed The New York Social Welfare Law, requiring scientific, educational and charitable organizations such as the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc. to obtain a consent in writing from each person whose name is mentioned in any solicitation of funds in New York State. Article 10A of this law makes it a misdemeanor for organizations or fund raisers required to register under the Law to use the name of any other person in this way without his written consent.

We have received legal advice that we should obtain written consent from you to use your name on such things as the EEF letterheads and booklets. Accordingly, we are enclosing a consent form in duplicate for your signature. Kindly return one signed copy as quickly as possible. For your information, an excerpt from the above mentioned Law is also enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Tom

Thomas B. McCabe
Chairman

encls.

returned 10/14

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

102 MOUNT AUBURN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASS.

September 15, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Enclosed with this letter are two summary statements. No. 1 is a report on the fund raising effort through September 1, 1954. Considering that this activity has been conducted entirely by mail, the results to date are encouraging. The Finance Committee, however, under the direction of the Chairman, Thomas J. Watson, Jr., would appreciate very much if each Trustee would approach five of his friends, and to help in this connection there are enclosed half a dozen booklets. Responses should be directed to the Chairman of the Finance Committee, care of International Business Machines Corporation, 590 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.

Statement No. 2 gives the names and other brief data of the overseas Fellows selected to date. Most of these men were nominated by a distinguished binational committee in their country of origin; final selection was then made by our Selection Committee here under the Chairmanship of S. C. Allyn.

Under the general direction of Clarence Francis with the assistance of Sidney Weinberg, plans for each Fellow's program are being prepared by the Executive Director, John B. Fox, with the aid of the Institute of International Education.

The overseas part of the Fellowships has two goals. One is to give each Fellow a better understanding of the United States, its size, its diversity, etc. The second is to assist each Fellow to develop further his skills in his area of specialization to enable him to return to his native land better equipped for his job. The Fellows arrive during the last week of September.

The overall program to accomplish these two goals falls into five parts.

Part I: Two weeks of acclimatization with the Executive Director in Cambridge. Visits will be made to local universities, industrial plants and other appropriate installations, and plans will be developed for Phase II.

Part II: A three to four month trip across the United States and return, visiting briefly a variety of activities consonant with the Fellow's area of interest.

Part III: Interview with Executive Director to discuss results of trip and to develop further plans.

Part IV: On the job training in two or three installations lasting several weeks each.

Part V: Return to Cambridge for one month for a period of digestion, adaptation and assimilation under the guidance of the Executive Director. It is hoped each Fellow will want to record some of his experience and possibly do some writing primarily for consumption in his homeland.

During Phase II each Trustee can be of vital help. The Executive Director will endeavor to notify in advance each Trustee whenever a Fellow is expected to arrive in his city. If each Trustee would spend a short time with the Fellow and then have someone in his organization prepared to assist the Fellow while he is in his area this will go a long way towards making the Program a success.

The problem of making these overseas Fellows feel that we are anxious to assist them, on the one hand, without overwhelming them on the other hand, is a difficult balance to maintain. Obviously we must avoid ignoring them but there is danger too that we may in our eagerness to help, overburden them. Every Trustee undoubtedly has had much firsthand experience with such situations.

If any Trustee would like to have additional material sent him on any Fellow or if there are any questions regarding the Program, the Executive Director, John B. Fox, at 102 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, Telephone -- UNiversity 4-1310, would be glad to reply.

Each Fellow will carry a card to identify himself. In many instances he will be accompanied by his wife as provided for in the original conception of the Program but not by his children. All travel arrangements are made by the Institute of International Education.

It is unnecessary to add that the success of this Program, which bears the President's name and whose Fellows it is hoped will be future leaders in their own countries, can be greatly enhanced by your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Fox

John B. Fox Jr.

JBF/fr

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWS

Country	Name & Area of Interest	Home Address	Position
Brazil	Pedreira de Freitas Jose teaching methods in technical schools and organization of companies making primarily technical products	Rua Silva Lima 14 P.O. Box 588 Salvador, Bahia	Professor in the Polytechnic School of Salvador, Bahia. Council of the Foundation for the Development of Science in Bahia. Director of the "Engenharia Etel Company"
Chile	Edwards, Enrique Orrego management associations	Providencia 2457 Santiago	Assistant Manager, Association of Metallurgical Industries
*Egypt	el Gritli, Dr. Aly banking operations	Road 12, Villa 30 Maadi	Deputy Governor-General of the National Bank of Egypt
Formosa	Chang, Felix Sing Yah banking operations	c/o Bank of China Head Office 15 Chung Shan Rd. (N) 2nd Section Taipei, Taiwan	Manager, Foreign Department, Bank of Taiwan
Gold Coast	Arkhurst, Frederick S. dissemination of all kinds of information	Information Services Department, P.O. Box 627 Kumasi	Assistant Government Information Services Officer in Ashanti District
Greece	Pesmazoglu, John Stephen economic planning	5, Sikelias St. Athens	Director General Ministry of Coordination. Director-Deputy Economic Advisor Bank of Greece. Lecturer of Political Economy, University of Athens
India	Sitanath, Akhoury railroad maintenance and operation, and manufacturing of equipment	Vill & P.O. - Dhamar, Dist.- Shahabad, Behar	District Mechanical Engineer and Works Manager, Samastipur North Eastern Railway
**Israel			

* Awaiting State Department clearance.
** In process.

Country	Name & Area of Interest	Home Address	Position
*Italy	Lucarelli, Vittorio soil conservation and restoration	Via Ugo Petrella 6 Campobasso	at Agricultural Chemistry Station of Rome
*Japan	Watanabe, Yoshifusa management of pulp and paper plants	12-5, 2-chome, Kamiuma-machi, Setagaya-ku Tokyo	Managing Director, Toyo Pulp Co., Ltd.
Mexico	Baldovinos de la Pena, Gabriel increased agricultural productivity with special interest in corn	Norte 79-B No. 66 Mexico 16, D.F.	In charge of Technical Department and Manager of Production National Commission on Corn. Teaches in National School of Agriculture, Chapingo
Pakistan	Ayub, Muhammad economic planning	8, Gizri Road Karachi	Joint Secretary Ministry of Finance and Financial Advisor (Development)
Thailand	Pungtrakul, Chalong economic planning	23 Saint Louis Lane 2, Sathorn Road Yanawa, Bangkok	Chief of the Division of Economic Affairs of the National Economic Council
Turkey	Demirel, Suleyman hydro-electric installations and equipment there for	Ozdemir Caddesi-Bugday Sokak 10/3 Kavaklidere - Ankara	Head of Dams Division State Hydraulic Works Department and Technical Advisor to the EIE (Power Resources Survey Department)

* Awaiting State Department clearance.

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

Summary of Fund-Raising Drive
through 8/31/54

1954 Goal	$500,000
Received to date (49% of goal)	243,319
Required to meet goal	$256,681
Still expected from Industry drive (per results of letters to date)	81,546
Amount to be raised through other means	$175,135

The Finance Committee Chairman is receiving a great deal of assistance from the members of his committee. In addition to aiding in matters of policy, they are personally writing many letters to companies not assigned to specific industry Chairman. They are:

T. J. Watson, Jr., Chairman	J. S. Coleman	J. T. Trippe
J. B. Black	E. L. Norton	S. J. Weinberg
M. W. Clement	J. Taylor	

The Finance Committee has approved the following matter of policy:

1) All contributions of stock will be immediately converted into cash except in those cases where the donor specifically requests that stock be retained. Proceeds from the sale of such stock will be deposited in the current account of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships at the Bankers Trust Company.

2) Mr. S. Sloan Colt, Treasurer of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, is made completely responsible for investing any EEF funds in short government notes or bonds, or other forms of short term investments according to his discretion. This will permit Mr. Colt, when he considers it advisable, to draw money from the regular account and invest it temporarily in this type of security.

3) A retirement plan has been worked out for Mr. J. B. Fox, Executive Director, which is similar to one in which he participated at Harvard University. In leaving Harvard, he was of course, required to give up his pension rights. One half of the cost will be borne by Mr. Fox and the other half by EEF. The annual cost to EEF will average about $1,650.

We are confident all members of the Board of Trustees will concur with the above.

1954 FUND RAISING DRIVE

The following are serving as Chairmen for their respective industry groups:

Advertising	Stanley Resor, Pres.	J. Walter Thompson
Airlines	J. Trippe, Pres.	Pan American Airlines
Apparel	Bertram J. Cahn, Chmn.	B. Kuppenheimer & Co.
Automotive	F. C. Crawford, Chmn.	Thompson Products
Banking (West)	W. H. Brenton, Pres.	Brenton Brothers
Beverages	J. Carkner, Chmn.	Pepsi-Cola
Chemicals	Jack Frye, Pres.	General Aniline & Film
Coal & Coke	G. Love, Pres.	Pittsburgh Consolidation CoalCo.
Electrical	W. Balderston, Chmn.	Philco
Fabricated Metal	J. Holloway, Pres.	Crane Company
Fire & Casualty Insurance	F. Christensen, Pres.	Fidelity-Phenix Fire Ins. Com.
Investment Security	Perry Hall, Partner	Morgan Stanley & Company
Life Insurance	F. Wilde, Pres.	Connecticut General Life
Machinery	H. D. Sharpe, Pres.	Brown & Sharpe
Non-Ferrous Metals	C. E. Moran, Treasurer	Anaconda Copper Machinery Co.
Office Equipment	W. Wheeler, Pres.	Pitney-Bowes
Paper & Pulp	J. Zellerbach, Pres.	Crown-Zellerbach
Petroleum	Eugene Holman, Chmn.	Standard Oil of N.J.
Pharmaceutical, Eth.	N. Noyes, Chmn.	Eli Lilly & Company
Proprietary Drugs	E. T. T. Williams, Pres.	Lambert Company
Public Utilities	Justin Whiting, Chmn.	Consumers Power
Publishing	J. Cowles, Pres.	Minnesota Star & Tribune
Railroads	T. J. Watson,Jr., Pres.	International Business Machines
Retail	F. Lazarus, Pres.	Federated Department Stores
Rubber	W. O'Neil, Pres.	General Tire & Rubber Company
Steel	T. J. Watson, Jr.,Pres.	International Business Machines
Textiles	J. Spencer Love, Chmn.	Burlington Mills
Water Transportation	J. P. Grace, Jr., Pres.	W. R. Grace Company

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

~~JOHN B. FOX, Executive Director~~
102 MT. AUBURN STREET
CAMBRIDGE ~~38, MASSACHUSETTS~~

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

July 6, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

On July 14th Mr. Allyn has called a meeting of Selection Committee. At that time we expect to complete the selection of most of the overseas nominees for the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, and as you are undoubtedly aware, our efforts up to this point have been largely directed towards these men; but now we must, to meet the exchange concept that the President suggested, turn our attention towards the selection of the American fellows.

It would be extremely helpful if before the Selection Committee meets I could have your ideas on fields from which the American fellows might be selected.

A few of the fields which were mentioned by some of your associates are:

One: Communications--for instance, individuals from newspapers, magazines, radio or TV networks who would go abroad to familiarize themselves with a certain area.

Two: Investment Banking--men from investment houses might go, it was thought, to one or more countries to study investment banking opportunities. Also in the banking field it was suggested that a man might be selected to study central banking at Basille, Switzerland.

Three: City Planning--was suggested as an area where certain European countries are possibly more advanced than we are.

Four: Finally the field of Architecture was also suggested.

If you have any ideas as to additional fields, I would appreciate very much if you could let me know what these might be. Also, if you have any particular individuals that you feel might be nominated for Eisenhower Fellowships, I would appreciate your letting me know.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Fox
(HK)

John B. Fox

Eisenhower Exchange

June 11, 1954

Dear Mr. Fox:

Mr. Murrow has asked me to tell you that he will attend the meeting of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships on Friday, June 25 at the Waldorf.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. John Fox, Executive Director
102 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

JOHN B. FOX, Executive Director
102 MT. AUBURN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

June 7, 1954

Yes.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This letter to you may very well cross yours in the mail.

I did want to let you know, as I promised in my letter to you of May 27th, that the Executive Committee meeting of June 25th has now been scheduled as a luncheon meeting. The time is 12:30 P.M. and the place is the Pillement Suite of the Waldorf Astoria.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Fox

John B. Fox

Had to go to Geneva but is hoping to get to meeting

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

JOHN B. FOX, Executive Director
102 MT. AUBURN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

May 27, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Friday

A meeting of the Executive Committee is being called for the morning of June 25th in New York at the Waldorf Astoria. To this meeting we are inviting all the Trustees as there are several important matters to discuss and your presence is very much desired.

It is expected by then that a complete report of the Selection Committee can be made to the Trustees and that a progress report on the activities of the Program Planning Committee will be made. Also it is expected that at that time final recommendations will be made concerning the criteria to be used in the selection of the American Fellows.

I am enclosing with this letter a summary report of my trip. Later you will be sent a summary report of Mr. Ward Wheelock's trip. Also enclosed is a statement from Mr. Watson's Finance Committee.

If possible please let me know by June 15th if you can attend, and I will notify you shortly thereafter of the exact time and specific location of the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

John

Enclosures

SUMMARY OF FUND-RAISING DRIVE
EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.
AS OF 4/30/54

At the time the Program was founded, we estimated that $175,000 would allow us to operate the first year on the basis of twenty fellowships and that gradually through the next five years we would raise this amount until we had attained a maximum of one hundred fellowships. This $175,000 was our goal for the first year.

In running our campaign we initially canvassed the largest one hundred corporations in the country in 1953, feeling that they would be inclined to contribute in advance of the formal 1954 drive. This solicitation was so successful, raising $83,674, or approximately 45% of our goal, that we raised our sights on January 1 and made our goal $500,000.

To attain this new goal, we have broken down roughly 9,500 companies into 30 industries and to date have secured twenty industry chairmen. Through these chairmen we are sending a letter to each company, 2,000 having been mailed to date. This has netted the campaign a total of $173,000.

During the remainder of 1954, we will continue to send out additional letters until all 9,500 companies have been solicited. We are confident that our goal will be reached.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

A Finance Committee has been organized as follows:

Thomas J. Watson, Jr., Chairman
James B. Black
M. W. Clement
John S. Coleman
Edward L. Norton
Juan T. Trippe
Sidney Weinberg

REPORT OF THE VISIT OF JOHN B. FOX, THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC., TO TURKEY, THE GOLD COAST, BRAZIL, CHILE AND MEXICO; FEB. 1 - MAR. 10, 1954

I visited five countries to set up Committees which would nominate two or three nationals for Mr. Allyn's Selection Committee to review and name where possible the Eisenhower Fellow.

Prior to my arrival in each country, our Ambassador there had been requested to get in touch with the appropriate officials of the local government and inform them that their country had been designated to receive an Eisenhower Fellowship this year, and also to find out what were the three fields of greatest need. In all the countries that I visited, this preparatory work had been done, and either the Ambassador or members of his staff were prepared for my visit, and were greatly interested in the Eisenhower Program.

It had been decided that the general pattern to follow would be to have a five man Committee for each country, made up of three nationals and two American businessmen actively engaged in business in the particular country. It is significant to report that, as I talked to prospective Committee members, they too became greatly interested in the Program, and no man approached found that he was unable to accept the Committee appointment. The idea of having the majority of the Committee nationals was an attempt to insure real national interest, and responsibility for the nominees. Furthermore, it was felt valuable to have nationals with whom a Fellow could keep in touch while in this country, and finally it is hoped that the nationals will assist in the integration of the Fellow on his return. I did not appoint a Chairman of any Committee, believing that that was up to each Committee to decide. I did, however, designate one American to be the informal liaison man between the activities of his Committee and Mr. Allyn, Chairman of the Selection Committee, and me. A list of the Committee members is attached, and the indicated fields of greatest need for each country.

Before starting on the trip, I had three goals in mind. One was to appoint as distinguished and as strong a Committee in each country as possible, keeping in mind the unique aspects of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships. Secondly, I wanted to insure, in so far as possible, that the American Committee members, on the one hand, and the national Committee members, on the other, were compatible, both among each group and all together. Third, I had hoped to work with members of the Committee actually when they went into a particular organization to "discover a possible applicant." This was based on the assumption that the sort of man that the Program is looking for would not apply.

So far as goals one and two are concerned, I am entirely satisfied for my part. Goal number three, though I always stated it to our Ambassador, I was never able to accomplish because of lack of time.

While I am satisfied that the Committee approach is sound for reasons I will not go into here, still no single pattern as to the most

effective way to establish these Committees seemed to emerge. In fact, I think the differences that came to my attention are the important things to record. For instance, in one country it was suggested by our Ambassador that I not get in touch with the local government at all, but work through the nationals in the business community; while in another country almost all my time was spent with local government officials. This demonstrates to me that it would have been unwise to have tried to send specific instructions ahead to each Embassy. It was far better as it turned out to carry on as we did, merely informing the Embassy in advance of my time of arrival and length of stay.

It does not seem to me appropriate in this report to attempt to reflect the many interesting conversations that I had with a variety of people. Nor is it appropriate either to try to describe all the problems that occurred. Suffice it to say that in all the countries that I visited, I have both representatives of local government and local businessmen on each Committee. I should be more than happy to enlarge on any aspect of this report.

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP AND FIELDS OF GREATEST NEED

TURKEY, THE GOLD COAST, BRAZIL, CHILE AND MEXICO

TURKEY

A. Fields of Greatest Need

1. Hydro-electric Power Engineering

B. Committee Membership

1. Mr. Talat Miras, Director General, First Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

2. Professor Fadil Hakki Sur, Faculty of Political Science, Ankara University

3. Mr. Cemal Sait Bark, Ankara Representative, Sanayi Tatbikat, T.A.S. (businessman)

*4. Professor Lawrence Moore, Christian Science Minitor Correspondent

5. Mr. Wells Hangen, New York Times Correspondent

All nationals appointed by Professor Korpulu, Foreign Minister

THE GOLD COAST

A. Fields of Greatest Need

1. Public Administration

2. Tropical Agriculture

3. Engineering- Hydro-electric Power

4. Medicine and Public Health

B. Committee Membership

1. Hon. Kojo Botsio, Minister of Education and Social Welfare

2. Mr. Yaw Adu, Director of Recruitment and Training, Commissioner for Africanization

3. Mr. Robert Gardner, Director of Social Welfare

4. Mr. Robert I. Fleming, U.S.I.S.

5. Mr. Peter Canham, Ministry of Defence and External Affairs

*6. Mr. John Johnson, General Manager, Texas Petroleum Company

All nationals appointed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister

BRAZIL

A. Fields of Greatest Need

1. Transportation and Communications

2. Petroleum Industry

3. Electricity Production and Distribution

B. Committee Membership

1. Mr. Mauricio Nabuco, Former Ambassador to the United States

2. Mr. Ary Torres, Businessman from Sao Paulo

3. Mr. Anisio S. Teixeira, Secretary General, Ministry of Education

*4. Mr. Maurice Johnson, Standard Oil Company

5. Mr. Richard Momsen

All nationals suggested by Vasco da Cunha, Acting Foreign Minister

CHILE

A. Fields of Greatest Need (in order of importance)

1. Agriculture, specifically Plant Breeding

2. Industry, specifically Industrial Management, including knowledge of how best to utilize Chile's limited industrial equipment

3. Mining, specifically how to make labor in small and medium mines more productive without complicated mechanization which the mines cannot afford

B. Committee Membership

1. Mr. Raul Simon, President of W. R. Grace & Co. of Chile, and Vice President of Grace & Co.

2. Mr. Eugenio Heiremans, Businessman

3. Mr. Pedro Lira U, Lawyer

*4. Mr. Joseph J. Cussen, Electric Light Co. head

5. Mr. Joseph F. Dawson, Manager of the National City Bank of New York

All nationals suggested by United States Ambassador Beaulac and Mr. Raul Simon

MEXICO

A. Fields of Greatest Need -- Highly Trained Technicians

1. Increasing the Production of High Protein Foods

2. Finding Ways and Means of Utilizing Subterranean Water Resources

3. Developing a Chemical Industry

B. Committee Membership

1. Mr. Roderigo Gomez, Managing Director, Banco de Mexico

2. Mr. Nabor Carillo Flores, Director, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico

3. Dr. Manuel Sandoval Vallarta, Subsecretario General de Educacion Publica

*4. Mr. William B. Richardson, Resident Vice President of the National City Bank of New York

5. Mr. George Kohn, General Manager of Celanese Mexicana

Other nationals suggested by Roderigo Gomez, who in turn was suggested by our Embassy and Mr. Richardson above.

* - Individual designated informal liaison man.

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

February 24, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I am pleased to give you a brief progress report of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship program.

(1) You were notified of the appointment of John B. Fox, former Assistant Dean of the Harvard Business School, as Executive Director. Mr. Fox went to Europe in January. After completing his assignment for the Ford Foundation in Turkey, he proceeded to form the Selection Committee for the Eisenhower Fellow to be selected in that country. Mr. Fox then proceeded to the Gold Coast and to South America to appoint Selection Committees in those areas. While in Turkey he met and conferred with our Trustee, Mr. Ward Wheelock, who had just been to Italy and Greece in connection with the Fellowship program. Mr. Wheelock returned unexpectedly to this country about two weeks ago and gave a very interesting account of his progress to Messrs. Watson, Annenberg, Balderston and me. He returned to the Middle East a few days ago. He has now covered Egypt and Israel, in addition to Greece and Turkey, and has taken the necessary steps to select Fellows in each country to come to the United States.

(2) One very significant feature of the reports from Messrs. Wheelock and Fox has been their changed attitude toward accepting men in government service for the fellowship program. They are finding in countries like Greece and Egypt, for example, that the best prospective candidates with the greatest potential leadership qualities are in government rather than in private industry. Some are career men who have served with more than one political party or one government. After consulting with Mr. Allyn, Chairman of our Selection Committee, and with several other Trustees, we have approved the recommendations of Messrs. Wheelock and Fox to select Fellows from either government or non-government occupations.

(3) Mr. Watson, Chairman of our Finance Committee, has had reasonably good response from his initial letters to the

Trustees and to a limited number of corporations. He has collected over $70,000 for the current budget, plus additional contributions for the reserve fund. Mr. Watson met with Mr. Allyn, Mr. Trippe, Dr. Smith, Mr. Annenberg and me in New York a few days ago to discuss plans for raising future funds, as well as the financial goal for which we should strive in 1954. It was the consensus of that meeting that we should attempt to raise $500,000 in 1954, or about $400,000 more than we have raised to date, and that we should earmark $250,000 of the amount for the current operating budget, and an equal amount for the reserve fund.

(4) Mr. Allyn and I are meeting with some men familiar with international finance and others engaged in the field of communications on Wednesday in New York to discuss possible candidates for fellowships from this country to go abroad. Right now, we feel that the two fields, finance and communications, are very important ones to be considered in connection with the six American fellowships for study and travel abroad. We will welcome each Trustee's suggestions.

(5) On the recommendation of Mr. Watson, and in accordance with the resolution passed at the first meeting of the Trustees, Mr. Sloan Colt, Jr. was elected Treasurer. He asked us to designate an Assistant Treasurer, and if the Trustees approve, we will authorize Mr. Colt to select the Assistant Treasurer, with Mr. Watson's and my approval of the name designated. Will you please give your written vote of approval of this proposal on the enclosed postcard and mail it at your earliest convenience.

(6) We also need your written vote of approval authorizing Mr. Sloan Colt, Treasurer, or the Assistant Treaurer to be designated to sign checks on the funds deposited in the Bankers Trust Company in the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc. account, such checks to be drawn or disbursements made only on approved vouchers signed either by Thomas J. Watson, Jr. or me. Your vote on this proposal can be registered on the enclosed card.

(7) We expect to have a meeting of the Executive Committee in March or April, after Messrs. Fox and Wheelock return from their trips abroad. A meeting of the Board of Trustees will be called for a date sometime in the late spring or early summer.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Dave McCabe

To: Thomas B. McCabe, Chairman of the Board of Trustees
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
c/o Scott Paper Company
Chester, Pennsylvania

The undersigned, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Incorporated, hereby

Consents to ( ) Dissents from ( )

the adoption of the following resolution on behalf of said corporation:

RESOLVED, that the office of Assistant Treasurer of the Corporation be and hereby is established, and that the initial appointment to said office be made by the Treasurer of the Corporation with the consent of the Chairman of the Board of Trustees and the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Corporation.

and also

Consents to ( ) Dissents from ( )

the adoption of the following resolutions on behalf of said corporation:

RESOLVED, that the funds of the Corporation on deposit with the Bankers Trust Company, New York, New York, be and hereby are made subject to withdrawal by check, draft, acceptance or other order for the payment of money bearing the manual signature of either the Treasurer or the Assistant Treasurer of the Corporation.

RESOLVED, FURTHER, that withdrawal of such funds shall be made by the Treasurer or Assistant Treasurer of the Corporation only pursuant to vouchers approved in writing by either the Chairman of the Board of Trustees or the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Corporation.

_____

Dated: _____, 1954.

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

102 Mt. Auburn St.
Cambridge 38, Mass.
January 12, 1954

file

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New york, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

My husband was sorry he could not write to you himself to tell you how much he enjoyed meeting you at the luncheon last Thursday. As you know, he left for Turkey on Monday, and so did not have time to do all the things that he wanted to do.

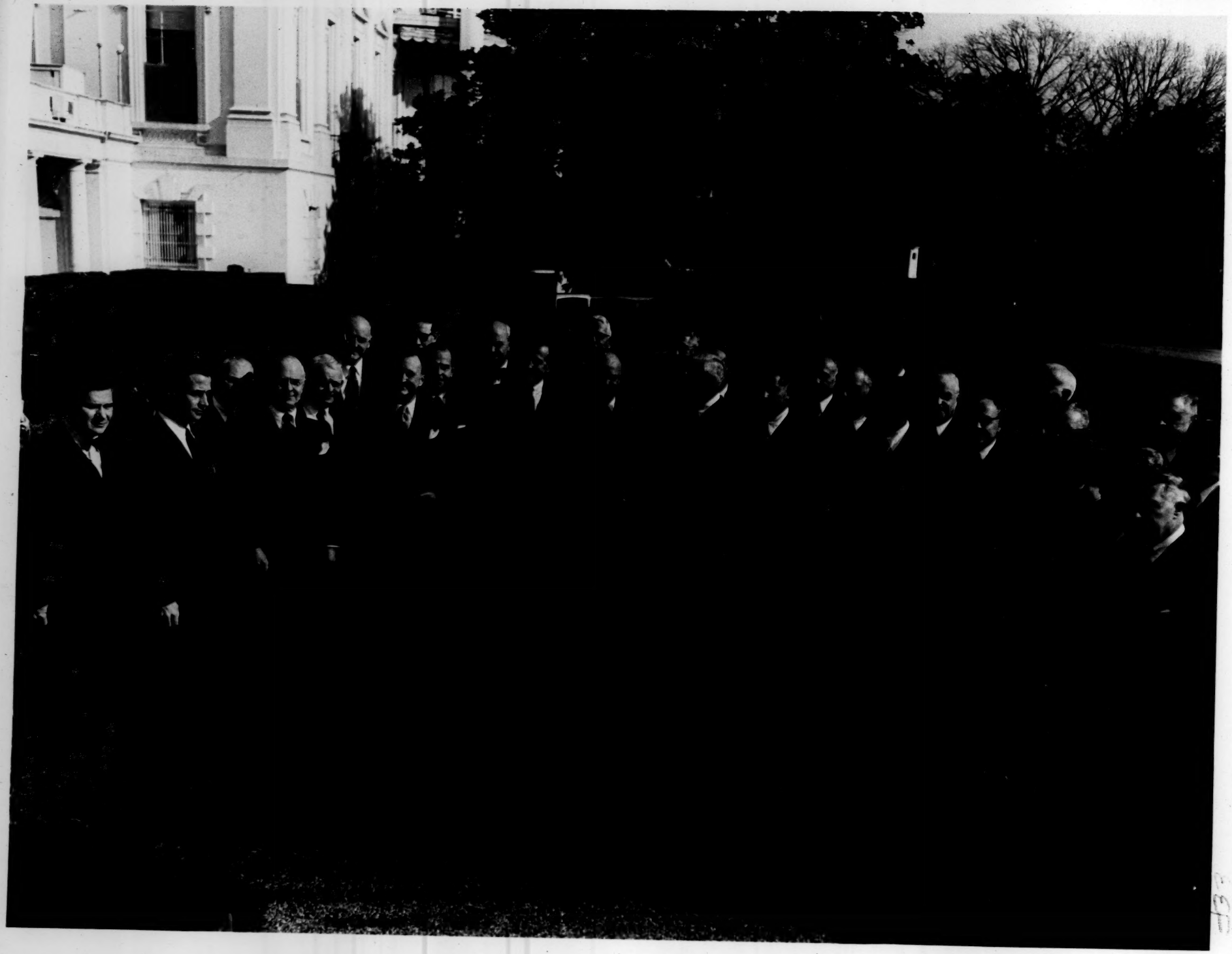
He has asked me to look in at his office several times each week, and if for any reason you have any communications that you want to have reach him, I shall always know his itinerary.

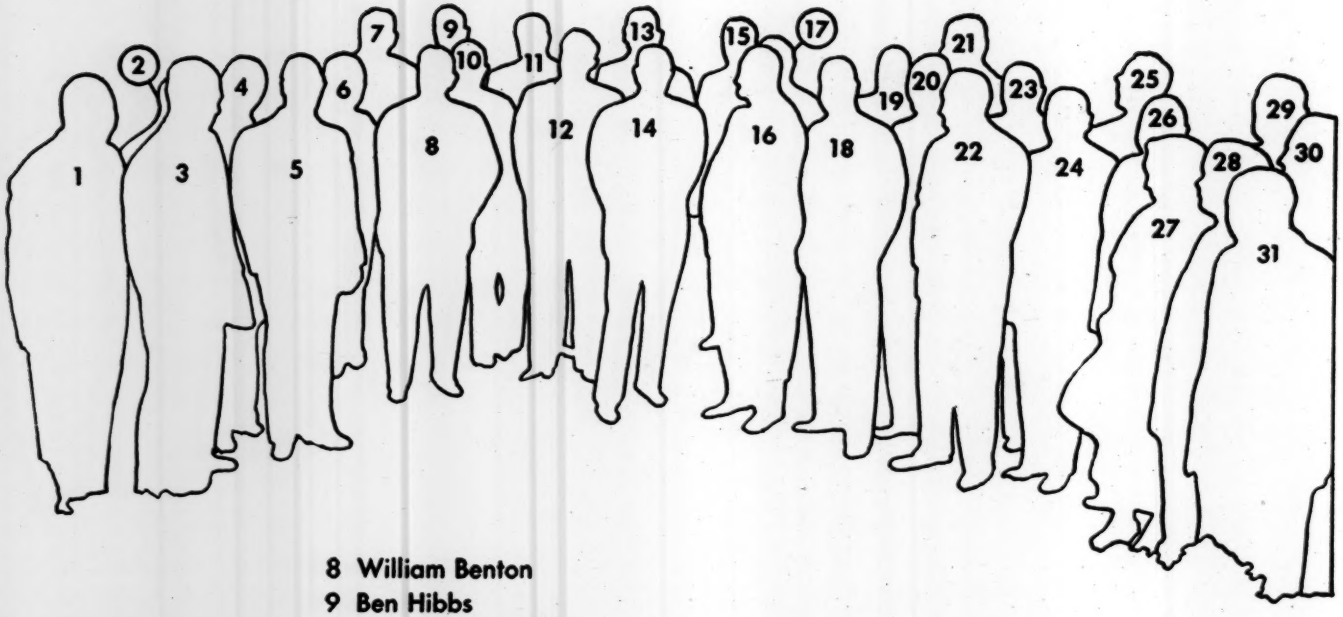
The above address is that of his temporary office which has been established in Cambridge, though the headquarters will remain in Philadelphia.

Very truly yours,

Eunice T. Fox

Mrs. John B. Fox





1 Ward Wheelock
2 Milton Eisenhower
3 Courtney C. Smith
4 Alfred H. Williams
5 Charles Sawyer
6 Edward Lee Norton
7 William Balderston
8 William Benton
9 Ben Hibbs
10 Franklin D. Murphy
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22 Allan B. Kline
23 James B. Black
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29 Thomas J. Watson, Jr.
30 Arthur S. Flemming
31 Virgil M. Hancher

Eisenhower Ex. Fellow
Jansen Suite
4th fl.

WU 040 PD

WUX CHESTER PENN JAN 5 145P

EDWARD R MURROW

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOU JOIN SMALL GROUP FOR LUNCH AT WALDORF THURSDAY JANUARY SEVENTH AT TWELVE-THIRTY TO MEET NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS JOHN FOX OF HARVARD BUSINESS SCHOOL AND DISCUSS ONE OR TWO IMPORTANT QUESTIONS CONCERNING SELECTION OF PROSPECTIVE FELLOWS. PLEASE TELEPHONE ME COLLECT CHESTER 4-4211 TODAY IF POSSIBLE

TOM MCCABE

159P..

RECEIVED 1954 JAN -5 PM 2:06 U.S. TRAFFIC

12:00

Yes.

Eisenhower Ex. G.

THOMAS J. WATSON, JR.
590 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

No action

December 3, 1953

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As you know, the Board of Trustees of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships met in Washington on November 17th. At this meeting I was appointed Finance Committee Chairman for the year 1954. It was decided to make an advance appeal to the one-hundred largest corporations in this country asking for their support, so that those who wished to could make their initial contribution in 1953. A list of these corporations and the man to whom our letter was sent is attached.

It would be extremely helpful if you would review this list of corporations which we have solicited in our advance gift drive and contact those men whom you know, to make sure that they give this cause the attention which it deserves. Your assistance at this time would guarantee a good start for our fund-raising campaign for 1954.

We are pleased to advise you that donations to the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships have now been declared tax deductible by a ruling of the U. S. Treasury dated November 25, 1953.

Sincerely yours,

Tom Watson Jr.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, Director
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Mr. F. J. Emmerich, President
Allied Chemical & Dye Corporation
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

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1126 South 70th Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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New York 20, New York

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New York 5, New York

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New York 7, New York

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New York 3, New York

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San Francisco 19, California

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1325 Third Avenue
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1430 Peel Street
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New York 20, New York

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Cleveland 15, Ohio

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Broadway at 41st Street
New York 36, New York

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Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

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New York 17, New York

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New York 4, New York

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New York 17, New York

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New York 6, New York

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Western Electric Company, Incorporated
195 Broadway
New York 7, New York

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Westinghouse Electric Corporation
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Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

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Weyerhaeuser Timber Company
Tacoma 1, Washington

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1134 Market Street
Wheeling, West Virginia

Mr. Frank Purnell, Chm. of the Bd.
Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company
44 Central Square
Youngstown 1, Ohio

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President, International Business Machines Corporation, New York City

Nominating Committee. PHILIP T. SHARPLES
The Sharples Corp., Philadelphia

Publicity Committee...BEN HIBBS
Editor, The Saturday Evening Post, Philadelphia

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WITH THE OFFICIAL ESTABLISHMENT of operation of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships Inc. comes a new conception in scholarship or fellowship—and in international friendship.

Eisenhower Fellowships will be given only to outstanding young potential leaders—a man of from 25 to 40 who is working and has shown his ability in the field of his country's greatest need.

By exchanging knowledge and experience between nations on such a high level (the average age of the Fellows will probably be 33), two things are expected: (1) that the country's greatest need will be met in a more practical way by building importantly their best potential leader for their specific job; and (2) that the work with men in the other country where the interest is mutual will foster respect and understanding that will last through life.

The training of each Fellow will be custom designed—based on his background, ability to assimilate and the specific job he is to do.

Behind the Eisenhower Fellowships is the thinking that (a) We in the United States can learn and we can teach. (b) More knowledge and more understanding between countries are both greatly needed. (c) What more friendly thing can we do than to say to foreign nations: "What is your field of greatest need? Give us your most promising potential leader of 25 to 40 and we will award him a 12-months' program and give him most practically the experience and knowledge of the United States in his field".

And in return we expect that the other nations will operate in the same way with the Fellows we send them.

The program for Eisenhower Fellows will be handled exactly like the personal training given in business and industry in the United States to top young executives who have shown exceptional promise—except that the Eisenhower Fellow will have a far more extensive, yet equally specific and personal, training. This training will consist of work on all types of problems within his field, with on-the-job training where applicable; and also the opportunity to meet the leading men in all phases of his field to discuss problems, answers, methods that may apply to his country.

A college degree is not necessary for a candidate to become a Fellow; and Fellows may or may not be sent to an university for a special short course, depending upon whether or not this is adjudged desirable for them and their objectives—these objectives being ever and always to widen their view, increase their knowledge, improve their understanding and add to their practical "know-how" for application in their country.

Regarding the practical operation

The Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships Inc. is operated by a Board of Trustees who will meet two or three times a year. After setting policies, they will delegate to the Executive Committee the operation of the Fellowships. There will be an Executive Director to coordinate all efforts. The major committees who will report to the Executive Committee are:

Selection Committee

This committee will recommend the countries to receive Fellowships, the field of greatest need in each country, and the method of selecting Fellows. They will then arrange to secure the best candidates for Fellows by March 15 of each year, making recommendations to the Executive Committee of the Board, of the specific Fellowships to be awarded by May 15. All data regarding the selected Fellows and the job for which they are to be trained will be turned over to the Program Planning Committee.

Program Planning Committee

This committee will custom-build a program for each Fellow based on his background, his capacities and the requirements of the job that his country desires of him. Each program will be developed in cooperation with members of the Board of Trustees in that field.

Finance Committee

This committee will be responsible for the financial policies, the plans and the collection of the money to assure the continuance and adequacy of the program over the years.

In the first year, 1954-55, there will be 20 Eisenhower Fellows. Fourteen will come from abroad—one from each of 14 countries. Six will go from the United States to foreign countries. The next year 75 Fellows are planned. The ultimate goal is 100.

The Institute of International Education has been counselor in setting up these Fellowships and they will continue to advise and assist in their administration.

At the present time the countries have been chosen from whom Fellows are to be secured. The "field of greatest need" in each country is now being carefully investigated. The avenues for securing the best potential leader in each field are being surveyed, and in early '54 every country from which a Fellow will be chosen will be visited by a member of the Selection Committee to confirm the choice of field and candidate.

The timetable

Applications will close March 15 of each year; the selection will be made by May 15; and the Fellows will be assigned their programs to start in the early Fall. President Eisenhower has asked that the Fellows meet with him for luncheon in Washington in the early Fall, and the Selection Committee will endeavor to work this out.

Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships is a typically American program, and typical also of Dwight D. Eisenhower's philosophy. It recognizes the vital importance of individual leadership. It is built on the evaluation of a specific major need and the specific training of the best man to fill that need. The Fellowships are non-governmental and non-political. These Fellowships are a gift to America and to other nations from President Eisenhower's friends all over the world, to further an idea very dear to him—one that he himself says "may well be the most important thing of our time".

The program is sponsored and will be conducted by businessmen and people of affairs on business-like principles. The selection and training of leaders to do big jobs has been a major work of each member of the Board of Trustees. These men and women, constituting a blue book of American practical accomplishment, will give generously of their knowledge, experience and advice.

The opportunities offered by an Eisenhower Fellowship are unparalleled, measurable not in dollars merely, but more importantly in terms of opportunity and of service to one's country. An Eisenhower Fellow will be distinguished by the fact that he has been singled out from his fellows for an unique training fitting him for an important life work in the interests of his country.

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

(1) *What are the qualifications to become an Eisenhower Fellow?*

The broad qualities that will cause the applicants from the countries selected in the field of each country's greatest need, to be chosen as the outstanding young potential leader in that field. Each applicant must signify his intention to return to his country and work in his field throughout his life. Practical working knowledge is required. Those with ability to assimilate and best use the training will be sought. Age desired is 25 to 40—preferably 30 to 35—because we want Fellows who are working in their field yet who are old enough to learn practically how to run things and young enough to assimilate and apply this knowledge in their countries' service for many years. But the value of the individual is more important than any other factor. Some knowledge of English is almost essential to make learning practical. No college degree required. Can be man or woman. Must be acceptable for admittance into the United States or the country he is to go. Must fill out and mail application in time to arrive in the United States March 15, 1954.

(2) *How are countries selected?*

These will be recommended by the Selection Committee and approved by the Board of Trustees. Every Fall, each country selected will be advised of the number of Fellows tentatively awarded to that country. The criteria of selection will be (a) representative countries from each section of the world will be chosen every year; (b) the foreign countries will be chosen on the basis of their greatest need, our wish for understanding between us, and our ability to help; (c) each year there will be an entirely new selection having no necessary relationship to the countries awarded Fellowships the previous year.

(3) *How are "fields of greatest need" decided?*

The Selection Committee will get advice on this subject from many sources, both governmental and private individuals of the United States, and also citizens of the other countries involved. This will be determined on the basis of "What is their greatest need affecting the whole country. . . the common man? Where can we help the most?"

(4) *How is an Eisenhower Fellow selected?*

After the country is selected and the field is decided upon, then and then only can applications be received.

Any person may apply. In each country there will be a Committee for Eisenhower Fellows, with information and application blanks. Information about

this may be secured from the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., Lincoln-Liberty Building, Philadelphia, USA.

Applications must be received at the above address by March 15th of each year.

Selection will be made by May 15th of each year.

There will be no commitment to select any Fellow from any country. If all applicants from any country are not considered worthy, that Fellowship will be awarded elsewhere or not filled that year. The policy decision is to keep the quality of Eisenhower Fellows on an extremely high level . . .

(a) so that they can become leaders

(b) so that to be an Eisenhower Fellow will carry high and unique honor throughout the world.

No students will be accepted. Fellows must have practically worked and established their personal qualifications in the field selected. No applicants will be accepted until the field is selected and announced.

(5) ***When selected, what does an Eisenhower Fellow get and what does he do?***

There is no specific sum involved. Every Fellow is treated individually. He gets a 12 months' custom-built program planned for his abilities and for the specific job he is to do in his country. This will include a wide variety of exposure to men and jobs in his field—by type and geography. It will probably include on-the-job training for a couple of months, or perhaps a special, short university post graduate course, if either seems best for the Fellow. The program will be kept flexible to accomplish the primary aim. Each program will include travel and seeing the country and meeting people. Each program will be personal and as practical as possible. All expenses will be paid for travel and living to carry out the program, taking each Fellow from his home and returning him there. If a Fellow is chosen who is married, the Selection Committee will consider paying expenses for his wife to accompany him. There will be no allowance for children.

It is desirable that a Fellow's year start in the Fall.

(6) ***How is each Fellow's program planned?***

From his application and all research into each selected Fellow, in addition to the data on the selected field in his country, the Program Planning Committee has information upon which to plan a special personal program for each Fellow. This will be done through the cooperation of the members of the Board of Trustees in the field of the Fellowship —and of course with suggestions from the Fellow.

It will be a work year, designed to give the maximum in knowledge and understanding to each Fellow based both on his ability to assimilate and the specific requirements of the job he will do for the rest of his life. But there will be specific planning for extensive travel and the meeting of various people, all designed to foster a real knowledge and understanding of the United States—or of a foreign country to a United States Fellow.

(7) ***What is the function of the Board of Trustees?***
They operate entirely the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships Inc., a non-profit corporation.

In addition, each Board member aids in the planning and implementation of programs for Fellows in his particular field.

(8) ***Is this governmental or political?***
No; not in any way. It was started and is run by businessmen of all political parties from all over the United States.

(9) ***What has President Eisenhower to do with it?***
He is vitally interested in the plan and its tremendous potential value. So it was given to him as a birthday present. He said it is " . . . something that can well become the most meaningful thing that has happened in our time . . . I know almost every man or woman whose name is on the Board of Trustees —and I am proud to have my name associated with theirs."

(10) ***What are the plans in Fellowships?***
In 1954-55 an initial 20 Fellowships will be awarded —fourteen to come to the United States, one each from fourteen countries. Six American Fellows will go abroad. The following year 75 are planned, meaning an increase in countries and in the number of Fellows from each country. The ultimate goal is 100 Fellowships per annum.

(11) ***What is the cost and how is the money to be raised?***
The cost for the first year will be approximately $175,000. Ultimately it will be $770,000 per year. This will be contributed by individuals, corporations and Foundations, on a current yearly basis, as well as current contributions to a fund to assure a basic 20 Fellows a year for 20 years. Contributions are welcomed from anyone.

(12) ***Are contributions deductible for Federal income tax purposes?***
Yes.

(13) ***Two often-asked questions have the same answer . . .***

(*a*) ***Why do you say "The Eisenhower Fellowships is a new concept in scholarship or fellowship—and in international friendship?"***

(*b*) ***Why did President Eisenhower say "This may well become one of the most important things of our time"?***

The Eisenhower Fellowships are assigned to give broader experience, knowledge and understanding to leaders—the top young men of their country in the field of that country's greatest need. Leaders are the key to the future—the hope for peace and for happy living for the millions. It is genuine friendship to give not just material things, but to share your knowledge with others. Many nations are struggling for political and economic freedom. The greatest help we can give them is to share our "know-how" —to teach their best young leaders in the fields they most need.

We can also learn much from others abroad.

Such an interchange of ideas and knowledge will make for genuine friendship. It will be practically helpful, and constitute one of the strongest hopes for peace.

In ten years there will probably be 900 Eisenhower Fellows—probably 600 abroad and 300 in the United States. Each will have been chosen as the potential leader in the most needed field. Think of the importance to development and understanding if only 50% justify the top leadership estimate. What if we help a potential Edison, a Ford, a Bell, a Knudsen, a Hoover—any one of the great productive geniuses who may, as these men have done, do so much for so many in the years to come!

(*14*) ***Why do you say "The Eisenhower Fellowships are typically American and express so well President Eisenhower's philosophy?"***

They recognize the importance of training leaders. In the most practical and lasting way they help our friends, particularly the nations trying to achieve independence and *self*-dependence. We have taken the exact plan for the selection of young executives and exactly the type of training American big business gives its potential leaders.

It is practical help. It builds understanding. It develops the most important individuals in each country by sharing knowledge. Each foreign Eisenhower Fellow will get unprecedented breadth of experience because of the wonderful cooperation by leading American businessmen with this project. And we are sure similar cooperation will be given American Eisenhower Fellows abroad.

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Chairman, Executive Committee of the Coca-Cola Company, New York City

. . . something that can well become the most meaningful thing that has happened in our time.

. . . I know almost every man or woman on the Board of Trustees—and I am proud to have my name associated with theirs.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

OCTOBER 14, 1953

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

13 November 1953

Mr Edward R Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York New York

Dear Ed

Since time is so short, we thought the attached rough notes on the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship status would be of help in your hands prior to our Washington meeting on the 17th.

If you are not able to be present, we would appreciate your comments, and the attached folder indicates some things that would be helpful.

We will send you prior to Christmas the status of plan and operation as decided in the meeting and subsequent working committees.

Ward

November 17, 1953

FOR THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES:
EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

IN the Eisenhower Fellowships we have a new concept of scholarships, fellowships and international friendship.

We are dealing in the most important thing for a business or a nation—top executives. We are applying the method of United States business to foreign nations. For we are training men to manage the biggest jobs that exist. These men are not political. They outlast politicians. For they are the "doers" of the fundamental things.

Nothing can be more important—to the nation, to peace, to understanding, to friendship for the United States.

The President fully appreciates the potentials. And he says the importance this attains is purely a question of administration. After seeing the Board of Trustees he expressed great confidence, stating that the Eisenhower Fellowships can well become one of the most important things of our time.

Our task is to make this true.

Our first job is to make sure that the unique character and practical value of Eisenhower Fellowships are understood. We do not want this to be put into a category with general scholarships and fellowships.

Eisenhower Fellowships are not interested in scholarly learning —in educating a man as a person—in erudition. We are interested in taking a man who has worked sufficiently long in the

field of his country's greatest need, whose intention is to work in that field in his country, and who has proven he is the outstanding, young, potential leader (age 25 to 40). If we are right in his potentials—and give him what the United States has to offer in a 12 months, custom built program, based on the Fellow's capacity and knowledge, and the specific job he is to work on—then in ten years we will have friends in top key places all over the world. This will be especially in those countries which will probably make the greatest progress in these ten years.

Our job is simple—but unique and vital—

1. Select the countries.
2. Select the field of greatest need—for each country and the common people in it.
3. Select the outstanding, potential young leader in that field.

We need the help of each member of the Board of Trustees in these ways:

1. Counsel in developing and operating the program.
2. To make understood what the Eisenhower Fellowship is.
3. When a Fellow is selected in your field, we expect you to help with the programming and the handling of him.
4. Help now in foreign countries where you have close connections who can advise us the fields of greatest need, procedure and prospective Fellows. The important work of the Selection Committee depends on this. All communications will be confidential between anyone you write, yourself and the Selection Committee.

So please carefully consider and fill in the next two pages.

FOREIGN EISENHOWER FELLOWSHIP

Will you check the countries where you have business associates or friends in whose judgment you believe and to whom you would be willing to write to ask their advice on the problems of the Selection Committee. (1) What "field of greatest need"? (2) What procedure to get best applications in that field? (3) Judgment on prospective Fellows. The Selection Committee will give you the specific questions for the countries where you can help.

We also want the names of any other men who know the country and conditions, whether in their country or in the United States, whose counsel you suggest the Selection Committee ask. It is the purpose to get as many checks on each angle as possible—to eliminate politics, nepotism, misunderstanding and mediocrity.

	I will write	*People I suggest the Selection Committee contact*
ITALY		
GREECE		
TURKEY		
EGYPT		
ISRAEL		
PAKISTAN		
INDIA		
THAILAND		
FORMOSA		
JAPAN		
MEXICO		
CHILE		
BRAZIL		
GOLD COAST		

The above is the list of countries chosen after several months study—checking with experts—and after a big informal meeting with the State Department. However, this is not settled until acted on by the Board November 17th. The plan for the first year is 20 Fellowships—14 to come from abroad.

It is obvious that in training we can give more than we can get. Yet it is essential that there be an "exchange" program and that "we can learn and we can teach" is the right attitude. It is certainly true that we need "understanding" of other countries more than the technical skills in most fields.

Regarding "fields"—here are my expressed viewpoints—

a. We can help future top government people gain a good understanding of an area—like Africa south of the desert, or the Middle East, or the Near East, or South America. Should we not take an outstanding man from practical business not now in government, who wishes to devote his life to government, and give him a real objective look at the area he could best serve in?

b. Most people can't go abroad, or if they do don't get much understanding. Shouldn't we send the outstanding young correspondents (newspaper or magazine or radio or TV) abroad so they can bring an area or a country to America? This means selecting the future Lowell Thomases, Murrows, Micheners, Lippmans, Anne Hare McCormicks —and giving them knowledge and breadth.

c. Perhaps teachers—selected outstanding ones—should go. But unless they write books or reach many people, they are not too great in benefiting the common man.

d. International banking—we want to do more of this. Young future leaders want to learn.

e. Foreign trade—we certainly need more understanding of the practicalities of this.

f. Some have suggested—let's change our approach and objective on some of the U. S. Fellows. Let's send a trained man to help in the country from the field for which we are training an Eisenhower Fellow. In that way, we can doubly help the country—and yet the American gets full understanding and appreciation of their problems and thinking.

There are many other fields. We would like you to suggest the three fields from which to select American Eisenhower Fellows.

1._____

2._____

3._____

_____

Signature

These rough notes are written in the hope that they will give you a background that will save time in the meeting of the Board of Trustees - where time will be short.

These are quickly written and incomplete, but they may help.

The Eisenhower Fellowships were in embryo suggested by Mrs Eisenhower. When she was asked if the President would like as a birthday present a room in the Gettysburg farmhouse panelled and furnished with antiques, she frankly said they had too many things and the President would much prefer something given to others in his name."Why not a Scholarship?".

From this point, a study was made of scholarships to see what was practical. These have grown immensely. There are over 30,000 foreign students in the United States now. There are hundreds of various scholarship plans - and plans for businessmen to visit. They are excellent in most part, operated by Foundations, business, the United Nations, or the government.

A committee worked through the summer with Dr Milton Eisenhower - a very able committee of business and educational leaders and practical men in international education.

It was decided we would not join the group of scholarships, but at the first meeting it was decided -

"If a similar idea is to be established in the name of President Eisenhower, it must have an objective, plan and requirements at least as distinctive. It must fit today's conditions, and be along the lines of President Eisenhower's basic philosophy. It must have no political connection or be subject to political attack. It must be the most desired Fellowship in the world. Further, it must be certain of continuance on a big enough scale to make it of real importance".

Then, too, the objectives were set up -

" 1) To help promote understanding between the United States and other nations and between other nations and the United States.

" 2) To give the best individual practical training for one year to the young potential leader selected from each nation in the field of that country's greatest need. "

As now established, the Eisenhower Fellowships fill the above requirements.

But we, as Trustees, have two big tasks.

1) To make the difference clearly understood - to lift the Eisenhower Fellows from the academic realm into the practical, productive, leadership level. We want the age difference understood. A man can be brilliant in college and not be a productive leader. These qualities often develop later - and college is not a necessity. We want an Eisenhower Fellow to mean a man who has been selected as the top young man working in his field in his country - and since his field has

been selected as the "field of greatest need", he is a very key man for the future. It should carry great honor - and privilege - and assurance for the future.

What greater opportunity or accolade could a man get?

It is up to us to make this understood.

We want to make it clear he is to get practical, specific, custom-planned training based on his knowledge and capabilities - and the requirements of the specific job he is going to do.

Every Eisenhower Fellow must have as an objective returning to his country and work. We do not want to train men to leave their country.

2) We must make this not only understood - but true:

This is simple in outline - but difficult to do.

a) Set up policies and procedure and organization
b) Select the countries
c) Select the Fellows
d) Plan a special custombuilt program for each
e) Administer the program.

After the enthusiastic approval of the plan by the President, and its presentation to him (news release attached), the organizing committee - Thomas B McCabe, Philip T Sharples, Walter H Annenberg, Ward Wheelock and Dr Courtney Smith - incorporated the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships Inc as a non-profit corporation in Pennsylvania to which contributions are tax free. The incorporators became the first Board of Directors, headed by Mr McCabe as Chairman. (Attached by-laws).

His policy was to make plans but to take no action that was not required that would commit us or establish policies or operating procedures that would be restrictive upon the permanent Board of Trustees in developing the Eisenhower Fellowships into the most desired, the most useful Fellowships in the world - worthy of the name. We pass on to you, in embryo, what we have confidence can and will become a major, continuing and growing force in international understanding and of great practical value to the world.

The Temporary Committee wish to express their strong feeling that the distribution and character and major value of this plan is its practical working value - and that it should avoid scholarly awards in favor of practically applicable ones. The principle of working from the basis of the country's need to the best "uncommon man" in that field is, we feel, vital. And in the selection and the individual custom planning lies the inestimable value of this plan.

It is typically American to believe in individual men - that if they are

given the training, tools and the opportunity to serve in the fields that most benefit the people broadly that these "uncommon" men are the greatest assets of any country.

America has given much money. And we have contributed much in other ways. But in the Eisenhower Fellowships a new step has been taken to take young leaders and give them training and value they can get in no other way - not measured in money - but in terms of practical, specifically planned learning on the job and in the field and where practical in some college post graduate work. It is our feeling that these men should be selected and handled as they would be if selected by a big Corporation as the future potential President. They would be given individually decided training - perhaps including university exposure if worth while.

While the name, objective and general policies must be maintained, we want to make it clear that anything beyond that is not mandatory in any way upon your Board - specifically, to the contrary. We wish to expressly and clearly state that anything beyond that in our deliberations is passed on to you in opinion for your consideration only.

Following are the status, plans and timetable:

1) Much work has been done by Mr McCabe to get our key man - the Executive Secretary. It was the unanimous opinion that with 75 Fellows as the 1955 objective we should have a man with real stature as Executive Secretary.

Pending his appointment, many operating decisions have not been made, feeling he should be a part of them.

One of the primary things pending because of this is the arrangement with the Institute of International Education who have helped in our formation, the President of which, Dr Kenneth Holland, is on our board, and whose experience and organization will be used to help us, though the actual operating responsibilities and authorities have not been worked out.

2) We are now incorporated and will elect officers and establish committees and policies.

At the Board meeting we will -

a) Elect officers and the Executive Committee
b) Appoint committees and chairmen.

The major committees follow:

a) <u>Selection Committee</u> - S C Allyn, Chairman

This committee is immediate and basic. They will establish procedure and work out the contacts abroad and here to explain

the Fellowships, to decide the countries (subject to approval of the Board), to select "the fields of greatest need", to obtain applications for Fellowships, and to select the Fellows.

The success of the entire operation depends on the quality of the Fellows - and how they are secured.

Roughly, the plan considered is -

(1) From many sources (and here the Board is very important) get opinions of the "field of greatest need". Decide this for each country by December 15th.

(2) Simultaneously form contacts to help in the selected field to get candidates.

(3) A member of the committee is going to 10 of the countries starting in early January to make sure the Fellows will be the right sort. The plan is to have the Executive Secretary go to the remaining four countries.

(4) Applications close March 15th.

(5) Decisions on Fellows May 15th.

(6) Turn over all Fellows and all data on them and their fields to Program Planning Committee May 15th.

(7) Fellows due in Washington September 15th. This is not definite. We hope it is practical - and if so, a dinner will be planned, given by the Board of Trustees with the Fellows present and inviting President Eisenhower.

b) Program Planning Committee

On May 15, 1954, the Program Planning Committee gets all the data on Fellows and fields from the Selection Committee. They plan the 12 months program based on the Fellows' capabilities and the job requirements. This means help from every Board member if the Fellow is in your field.

c) Finance Committee - Thomas J Watson, Jr, Chairman

Mr Sidney Weinberg is serving with Mr Watson. No solicitations have been made. The first year's expenses have been underwritten by about a dozen men - that is, they agree to foot the bill if the contributions are not made as expected. All financial policies and procedures will be set by this committee.

(Finance Committee, continued)

The only major question raised was whether it would be advisable, instead of restricting our appeal to moneyed individuals, Corporations and Foundations, to go direct to the general public. Opinions vary.

Regarding general subjects:

1) Countries. It is the general opinion, but for the Board's decision, that since Fellows from abroad can get so much more practical and technical help from the United States than our Fellows can get abroad, the proportion of available Fellowships each year be 60 to 70% foreign Fellows - 30 to 40% American Fellows.

The plan is 20 Fellows the first year - with 75 in the second year - and ultimately, at an indefinite date, 100.

It is agreed that the countries should be selected with representatives from every area - Europe, Africa, Near East, Middle East, Far East (including southeast Asia), Latin America, and others (Australia, Canada, and the islands). While the number per area will be up to the Board (upon recommendation of the Selection Committee), it is felt that Latin America should have a little weighting in its favor.

It is also agreed that we should primarily offer Fellowships to the least developed countries where we can do the most good.

These will be the countries with the greatest potential growth in power and importance for peace and friendship.

The State Department has offered to unofficially help us in any way we wish. We are very appreciative. We have and will work with them. But we made it very clear that this is non-governmental, non-political, and that the decisions are made by our Board of Trustees.

2) Fellows can be men or women. While we would like to find at least one woman in our first 20 and will make efforts to do so, we must let nothing stand in the way of getting the best Fellows.

3) At the age we expect (in the 30's), most of our Fellows will be married. We believe we should pay the wife's expenses - but not for children. The wife will get a different understanding of America from her husband - and that will be very helpful.

4) All men we want for Fellows are working - many importantly so. The best ones are doing good work now. They'd hate to take a year off. Until we

prove what an Eisenhower Fellowship means in practical terms, we will have to convince the men we want - while we will be flooded with applications from mediocre people.

5) The Institute of International Education is unique. It was established by Elihu Root and Nicholas Murray Butler in the '20's to administer exchange fellowships to cut down waste and fec lessness in this complex and important field. They have handled over 20,000 exchange students - over 3,000 last year. They select and administer for Foundations and the government. They handle Fulbright Scholars, for one. They have committees in 70 countries, and experience that has no duplicate.

6) In our dealing with foreign countries - the Chairman intends to advise now the countries approved by the Board through their Ambassadors in Washington and asking for the three "fields of greatest need". These will be checked against other sources. But the governments will be specifically told that arrangements for Fellowship applications are already set up and that the decision will be made here. We want no candidates from any part of any government - fearing political obligation.

7) The President spoke generally of the great importance Eisenhower Fellowships can attain in ten years. Let's estimate this more specifically to gauge its value:

If we properly administer this selecting of the best potential leaders in the "fields of greatest need", in ten years this should be the situation:

900 Eisenhower Fellows - none over 50 years old - average age probably 43

600 in foreign countries

These would be divided approximately as follows:

	80	Europe
	120	Latin America
	80	Africa
	80	Near East
	80	Middle East
	120	Far East (including southeast Asia)
	40	Others (Australia, Canada and various Islands)
Total....	600	In foreign countries
	300	In the United States

Let's consider the Foreign Fellows above. They will be in key positions in the key fields of their countries. If we choose well and give them good U.S. training, they must be "top" men. From these, we should rate "10%" who become exceptional in ability, influence, value to their country.

What key friends!

They will be in Agriculture ((a) growing of crops, (b) of animals) - Engineering (building dams, roads, hydro electric plants, irrigation, business plants, houses, etc) - Business in many fields ("We have raw material and labor, how can we train and equip and produce?" "We have fish. Can we can and sell?" "We want to have business administration.") - Banking (how to set up proper banking internally, how to handle foreign banking, how to set up government financial handling, what is necessary to attract foreign capital) - Health (specific problems of the country plus birth control, the greatest problem of most backward countries, the corollary problem to food.)

All the basic fields will have Eisenhower Fellows.

And to be one should be as distinguished a title as one can have.

WW 11/13/53

Citizens Set Up Fellowships to Honor President

Exchange Studies Offer Self-Help To All Nations to Seek Solution of Specific Problems; Start in 1954

The creation of Eisenhower Exchange fellowships, by which the United States and other nations may pool their practical knowledge and genius for the solution of their most pressing problems was announced today as President Eisenhower's birthday present from the American people.

The unique gift was conceived as an appropriate tribute to President Eisenhower as a leader of the free world and as a businesslike application of his statement of American principles: "to allow all nations to devote their energies and resources to the great and good tasks of healing the war's wounds, of clothing and feeding and housing the needy, of perfecting a just political life, of enjoying the fruits of their own free toil."

Designed to fit today's conditions, Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships have been established as an eminently workable way to provide concrete solutions for specific problems. They will be nonpolitical in sponsorship, financing and operation and have nation-wide support. They have been created as a continuing, growing and privately supported program to encourage self-help in all nations and to promote mutual respect and understanding among all people.

100 IS EVENTUAL AIM

Eventual aim of the program is to award 100 Eisenhower Fellowships a year to the most promising "uncommon" men and women of various nationalities who are working in fields in which their countries' needs are most urgent.

For the individual recipient, the fellowship will offer the best available training and experience in his specialty, to be determined by his particular requirements rather than an arbitrarily set money value. In full operation, the program is expected to cost about $770,000 a year.

The gift was announced by Thomas B. McCabe, president of the Scott Paper Co. and former chairman of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, who served as chairman of a temporary executive committee to start the project.

BIRTHDAY PRESENTATION

It will be presented to the President in Hershey, Pa., on Tuesday, Oct. 13, at the celebration of his 63d birthday by Philip T. Sharples, Philadelphia industrialist. It will include:

An organization, Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., incorporated as a nonprofit corporation under the laws of Pennsylvania.

A first-year program to award 20 Eisenhower Fellowships to men and women of the United States and foreign countries, to cost about $175,000. This will be subscribed by a large number of contributors throughout the United States and other countries.

20 AWARDS NEXT YEAR

A comprehensive, specific long-term program, with plans completed for selecting the first 20 Eisenhower Fellows for the year starting September, 1954.

With the goal of making Eisenhower Fellowships the most desired and useful of their kind in the world—worthy of their name—the sponsors of the program have drawn unique specifications. In selecting candidates, emphasis will be placed on practical achievement rather than scholarship. Applicants will be chosen from those who have made substantial contributions toward solving their countries immediate and critical problems. The fields will include—but will not be limited to—government, business, agriculture, engineering and communications.

The age limits for applicants have been set at 25 to 40. Other qualifications will be flexible; academic degrees will not be required although most of the applicants probably will have them.

MATURITY STRESSED

The upper age limit of 40, sponsors believe, will permit the selection of men and women young enough to apply newly acquired knowledge in the service of their countrymen for 25 to 30 years. At the same time, they will have the maturity, perspective and practical experience to know what they must learn and how to put it to use.

Applications will be screened painstakingly to obtain men and women who have given on-the-job proof of their uncommon qualities and who could be persuaded to interrupt their careers for a year only by a matchless opportunity for advancement. Successful candidates will be those with reasonable prospects of achieving eminence in their countries during the next two or three decades.

WORK 'CUSTOM PLANNED'

The year of work to be done by each fellow will be "custom planned" for the individual. For foreigners, it will offer the best instruction the United States has to give in his chosen line. It will include learning on the job and in the field and perhaps, but not necessarily, several months of study at a university or college.

For fellows chosen from the United States similar one-year programs will be prepared.

To illustrate the purposes and plans of the project, sponsors outlined a hypothetical 12-months program for an Eisenhower Fellow selected from a country in which the improvement of cattle-raising was of vital importance. Such a program might include:

Selected work at an outstanding land grant college where conditions most nearly resemble those of the fellow's own country.

VISITS TO WESTERN RANCHES

Extended visits to Western cattle ranches for study of breeding methods, treatment of diseases and American practices that could be adopted successfully in the foreign country.

Visits to cattle feeding pens and to meat packing plants in Kansas City or Chicago, followed by inspection trips to food distribution companies to learn American methods from ranch to dinner table.

A visit to a Florida cattle ranch to study animal husbandry in a contrasting environment.

Detailed inspection at the plants of large milk-processing companies, with studies of American production and marketing methods.

OUTSTANDING AUTHORITIES

At each stage of his study, the fellow would be introduced to outstanding American authorities in various phases of his field. He would work for two or three months on a job offering the best experience for his own problems.

A sample time breakdown of a hypothetical fellowship year would be:

One week in Washington to meet the President and Government officials concerned with the individual's specialty.

Six months of university study.

An average of one week at each of six different work operations in various sections of the United States.

TWO MONTHS AT JOB

Two months of employment in the most applicable work operation.

One month of travel to consult with experts in his specialty.

One month of vacation travel to become familiar with other parts of America.

Travel to and from the United States.

Over-all administration of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., is to be vested in a board of trustees of approximately 35 members selected without regard to race, creed or color from all parts of the United States. About 25 trustees will be chosen from such industries as the automotive, transportation, mining, chemicals, metals and communications; five from among presidents of educational institutions and five from other categories.

PRACTICAL AIMS STRESSED

The emphasis on industrial representation on the board is intentional, to stress the practical purposes of the program.

The board will be solely responsible for policy decisions, exercising its authority through four groups. An executive committee will supervise general administration. A finance committee will formulate fund-raising policies and programs.

Two other committees will be responsible for maintaining the unique features of the program. A selection committee will distribute the fellowship by countries, designate the fields of activity from which applications will be invited, issue invitations, consider applications and recommend selection.

UP TO PLANNING GROUP

The detailed, one-year program to be followed by each fellow is to be prepared by a planning committee. The committee will work closely with the selected candidate himself and with American industrialists and specialists—especially those on the board of trustees—in drafting a plan to the fellow's specifications.

For detailed administration, the board of trustees will employ, on a cost basis, the Institute of International Education, an organization with 34 years of experience in facilitating the exchange of men and women between countries for serious educational and training purposes.

COOPERATION WIDESPREAD

The institute works in cooperation with educational institutions, private and public organizations and thousands of individuals throughout the world. Its facilities will be available for obtaining and screening applicants for Eisenhower Fellowships.

As administrative agency, the Institute of International Education will employ a full-time director for the Eisenhower Fellowship program who will maintain its distinct character, working under the immediate supervision of the president of the Institute.

MEETING NEXT MONTH

Members of the board of trustees will meet early next month to organize. By the end of November invitations will be extended to the foreign countries selected for the first year. International areas from which applications will be invited have been decided, but not individual countries.

Applications will close on March 15, 1954, and the first 20 fellowships will be awarded by May 5.

The 20 successful candidates are expected to gather in Washington about Sept. 15, 1954, to attend a dinner given by the board of trustees, at which President Eisenhower will be guest of honor.

On that visit to the capital, foreign fellows will meet the ambassadors and ministers of their own countries and will review U. S. Government operations in their fields before beginning their year of work and study.

Fellows selected from the United States will, at the same time, be briefed by the State Department on the countries to which they have been assigned.

These are the by-laws as approved and under which we are operating

BY-LAWS

of

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INCORPORATED

As Approved by the Board of Trustees at the Meeting of November 2, 1953.

ARTICLE I. Name.

The name of this nonprofit corporation is Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Incorporated.

ARTICLE II. Purposes.

The purposes of this corporation, as stated in its Articles of Incorporation, are as follows:

"To promote understanding between the United States and other countries and other countries and the United States, and in so doing to help develop in the most practical way the outstanding potential leaders in the field their country most needs, this Corporation will award Eisenhower Fellowships to men and women under 40 years of age from the United States and abroad.

"These Fellows will be chosen because of their personal qualifications for practical leadership, their potential value in the field of their country's greatest need, and their desire to work in their country using the knowledge gained from their Fellowship for the benefit of the common man of their country.

"No pecuniary gain or profit, incidental or otherwise, to the members of the corporation is contemplated, and none shall be permitted.

"No substantial part of the activities of the corporation shall consist of carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation."

ARTICLE III. Board of Trustees.

Section 1. The members of the Board of Trustees shall constitute the entire membership of the corporation.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall manage all affairs of the corporation and exercise all of its corporate powers.

Section 3. The Board of Trustees shall initially be composed of the five incorporators. Prior to the first annual meeting they shall divide themselves and such additional members as they elect into three approximately equal classes, so that the term of office of one-third shall run until the conclusion of the annual meeting in 1955, so that the term of office of another one-third shall run until the conclusion of the annual meeting in 1956, and so that the term of office of the remaining one-third shall run until the conclusion of the annual meeting in 1957. At the first annual meeting the entire Board of Trustees may elect additional members, dividing them as equally as possible among the three classes of trustees whose terms expire in 1955, 1956 and 1957. The term of office for all members of the Board of Trustees elected at subsequent meetings shall be three years, except for persons elected to fill an un-expired term. No member of the Board of Trustees shall be eligible for re-election as trustee at the meeting at which his term of office expires, unless he is to fill the unexpired term of some other trustee. The Board of Trustees shall have power from time to time at any meeting to elect such additional members of the Board as it shall deem desirable, keeping the three classes approximately equal in number, and to fill any vacancies which may occur.

Section 4. Regular meetings of the Board of Trustees shall be held annually on the first Friday in November. Special meetings may be called at any time by the Chairman or Vice-Chairmen, and shall be called upon the written request of one-third of the members of the Board of Trustees. Written notice of each such meeting, stating the time and place of the proposed meeting, shall be mailed to each member of the Board of Trustees at least five days prior to the date thereof.

Section 5. Ten members of the Board of Trustees shall constitute a quorum. The acts of a majority of the members of the Board of Trustees present at any meeting at which a quorum is present shall be the acts of the Board of Trustees. If a majority of all the members of the Board of Trustees then serving shall consent in writing to any action proposed to be taken by the corporation, such action shall constitute valid corporate action, to the same extent as if it had been authorized at a meeting of the Board of Trustees. Presence or voting by proxy shall not be allowed at meetings of the Board of Trustees.

Section 6. To carry on the business of the corporation, the Board of Trustees shall establish such committees, in addition to the Nominating Committee, as it deems necessary. If desired, the powers of the Board of Trustees between meetings of the entire Board may be delegated to an Executive Committee composed of not less than five Trustees elected by the Board. If any Trustee serving on the Executive Committee be unable to continue active service with the Committee between meetings of the Board of Trustees and shall resign from the Committee, his place may be filled by the Chairman of the Board until the next such meeting.

Section 7. Subsequent to the first annual meeting, nominations for members of the Board of Trustees shall be made as follows: The Nominating Committee shall submit a list of nominees to the Secretary prior to the annual meeting. Additional nominations may be made at any meeting by any five members of the Board of Trustees in writing, signed by them and delivered to the Secretary prior to such meeting.

ARTICLE IV. Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board, three Vice-Chairmen, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and such other officers as the Board of Trustees shall deem desirable. All shall be elected for terms of one year each by the Board of Trustees at the annual meeting and shall hold office until the conclusion of the annual meeting at the end of their terms of office and the qualification of their respective successors. Any vacancy in any office may be filled at any time for the balance of the current term by vote of the Executive Committee or the Board of Trustees at any meeting.

Section 2. The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Trustees. He shall exercise general supervision and control of the affairs of the corporation and shall have all powers usually incident to the office of the head of a corporation and not inconsistent with the articles of incorporation or the by-laws of this corporation.

Section 3. In the absence of the Chairman, any one of the three Vice-Chairmen shall have the power to discharge all the duties of the Chairman.

Section 4. The Secretary shall keep all corporate records, shall cause minutes to be kept of all meetings of the Board of Trustees, shall have custody of all minute books of the corporation, shall send out all notices, and shall be custodian of the corporate seal, affixing it and attesting to all instruments as authorized by the Board of Trustees.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall be custodian of the funds and securities of the corporation. It shall be his duty to use such depositories and open such accounts as shall be prescribed by the Board of Trustees, and to make payment as authorized by the Board of Trustees. The Board of Trustees shall decide from time to time whether the Treasurer himself or other persons connected with the corporation shall be bonded.

Section 6. Nominations for officers shall be made as follows: The Nominating Committee shall nominate one person for each position to be filled and shall submit a list of such nominees to the Secretary prior to the annual meeting. Additional nominations to fill any position may be made by any five members of the Board of Trustees in writing and submitted to the Secretary prior to the meeting at which the election is to take place.

ARTICLE V. Committees.

Section 1. The Nominating Committee shall consist of five members of the Board of Trustees, elected by the Board of Trustees at the previous annual meeting, or at some other time at least sixty days prior to the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. By-Laws.

Section 1. These by-laws may be amended by a majority of the Board of Trustees at any meeting, provided that no such amendment shall be valid unless at least five days' written notice of the general nature of the proposed amendment to the by-laws

has been given to the members of the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. All questions of interpretation of these by-laws shall be decided by a majority vote of the members of the Board of Trustees present at any meeting, and such decisions shall be final.

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ROBERT W. WOODRUFF, *Chairman, Executive Committee of the Coca-Cola Company, New York City*

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

November 5, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

No card rec'd 11/10.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The White House has just advised us that President Eisenhower would like to meet with the Trustees of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc. at 12:30 instead of 12:45 P.M., on Tuesday, November 17th, in order that he can have more time with us. Will you please enter by the Northwest Gate of the White House, where you will be directed to the Executive Offices.

From the White House we will go directly to the Shoreham Hotel, where we will lunch together and have our afternoon meeting. We expect to have our business completed by late afternoon so that the Trustees can either return home or accept other engagements.

Even though you may have already indicated to me that you can or cannot attend the Washington meeting, I will appreciate it if you will fill out the enclosed card and mail it at your earliest convenience so that I can advise the White House and the Shoreham.

Sincerely,

Thomas B. McCabe
CHAIRMAN

227

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 27, 1953

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am delighted to know that you have agreed to participate in the launching and the guidance of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc. I am grateful to you personally because it is certain that your contribution, based upon your rich experience, will be valuable beyond calculation.

I personally believe that the program, now vigorously under way, has such far-reaching possibilities that in the year 2053 people may look back and say, "From this beginning came a major influence in the world for the furtherance of peace between men and nations."

Of course, you and those associated with you on the Board of Trustees carry the responsibility for conducting this program in a manner which will justify our faith that the exchange, among nations, of educational experience and practical knowledge can bring vast returns in good will, opportunity and productivity for all mankind. There will be great interest in and public attention on your work, and I am deeply honored that my name is connected with a program under such splendid auspices and leadership.

With kind personal regard,

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

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EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

14 October 1953

Mr Edward R Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York New York

Dear Ed

As Tom McCabe has left for the West Coast, he asked me to send you a duplicate of the scroll which was handed to the President last night.

This is a major project with the President. He previously approved individually and with great enthusiasm your name and the others on the Board of Trustees. Last night he again stressed the importance of management and his thanks to and congratulations on the outstanding Board.

We are all convinced that the Eisenhower Fellowships are soundly conceived. They make business sense. And with good business management, they can be of great value to the participating nations - and of course, the United States will have, by far, more Eisenhower Fellows than any other nation.

But this needs direction and sound administration - just as does anything.

We are all delighted that you will help in this. And we hope you will think enough of this scroll to put it on your wall, as will the President, with the expectation that in years to come, it will have great and growing significance.

Very truly yours

Ward

WW:C

SCOTT PAPER COMPANY
CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA

THOMAS B. McCABE
PRESIDENT

October 13, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Your prompt and gracious acceptance of the invitation to become a Trustee of "Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship, Inc." is very pleasing to your many good friends in this exciting adventure. I know that the President will be pleased to see your signature on the scroll, which is being presented to him at the Hershey, Pennsylvania birthday party, as he has shown a vital interest in the program and the men who will direct its destiny.

Reproductions of the scroll in smaller size, suitable for framing, will be given to each of the six thousand diners at the Hershey dinner tonight and an exact duplicate of the scroll given to the President will be mailed to you in a few days by Ward Wheelock, one of our trustees.

I do not believe that we could have successfully engineered the plan without the assistance of Ward Wheelock and his advertising agency, as they have worked night and day to complete all of the details of the plan. Ward working with Philip Sharples and Walter Annenberg have been a powerful team in fitting together all of the ideas and converting them into a practical plan of operation. I am so happy that they will continue to give their talents and energy to us as Trustees.

We were fortunate also in having as Counselors such men as Andrew Robertson of Pittsburgh, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, John Nason of the Foreign Policy Association, Courtney Smith of the Rhodes Foundation, Dr. Kenneth Holland of the Institute of International Education and Dr. Hannah, Assistant Secretary of Defense. Several of these men will also serve as Trustees. I am looking forward eagerly to the opportunity of serving in this worthy project with you.

Tuesday We are planning to hold the first meeting of the Board of Trustees in Washington on November 17th as that seems to be a convenient date for President Eisenhower to receive us. We will write you more about this later. Until then and with kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Tom

Eisenhower Ed

WARD WHEELOCK COMPANY

ADVERTISING

WARD WHEELOCK
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

PHILADELPHIA

8 October 1953

Dear Ed

Herewith.

Ike read every line - and on the 86 names suggested, he went over each one carefully and connected - variously - on over 50.

He's quite a guy.

He says "This project is my brother's baby - but it's also mine."

Ward

pwc.

WW:C

Mr Edward R Murrow
CBS 485 Madison Avenue
New York N Y

Change

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS

Temporary Executive Committee

30 September 1953

President Dwight D Eisenhower
The White House
Washington D C

Dear Mr President

If it meets with your approval, we will present to you at your Birthday Party at Hershey, Pennsylvania, on October 13th, as a birthday present from the entire American people, an operating plan for Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships to go into effect immediately, with the selected Eisenhower Fellows at work in the United States and abroad in the Fall of 1954.

We have had an able committee working on the practicalities of these Fellowships. They have evolved a plan (Attachment A) which meets all of the conditions which we set up.

The specific plan, if you approve, is to have twenty Eisenhower Exchange Fellows in the year 1954-55 for twelve months each (cost $175,000) has already been underwritten), and thereafter increase the number to from sixty to a hundred per year (ultimate goal one hundred, cost $770,000 a year).

The essence of this plan is not its size, or the money involved per Fellow or in total, although these will be big. (Rhodes Scholars from the United States are but thirty-two per year at about $1400 a year each).

What makes the Eisenhower Fellowships unique are the businesslike, practical objectives and conditions. Fellows will not be just students or even post graduates. They will not be scholars. There is no interest in the erudite. Fellows will be the outstanding young, potential leaders in the field selected as most important for their country - men of 25 to 40 - who have worked - who have proven unusual abilities in that field. They need not be college graduates - their selection is based on the importance of their field plus their personal abilities, background, and future potentials. They are selected exactly as business would select future top executives. And their twelve months training will be specially custom made for the Fellow and for the job his country wants him to do.

If you approve of this, we will by October 13th have a going non-profit corporation, established to operate the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships over the years. It will be operated with the objectives and plan explained in

Attachment A. It will be run by a Board of Trustees that are non-partisan and national in scope, which, if you agree, I will organize from the list (Attachment B) with any deletions or additions you care to make.

no copy available

In our initial year 1954-55, when we will have twenty Fellows, we plan to divide them thirteen from Foreign countries to come to the United States (Attachment C), and seven United States Fellows to go abroad. We do this because we wish to cover all sections of the world, primarily the underdeveloped nations, for we feel that there we will do the most good. Probably for the same reason the Board will continue this policy - appointing each year more Foreign Eisenhower Fellows than United States Fellows.

It is our hope and expectation and belief that over a period of years this plan of taking the outstanding, young, potential leaders in the most important field of the underdeveloped countries will, with the help of what the United States can give them in twelve months, produce quickly leaders in those countries both economically and probably politically, although the method of selecting them and any training they would get would be wholly non-political. In ten years, Eisenhower Fellows should be in many key positions throughout the world.

It has been said this is the practical approach that would be used by American business to meet important problems - first select the greatest need, second select the best potential man for that specific job, give him carefully decided, personal opportunities to learn the most he can, to see other top men at work, to meet them, to get access to their problems, thinking, solutions. This, properly done for twelve months, is a great opportunity for any man - his greatest chance to grow productively. For it is specific - and custom planned - and given to the man who has proven his practical worth and is of an age to best benefit - in the most needed field.

Properly administered (a big job) it is our considered judgment that Eisenhower Fellowships will become the outstanding Fellowships in individual importance and in total importance in the world. We believe that the plan for organization and Board of Trustees for its operation will cause this result. We believe that these Fellowships will be in concept, in plan, and in results worthy of the name they bear. Were this not our feeling, we would not offer to set up and operate Eisenhower Fellowships.

If you concur in our thinking and will accept this gift, we will immediately put this into final form - (1) establish the corporation, (2) establish the National Committee, and (3) have an operating unit, plan and timetable when it is presented to you on October 13th, incorporating any

ideas that you might have on

(a) Its form or operation (Attachment A)
(b) The list from which the Board of Trustees will be chosen (Attachment B)
(c) The proposed list of countries for 1954-55 (Attachment C)
(d) The proposed publicity release (Attachment D).

Yours very truly

~~Signed~~ - Thomas B McCabe, Chairman
Temporary Executive Committee
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships

Attachment "A"

Condensed Plan for Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships

1. Requirements that the plan must meet:

"Non political - and subject to no political attack. Fellowships must be most desired in world - fit today's conditions and President Eisenhower's basic philosophy. Must be truly national in constituion and management. Available to all, regardless of race, creed, color, sex or politics. Certain of continuance on a big scale to make it really important. Must be worthy of the name."

2. Objective

a) "To help promote understanding between the United States and other nations and between other nations and the United States."

b) "To give the best individually planned, practical training for one year (12 months) to the man with the greatest potential (age 25 to 40) selected from each nation, in the field of the country's greatest need."

3. Basic plan

To set up Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships Inc., a non profit charitable corporation which will receive contributions and establish and operate through a non political, national Board of Trustees, the Fellowship plan which is:

Offer Eisenhower Fellowships to applicants from the United States and from interested foreign countries (selected primarily where the need is greatest). These Fellows will be selected in the field determined as the greatest need of that country, and will be the outstanding young man or woman in that field. The Fellow should be a practical producer - who has worked and proven outstanding potentials in that field - the best young person (age 25 to 40) to fill the country's greatest specific need. College degree not required. He must express a desire to learn and return to his country and work.

When the Fellowship is awarded the capacities, background and training of the Fellow are studied together with the job for which his country needs him - and a special 12 months' training is custom planned for each Fellow. This will be of differing forms but will probably cover -

(a) On the job visits of sufficient length of time to see and learn something of operations of various sorts in his field covering all parts of the United States,

(b) a specialized post graduate university course of 3 to 6 months where advisable in the special subject desired,

(c) work for 2 to 4 months on the job which will be of most value in his work in his country,

(d) meeting with the eminent men in his field for advice, counsel and questions, so that it is constructive and helpful and not "just courtesy",

(e) an understanding of what our government does in his field.

In the course of working with various Americans of varying ability and geography, living in their homes and on the job with a strong mutual interest, understanding and appreciation will come better than a quick tour or entertaining.

Most Fellows (25 to 40 years old) will be married. Their wives (but not children) will be brought under the Fellowship. Their wives will add to the understanding between countries from a different viewpoint.

Various decisions and comments:-

- 20 total Fellowships 1954-55 -- 13 to be Foreign Fellows - 7 to be United States Fellows. ($175,000 cost). Considerable increase in subsequent years -- 100 per year ultimate goal. ($770,000 cost).

- Contributions will be from all over the United States - individuals, corporations, foundations - as well as abroad.

- The administration is vitally important. The selection and placing of each Fellow and plan have been evolved by experts to insure this will be well done.

- The vital necessity of making clear the unique character and objective and building of Eisenhower Fellows is extremely necessary, and plans are made for this.

- The "exchange" feature is important to make us not just a giving nation - as well as having great value to our Fellows. But it is felt the most value will be to foreign Fellows from less developed countries and that probably 70% should be so assigned.

Attachment "C"

SUGGESTED DIVISION OF FELLOWSHIPS FOR FIRST YEAR

Total - 20.

From foreign countries - 13.
From U.S. to go abroad- 7.

Countries to which Eisenhower Fellowships will be offered:

Europe	-	Germany, Italy
America	-	Mexico, Brazil, Chile
Africa	-	Egypt, Gold Coast
Asia	-	a) Turkey, India, Pakistan
		b) Japan, Korea, Formosa

Above total 13 countries and is based on a recommended distribution of 13 foreign Fellows to the U.S. in 1954-55 and 7 U.S. Fellows abroad.

Other especially desirable countries:

Yugoslavia, Greece, Israel, Nigeria
Indonesia, Australia, Philippines

Of course, in 1955-56 with more Fellowships, we can cover more countries with multiple Fellowships where deemed desirable.

The above list is based on world coverage by areas as well as need and other factors.

Attachment "D"

Citizens Set Up Fellowships to Honor President

Exchange Studies Offer Self-Help To All Nations to Seek Solution of Specific Problems; Start in 1954

The creation of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, by which the United States and other nations may pool their practical knowledge and genius for the solution of their most pressing problems was announced today as President Eisenhower's birthday present from the American people.

The unique gift was conceived as an appropriate tribute to President Eisenhower as a leader of the free world and as a businesslike application of his statement of American principles: "to allow all nations to devote their energies and resources to the great and good tasks of healing the war's wounds, of clothing and feeding and housing the needy, of perfecting a just political life, of enjoying the fruits of their own free toil."

Designed to fit today's conditions, Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships have been established as an eminently workable way to provide concrete solutions for specific problems. They will be nonpolitical in sponsorship, financing and operation and have nation-wide support. They have been created as a continuing, growing and privately supported program to encourage self-help in all nations and to promote mutual respect and understanding among all people.

100 IS EVENTUAL AIM

Eventual aim of the program is to award 100 Eisenhower Fellowships a year to the most promising "uncommon" men and women of various nationalities who are working in fields in which their countries' needs are most urgent.

For the individual recipient, the fellowship will offer the best available training and experience in his specialty, to be determined by his particular requirements rather than an arbitrarily set money value. In full operation, the program is expected to cost about $770,000 a year.

The gift was announced by Thomas B. McCabe, president of the Scott Paper Co. and former chairman of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, who served as chairman of a temporary executive committee to start the project.

BIRTHDAY PRESENTATION

It will be presented to the President in Hershey, Pa., on Tuesday, Oct. 13, at the celebration of his 63d birthday by Philip T. Sharples, Philadelphia industrialist. It will include:

An organization, Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., incorporated as a nonprofit corporation under the laws of Pennsylvania.

A first-year program to award 20 Eisenhower Fellowships to men and women of the United States and foreign countries, to cost about $175,000. This will be subscribed by a large number of contributors throughout the United States and other countries, but to assure the operation this sum has been more than underwritten by a group of men from New York to California.

20 AWARDS NEXT YEAR

A comprehensive, specific long-term program, with plans completed for selecting the first 20 Eisenhower Fellows for the year starting September, 1954.

With the goal of making Eisenhower Fellowships the most desired and useful of their kind in the world—worthy of their name—the sponsors of the program have drawn unique specifications. In selecting candidates, emphasis will be placed on practical achievement rather than scholarship. Applicants will be chosen from those who have made substantial contributions toward solving their countries immediate and critical problems. The fields will include—but will not be limited to—government, business, agriculture, engineering and communications.

The age limits for applicants have been set at 25 to 40. Other qualifications will be flexible; academic degrees will not be required although most of the applicants probably will have them.

MATURITY STRESSED

The upper age limit of 40, sponsors believe, will permit the selection of men and women young enough to apply newly acquired knowledge in the service of their countrymen for 25 to 30 years. At the same time, they will have the maturity, perspective and practical experience to know what they must learn and how to put it to use.

Applications will be screened painstakingly to obtain men and women who have given on-the-job proof of their uncommon qualities and who could be persuaded to interrupt their careers for a year only by a matchless opportunity for advancement. Successful candidates will be those with reasonable prospects of achieving eminence in their countries during the next two or three decades.

WORK 'CUSTOM PLANNED'

The year of work to be done by each fellow will be "custom planned" for the individual. For foreigners, it will offer the best instruction the United States has to give in his chosen line. It will include learning on the job and in the field and perhaps, but not necessarily, several months of study at a university or college.

For fellows chosen from the United States similar one-year programs will be prepared.

To illustrate the purposes and plans of the project, sponsors outlined a hypothetical 12-months program for an Eisenhower Fellow selected from a country in which the improvement of cattle-raising was of vital importance. Such a program might include:

Selected work at an outstanding land grant college where conditions most nearly resemble those of the fellow's own country.

VISITS TO WESTERN RANCHES

Extended visits to Western cattle ranches for study of breeding methods, treatment of diseases and American practices that could be adopted successfully in the foreign country.

Visits to cattle feeding pens and to meat packing plants in Kansas City or Chicago, followed by inspection trips to food distribution companies to learn American methods from ranch to dinner table.

A visit to a Florida cattle ranch to study animal husbandry in a contrasting environment.

Detailed inspection at the plants of large milk-processing companies, with studies of American production and marketing methods.

OUTSTANDING AUTHORITIES

At each stage of his study, the fellow would be introduced to outstanding American authorities in various phases of his field. He would work for two or three months on a job offering the best experience for his own problems.

A sample time breakdown of a hypothetical fellowship year would be:

One week in Washington to meet the President and Government officials concerned with the individual's specialty.

Six months of university study.

An average of one week at each of six different work operations in various sections of the United States.

TWO MONTHS AT JOB

Two months of employment in the most applicable work operation.

One month of travel to consult with experts in his specialty.

One month of vacation travel to become familiar with other parts of America.

Travel to and from the United States.

Over-all administration of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., is to be vested in a board of trustees of approximately 35 members selected without regard to race, creed or color from all parts of the United States. About 25 trustees will be chosen from such industries as the automotive, transportation, mining, chemicals, metals and communications; five from among presidents of educational institutions and five from other categories.

——— members already have been named. They are:

PRACTICAL AIMS STRESSED

The emphasis on industrial representation on the board is intentional, to stress the practical purposes of the program.

The board will be solely responsible for policy decisions, exercising its authority through four groups. An executive committee will supervise general administration. A finance committee will formulate fund-raising policies and programs.

Two other committees will be responsible for maintaining the unique features of the program. A selection committee will distribute the fellowships by countries, designate the fields of activity from which applications will be invited, issue invitations, consider applications and recommend selections.

UP TO PLANNING GROUP

The detailed, one-year program to be followed by each fellow is to be prepared by a planning committee. The committee will work closely with the selected candidate himself and with American industrialists and specialists—especially those on the board of trustees—in drafting a plan to the fellow's specifications.

For detailed administration, the board of trustees will employ, on a cost basis, the Institute of International Education, an organization with 34 years of experience in facilitating the exchange of men and women between countries for serious educational and training purposes.

COOPERATION WIDESPREAD

The institute works in cooperation with educational institutions, private and public organizations and thousands of individuals throughout the world. Its facilities will be available for obtaining and screening applicants for Eisenhower Fellowships.

As administrative agency, the Institute of International Education will employ a full-time director for the Eisenhower Fellowship program who will maintain its distinct character, working under the immediate supervisions of the president of the Institute.

MEETING NEXT MONTH

Members of the board of trustees will meet early next month to organize. By the end of November invitations will be extended to the foreign countries selected for the first year. International areas from which applications will be invited have been decided, but not individual countries.

Applications will close on March 15, 1954, and the first 20 fellowships will be awarded by May 5.

The 20 successful candidates are expected to gather in Washington about Sept. 15, 1954, to attend a dinner given by the board of trustees, at which President Eisenhower will be guest of honor.

On that visit to the capital, foreign fellows will meet the ambassadors and ministers of their own countries and will review U. S. Government operations in their fields before beginning their year of work and study.

Fellows selected from the United States will, at the same time, be briefed by the State Department on the countries to which they have been assigned.

SCOTT PAPER COMPANY
CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA

Accepted
10/7/53

THOMAS B. McCABE
PRESIDENT

October 5, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

You will be thrilled, I am sure, to hear that President Eisenhower has accepted with enthusiasm the proposal outlined in the enclosed letter, and has given the "green light" for completing the arrangements. His reaction was one of deep appreciation and he was ardent in expressing his views concerning the aims and practical objectives of the program.

The success of the plan will depend primarily upon the character of the men and women who will constitute the National Board of Trustees. A very distinguishing list of men and women has been selected, and the final list has just been approved. The selections were made on a non-partisan basis and represent various segments of our national life. I am confident that their names will add distinction to the Board and will give the public confidence in the success of the program.

I am happy to tell you that your name was among the first to be considered as a Trustee and that you have the unanimous approval of everyone concerned with the program. Service as a Trustee should be very pleasant because of the fine personal associations, as well as the reward of satisfaction that comes from such a worthy endeavor. The work will not be arduous as the full Board will meet infrequently, and only to make policy decisions. The Trustees will exercise their authority through committees, and committee assignments will be optional for each individual Trustee. The Board will be a revolving one with a limited term of service of three years. The terms of the initial Trustees will be staggered on a one, two and three year basis, and where possible the individual preference of each Trustee will be given consideration as to the length of his or her term.

I will sincerely appreciate your reactions to the plan and your favorable answer to serving as a Trustee by telephone not later than October 7th as that is our target for printing the press release and it is very desirable to have as many names of the Trustees as possible in the initial announcement, as well as on the illuminated scroll to be presented to the President at Hershey. (Please call Collect - Chester 4-4211)

I am looking forward eagerly to serving with you.

Sincerely,

Thomas B. McCabe
Chairman, Temporary Executive Committee
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS

Temporary Executive Committee

30 September 1953

President Dwight D Eisenhower
The White House
Washington D C

Dear Mr President

If it meets with your approval, we will present to you at your Birthday Party at Hershey, Pennsylvania, on October 13th, as a birthday present from the entire American people, an operating plan for Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships to go into effect immediately, with the selected Eisenhower Fellows at work in the United States and abroad in the Fall of 1954.

We have had an able committee working on the practicalities of these Fellowships. They have evolved a plan (Attachment A) which meets all of the conditions which we set up.

The specific plan, if you approve, is to have twenty Eisenhower Exchange Fellows in the year 1954-55 for twelve months each (cost $175,000) has already been underwritten), and thereafter increase the number to from sixty to a hundred per year (ultimate goal one hundred, cost $770,000 a year).

The essence of this plan is not its size, or the money involved per Fellow or in total, although these will be big. (Rhodes Scholars from the United States are but thirty-two per year at about $1400 a year each).

What makes the Eisenhower Fellowships unique are the businesslike, practical objectives and conditions. Fellows will not be just students or even post graduates. They will not be scholars. There is no interest in the erudite. Fellows will be the outstanding young, potential leaders in the field selected as most important for their country - men of 25 to 40 - who have worked - who have proven unusual abilities in that field. They need not be college graduates - their selection is based on the importance of their field plus their personal abilities, background, and future potentials. They are selected exactly as business would select future top executives. And their twelve months training will be specially custom made for the Fellow and for the job his country wants him to do.

If you approve of this, we will by October 13th have a going non-profit corporation, established to operate the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships over the years. It will be operated with the objectives and plan explained in

Attachment A. It will be run by a Board of Trustees that are non-partisan and national in scope, which, if you agree, I will organize from the list (Attachment B) with any deletions or additions you care to make.

In our initial year 1954-55, when we will have twenty Fellows, we plan to divide them thirteen from Foreign countries to come to the United States (Attachment C), and seven United States Fellows to go abroad. We do this because we wish to cover all sections of the world, primarily the underdeveloped nations, for we feel that there we will do the most good. Probably for the same reason the Board will continue this policy - appointing each year more Foreign Eisenhower Fellows than United States Fellows.

It is our hope and expectation and belief that over a period of years this plan of taking the outstanding, young, potential leaders in the most important field of the underdeveloped countries will, with the help of what the United States can give them in twelve months, produce quickly leaders in those countries both economically and probably politically, although the method of selecting them and any training they would get would be wholly non-political. In ten years, Eisenhower Fellows should be in many key positions throughout the world.

It has been said this is the practical approach that would be used by American business to meet important problems - first select the greatest need, second select the best potential man for that specific job, give him carefully decided, personal opportunities to learn the most he can, to see other top men at work, to meet them, to get access to their problems, thinking, solutions. This, properly done for twelve months, is a great opportunity for any man - his greatest chance to grow productively. For it is specific - and custom planned - and given to the man who has proven his practical worth and is of an age to best benefit - in the most needed field.

Properly administered (a big job) it is our considered judgment that Eisenhower Fellowships will become the outstanding Fellowships in individual importance and in total importance in the world. We believe that the plan for organization and Board of Trustees for its operation will cause this result. We believe that these Fellowships will be in concept, in plan, and in results worthy of the name they bear. Were this not our feeling, we would not offer to set up and operate Eisenhower Fellowships.

If you concur in our thinking and will accept this gift, we will immediately put this into final form - (1) establish the corporation, (2) establish the National Committee, and (3) have an operating unit, plan and timetable when it is presented to you on October 13th, incorporating any

ideas that you might have on

(a) Its form or operation (Attachment A)
(b) The list from which the Board of Trustees will be chosen (Attachment B)
(c) The proposed list of countries for 1954-55 (Attachment C)
(d) The proposed publicity release (Attachment D).

Yours very truly

Signed - Thomas B McCabe, Chairman
Temporary Executive Committee
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships

Eisenhower Ex.
Fellowships

WARD WHEELOCK COMPANY

ADVERTISING

WARD WHEELOCK
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

PHILADELPHIA

27 August 1953

Dear Ed

Welcome home!

Knowing your interest in the idea - I thought you might be interested in seeing the attached.

Dr Kenneth Holland, your suggestion, for the past month was driving across America and so I won't see him until this Friday. But I talked to him in Ohio and he will serve on the committee - liking the idea.

This just might be workable - and important if well done.

Ward
per c

Mr Ed Murrow
CBS 485 Madison Ave
New York 22 N Y

WW/nm

Encls.

COPY

27 August 1953

Dr Kenneth Holland President
Institute of International Education
1 East 67th Street
New York 21 N Y

same letter sent to all committee members

Dear Dr Holland

I appreciate exceedingly your agreement to serve on the temporary Policy Plans and Operations Committee for the proposed Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships. This committee ceases to exist on October 10th.

The attached memorandum gives the rough ideas to date. The plan for and purpose of the committee is as follows:

1) Meeting at the Union League, Philadelphia 12:30 PM Wednesday, September 16th.
   Purpose: To discuss plans, to raise questions, to formulate direction to develop.

2) Meeting at the Union League, Philadelphia 11:00 AM Thursday, September 24th.
   Purpose: To review all information and arrive at a specific report on

   a) advisability of establishing Eisenhower Fellowships
   b) plan and committee and operation
   c) recommendation of the National Board to carry on the Eisenhower Fellowships - plus any recommendations regarding the best method of operation - selection of candidates, setting up the individual programs for each Fellow, etc.

This report will go to Mr. Philip Sharples, Chairman of the Republican Finance Committee of Pennsylvania, for final decision, after a review of the report from the Finance Committee.

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If their decision is to proceed, the matter will be taken up with President Eisenhower in comprehensive form through Dr Milton Eisenhower with several others. If President Eisenhower approves (and he is definitely interested in the idea which has been discussed with him), it will be presented to him in final form as a definite thing at his Birthday Party at Hershey on October 13th.

Attached is the membership of the committee.

My personal feeling is that this proposed Fellowship has great potentials. There is much work to do in planning its operation to make it outstanding - as it must be if it is to be done at all. It is important that it be planned as practically as possible, and then its worth evaluated. For your agreement to help in this, I thank you.

Very truly yours

Ward Wheelock/nm

Encls: 2

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TEMPORARY ADVISORY COMMITTEE (until 10/10/53)

Policy Plans and Operation

of the

Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships

Chairman: Ward Wheelock
Chairman of the Board, Ward Wheelock Company

Members: Walter H Annenberg
Editor and Publisher, The Philadelphia Inquirer

Dr Kenneth Holland
President, Institute of International Education

Thomas B McCabe
President, Scott Paper Company

Dr John W Nason
President, Foreign Policy Association

Andrew W Robertson
Chairman of the Board, Westinghouse Electric Corporation

Dr Courtney Smith
President, Swarthmore College
American Secretary of Rhodes Scholarship

1) Dr Milton S Eisenhower, while feeling it best not to have an Eisenhower on the committee, agreed to sit in on the committee meetings and give us the benefit of his counsel.

2) The above members have indicated that they expect to be at the September 16th meeting (one is not certain). Please plan definitely for September 24th.

3) An invitation to serve on the committee has gone to Dr John A Hannah, Assistant Secretary for Defense, who is on leave as President of Michigan State College. He is out of the country until September 4th.

8/27/53

WARD WHEELOCK COMPANY
Advertising

MEMORANDUM OF THINKING BEHIND THE PROPOSED
EISENHOWER INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS

Cecil Rhodes established what have been probably the most successful scholarships ever operated. Their objective was unique and sound for the times. The conditions regarding the selection of candidates made much sense for though they were "Scholars" and went to Oxford and were in the classics, by Mr. Rhodes' decision the best all around men were picked, not just the erudite. Rhodes scholars fitted their times, did good, acquired great prestige - but it would be totally out of character to start such a thing today with the Eisenhower name. It is outmoded.

If a similar idea is to be established in the name of President Eisenhower, it must have an objective, plan and requirements at least as distinctive. It must fit today's conditions, and be along the lines of President Eisenhower's basic philosophy. It must have no political connection or be subject to political attack. It must be the most desired Fellowship in the world. Further, it must be certain of continuance on a big enough scale to make it of real importance.

Briefly, the idea for the Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowship is as follows:

Establish it with these dual objectives:

1) to help promote understanding between the United States and other nations and between other nations and the United States.

2) to give the best individual practical training for one year to the best "uncommon man" selected from each nation in the field of that country's greatest need.

To accomplish these objectives, exchange fellowships will be set up in pairs. For each foreign fellowship to the United States, there will be a United States Fellow go abroad for a year.

An Eisenhower Fellowship will be offered to various countries as decided by the committee varying each year. They will be countries in all parts of the world - Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, North America. There may be one, two or more offered to a country.

1) Each country will select the field in which they need most development. This will be practical. It might be hydro-electric power, or road or bridge building, or agriculture (the raising of cattle or pigs or sheep or crops), or business (they may have raw materials but need to learn mass production to get prices down for local usage or for selling abroad), or business administration, or specialized medicine, etc.

2) Then the best "uncommon man" in that field will be chosen for that country to be the Eisenhower Fellow.

It is our feeling that since we are aiming for a man who can quickly and practically absorb and use what is offered, the Eisenhower Fellow should be more mature than the usual scholarship or fellowship recipient - that he should probably have worked practically.

We want men who have more perspective and background than the usual college student or even post graduate. We want not just the scholar who wants learning for itself - but the man who wants to learn in order to do.

Therefore, while no rules can be laid down for "uncommon men" who have proven their character, we feel that we should take Eisenhower Fellows up to 32 years of age and not require a university degree - though obviously that will generally be held. But we will not want to exclude men like Knudsen or John Wanamaker or Thomas Edison or Benjamin Franklin or Jim Duff who are uncommon and yet have no degree. Many uncommon men show this at an early age. But we wish to make it clear that we have no restrictions on older than usual men for postgraduate work and that we feel practical experience a definite asset.

We say 32 or about because we feel he could take a year profitably then and then apply for 35 years or so his increased knowledge for his country in the field they most need.

3) To get such a man, who has started his work and has felt the joy of learning through doing and seeing results, much more than college must be offered. So the Eisenhower Fellowship will offer much more. The tentative plan of what it offers is: - one year (12 months) of the best America has to give in his chosen line - especially selected for his background and requirements - a custom planned year in three ways:

a) Post graduate selective college work.

b) Time for practical work at the various types of units he is interested in - plus time spent in 4 to 6 different work operations in the field selected.

c) Meeting and time with the leading men in the field he is interested in.

Let's be specific. Suppose an Eisenhower Fellow was interested in cattle raising. His country needed food. Cattle raising is the main problem. He was the outstanding young man. The United States Eisenhower Committee gets full information on the man and the country's requirements and problems. So his year is planned.

(1) He will have selected work at the outstanding Land-Grant University where conditions best suit the local conditions in the Fellow's country.

(2) Seven to ten days at King Ranch. Study of Gertrudis and their whole operation. What they have learned from shipping abroad. Breeding, characteristics, disease problems, etc. Not just a visit, but a real study into the operation - their problems, their progress, their thinking.

(3) A week or so on a western steer ranch.

(4) See the feeding pens and then to Kansas City and Chicago. From Swift or Armour to A&P to see the whole process from ranch to table.

(5) Perhaps to Florida to see a different operation in cattle at the most practical operation to apply to his country. It might well be planned that he stay and work for a couple of months.

(6) And to the New York Milk Shed with Borden or Sheffield - their kinds, costs, methods. To see the various types of milk produced - fluid, dry, evaporated, condensed - every practical detail.

(7) In the operation, the Eisenhower Fellow will cover the country fairly well, meeting all sorts of people where they have a mutual interest. And through arrangements, he will meet and spend time with the big men in various phases of this field. At his age and with his energy, he should get and give. And I am sure that the American big men will give an outstanding young man some time. It will not be often, for the fields are very wide.

But in this set-up in 12 months, the Eisenhower Fellow will get the best America has to give - a program specifically worked out for him - a) college, b) practical operation of all sorts and not just a quick visit, and c) a visit with the "great" in his field.

While each Eisenhower Fellow will have a specifically and carefully planned year from his specific background and problem let's look at 12 months of a possible plan:

	Months	Weeks
In Washington		
To meet President Eisenhower and to see the government people involved in his specialty		1
To University	6	
An average of a week each at 6 different work operations in various sections of the country	1	2
Work in the most applicable work operation	2	
Time in traveling and seeing the "top" men of his specialty (most of these will be in the work operation units)	1	
Vacation to see other places of America	1	
Travel to and from America		1
Total time	12 months	

How better could he spend a year - to learn in his specific field - to gain an understanding of America - to develop a broader outlook?

Any American of 30 who was going somewhere would give his eyeteeth for such an opportunity - even though the tug to keep in practical productive work would be great. It is self-evident that if this planning and carrying out of the year is practically done this will be the most productive way to spend a year in 95% of the cases of uncommon men. What the Eisenhower Fellowship has to offer will be of unique value and designed for the "uncommon man".

The plan is to offer 20 Eisenhower Fellowships in 1954-55. These will cost $175,000 (ten from the United States to go abroad and ten from abroad to come to the United States).

And in 1955-56 and thereafter, offer 100 per year (50 to and 50 from the United States) at a cost of $770,000.

Two temporary committees are being set up to investigate the practicality of this:

1) Policy Plans and Operations Committee

2) Finance Committee

Both will have final reports arrived at September 24th to determine the detailed specific propositions and plans, and the practicalities of operating and financing it.

The purpose is, if it is to be done, to have it underwritten by Pennsylvania for the first year ($175,000) and presented to President Eisenhower at his birthday party October 13th.

He is specifically and greatly interested in this plan. Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower is also greatly interested and is working with the committee in developing it. He will sit in on the Committee meetings.

After the two above committees report, they will cease to exist.

Their reports go to Mr. Philip Sharples, Chairman of the Republican Finance Committee of Pennsylvania, who with his associates will decide whether to proceed with the plan.

If they decide to do so it is planned in the first few days of October to take this to President Eisenhower (this will be done by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower with several members of the Committees).

If he approves, it will be put into final form and presented to President Eisenhower at his Birthday Party at Hershey, Pennsylvania on October 13th - the corporation set-up - the $175,000 budget underwritten - the long term plan specified and put immediately into action to select Fellows for the year September 1954 to August 1955.

At this time a National Board will take the place of the two temporary Committees - and the project starts immediately out of the hands of politics or any locality. It is then a national program set up as President Eisenhower wishes it - and underwritten by men - corporations - and Foundations, from all over the country because it makes sense.

The key to the success of this plan lies in the two hard working committees which will be appointed by the Board - the committee that will select and plan the year for the Fellow and see it works out, and the Finance Committee. But finding and handling the Fellow is the basic problem of this plan. This needs much more work by able people.

If this is well done the Eisenhower Fellowships will be the premier Fellowships in the world - the most sought after.

* * * * *

8/27/53

COPY

27 August 1953

Dr Milton S Eisenhower President
Pennsylvania State College
State College Penna

Dear Dr Eisenhower

I have set the meeting for Wednesday, September 16th, at 12:30 PM at the Union League, Philadelphia, for the Policy Plans and Operations Committee for the proposed Eisenhower International Exchange Fellowships.

A Beech Bonanza will pick you up at State College at 9:45 AM that morning - and fly you back when the meeting is over. We will of course arrange for a car to and from Wings Field.

I do hope you will save September 24th also as that is the day of decision.

Enclosed is a copy of what was sent to Committee Members who are widely scattered until Labor Day. But they all had great interest in the idea.

Talked to Dr. Holland who is driving back from across the country and is now in Ohio. Will see him Friday. Tom McCabe, who is in Maine and who I will see next week, suggested Dr. Courtney Smith, the new head of the Rhodes Scholarship, and he will serve. So all are set but Dr. Hannah to whom I will talk on September 8th. A letter is awaiting his return from abroad on September 4th.

Thanks for your very helpful comments.

Very truly yours

Ward Wheelock

Encls.

COPY

Bobbs Merrill Co.

9503 La Jolla Farms Road
La Jolla, California
March 23, 1964

Elmer Davis

Miss Jerry Quigg,
Publicity Director
The Bobbs Merrill Company, Inc.
3 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Quigg:

Very many thanks for the copy of BY ELMER DAVIS. I have not yet read the book, but do appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending it to me.

Yours sincerely,

Edward R. Murrow

ERM:apa

ESTABLISHED 1838
THE BOBBS-MERRILL COMPANY·INC. · PUBLISHERS
INDIANAPOLIS · NEW YORK

NEW YORK OFFICE
3 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York
MUrray Hill 8-6350

February 14, 1964

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Dr. Jonas Salk
La Jolla
California

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I would not ordinarily send you a book in care of your host, but Tom Stix assured me that you would like to see a copy of BY ELMER DAVIS, an anthology of his work edited by his son, Robert Lloyd Davis, to be published on March 10.

We are very proud to be publishing what may be the last of his selected works to come out for quite a while and are sending you a copy under separate cover.

I hope you will enjoy rereading Davis now.

Very sincerely yours,

Jerry Quigg

Miss Jerry Quigg
Publicity Director

JQ:hm

subsidiary of HOWARD W. SAMS & CO., INC.

V. Thanks

copy for Mr. Murrow
Davis, Elmer

In Memoriam

ELMER DAVIS

(1890-1958)

Elmer Davis (*Indiana and Queens*, '10) died on May 18, 1958, at the George Washington University Hospital in Washington, D. C., after a long illness. He was sixty-eight years old.

When Elmer Davis died there was an extraordinary outpouring of news stories about his achievements as a newspaper man, author, news analyst, head of the Office of War Information, and fighter for the freedom of the human mind, together with tributes in editorial and other columns and on television and radio. As one former associate said, "Elmer had to die to make some people realize what a dent he had made." There was an unusual quality about the tributes because many of them were written by old friends and associates who could not conceal, if they had wished to do so, their regard, esteem and affection for the man himself.

It would appear there remains little to be said. However, a few notes, unavoidably personal, may not be out of place from one who had the privilege of a close and intimate association with him through a friendship that lasted, unbroken and unmarred, for forty-five years.

I first met Elmer at my office when he came to see me, an earlier Rhodes Scholar, on his return to America in 1913. I had asked several other Rhodes Scholars in to meet him and I like to recall that we all realized that we had met a person of unusual qualities.

Elmer started almost immediately on his newspaper career. He said that I got him his first job, though I think he exaggerated, with characteristic generosity, the effect of one or two introductions I was able to give him to newspaper people. However that may be, our friendship began there. At our homes in New York and in the country, at our club and on vacations, we were in constant association. He was a man of fierce intellect but the gentlest of natures, with a rare capacity for friendship.

In the dignity and stature which he attained in his later years, when his writings were necessarily serious, people are apt to forget the contributions he made earlier in his career as a humorist. He wrote a number of books, mostly about New York life, which are still very, very funny. He once said to me, "I will either have to give up writing about New York night life or go out and see some of it."

He carried his dry humor into his political writings. One would like to have an anthology of his interviews, usually during political campaigns and national conventions, with a fabulous character whom he invented and christened "Godfrey Gloom, the unterrified Jeffersonian Democrat of Amity, Indiana." Once Godfrey confided to him that he understood that an incoming administration, in its search for a head of the Justice Department, was looking for a real dirt lawyer.

But Elmer was a dedicated newsman. In the terrible hurricane which hit New England in September, 1938, he was in his cottage on an island in Long Island Sound right in the path of the worst of the storm. I had not known that he had stayed there for the month of September until an inquiry by telephone from his son in Chicago made me realize that fact. It was a trying and anxious time. All means of communication were cut off and I was arranging with a relative of Elmer's to organize, if possible, an emergency expedition when his cousin called me up one morning and said, "Have you seen page 10 of the *Times* this morning?" There was a hair-raising account of Elmer's experiences in that storm. He had crawled practically on his hands and knees over a causeway between the island and mainland which had been badly battered by the storm, and filed his news story before he got in touch with his friends and relatives. He was a reporter first and last.

The following year, in August, 1939, I called Elmer from my farm in Connecticut, which was not far from his island cottage, intending to ask him and his wife for lunch. His wife told me he had been summoned to New York to substitute on the radio for Kaltenborn, who was in Europe. "How long will he be there?" I asked, and she said that he would be there about two or three weeks. He stayed on that stint for three years.

Soon we were hearing him broadcasting the outbreak of the war. It was during that period, with his five-minute broadcast every night at 8:55, that he became a national figure with an audience estimated at 12,000,000 people. His voice became one of the best known in America and it was impossible for him to conceal his identity. Taxicab drivers and passengers on trains would say, "Aren't you Elmer Davis?"

When President Roosevelt appointed him head of the Office of War Information in 1942, a member of the *New York Times* staff was commissioned to write an article about him which was afterwards printed under the caption: "Uncle Sam Hires a Reporter." The author of the article, in getting the material for his story, talked to one of Elmer's associates in the broadcasting company, a man who has since become one of the best known news analysts in the world. He said, "Elmer Davis spent three years in England without losing his American point of view or changing his accent." That is true, as we know; but it is not the whole story. We old Oxonians like to remember that Elmer was a Greats man at Oxford, and he would have been the first to admit that the training in the great school of *Literae Humaniores* contributed largely to his qualities of keen analysis and accurate sense of values.

No story of Elmer would be complete without a reference to Key West. Elmer visited that island, then completely unspoiled, in the 1920's and fell in love with it. That love affair lasted throughout his whole life and he visited the island from that time on almost every year. At Christmas time in 1927, he dined with me at the old Hotel Brevoort and told me he was going to Key West to write a book (it turned out to be *Gun Killers*). He said it would take him about a month and suggested that at the end of that time I come down and go with him to Cuba. At the end of the month he wrote me that he could not go to Cuba. He suggested that I join him at Key West. He then followed with a long description of Key West, the substance of which he afterwards sold *The New Yorker*, the first of many pieces he wrote about that island.

He became its unofficial historian and, in a way, its uncrowned king. He knew everybody on the island, from the man who owned half of it to the lowest employee in the hotel or bathing beach, and they all adored him.

On most of his trips to Key West I accompanied him, and every year, along about November, he would call up and suggest it was time to make our reservations for the Casa Marina. We happened to be there once when Truman was spending his vacation at the Naval Base. Truman entertained him, and we in turn entertained admirals and high government officials at the hotel, but he always managed to find time to slip away to see some of his old friends of the early days, like the little Cuban who kept the restaurant which we patronized during Prohibition, who is now retired and lives with his wife in a little cottage surrounded by the hibiscus and bougainvillea, which Elmer loved, and where he would have Elmer autograph his books and would give us papayas from the trees by the side of his house. As we left the island on that occasion Elmer had the chauffeur stop at a cottage at the edge of town to inquire about the woman who kept the gift shop at the hotel and who he had heard was ill.

With our wives we made our last visit to the island in 1955. The physical ills that finally carried him off interfered with his swimming, which he had always enjoyed, but he could be with his old friends and was happy there, as always.

At Thanksgiving in 1957 my wife and I were in Baltimore and we drove over to see Elmer in Washington. It was a happy family reunion. There was Miss, his wife, who had been his faithful helpmeet throughout his life and whom he adored to the end. There was also his charming daughter, Anne. We were sorry to miss his son, who is now a brilliant mathematician and a member of the Faculty of the University of Virginia. It was obvious even then that the hand of death was upon him, but he was cheerful, and at times almost gay, as we talked about old times, old friends, the club we both loved, and, of course, Key West. As we left, he gave me his inevitable farewell, "Well, Peke, God be with you." That was the last time I saw him.

Several years ago one of his admirers asked me to have him autograph a book, which he did. It was his first book, *Times Have Changed*, and he autographed it under the simple sentence, "They have indeed."

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(*Maryland and Oriel*, '04)

copy for Mr Murrow

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(1890-1958)

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well (as he used to say), with the death of Elmer Davis times have changed for many of us. Those of us who carry on can pay our tribute to contributing our mite to the preservation of the freedom of the human will be a tribute which he deserved and which he would have liked.

We can only hope that he is spending a long and well earned vacation the warm sands of some celestial Key West.

PAUL KIEFFER
(*Maryland and Oriel*, '04)

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

February 1, 1961

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Having waited a decent interval for John Daly to get settled, I unfortunately cannot extend to you the same courtesy for time is pressing. All here are delighted with your new appointment and extend congratulations --even though it will minimize the amount of time for which we might be able to pry you loose to help out on the Elmer Davis Fund.

Will you take a few moments in the next day or so to look at the enclosed draft. It is a letter we propose to send out to those on that list prepared in September and to others suggested since. If you find it appropriate, would you please give us a signature -- preferably in dark ink on good white paper -- to be reproduced on the letter. Do feel free to suggest any changes that seem necessary. We shall also be listing the Sponsoring Committee: Messrs Bingham, Canfield, Cowan, Guinzburg, Healy, et al. on the letterhead, and hope to get the mailing out this month.

We are asking those sponsors who have not yet written to anyone about the Fund to let us use their personal card, perhaps with some endorsement scribbled thereon, to enclose with this letter to those persons to whom they would have written themselves had time permitted. I know that you had intended to write some letters, but if you have not done so yet and would prefer to use the "enclosure system," won't you also send us the cards, suitably embellished, and check off on your list those for whom they are intended. Helen Milbank has already done this, and George Healy and Barry Bingham have each written about twenty.

In my notes on our September meeting I have a promise from you to get in touch with Agnes Meyer. I would imagine that this should be done in a more personal way than via the form letter. If not, include her on your list; if so, and I can help, please let me know. You were also going to enlist her aid in approaching Lord Beaverbrook, and you volunteered to reach Mary Lasker too. Won't you, please?

As the enclosed carbons of thank you notes indicate, contributions have been trickling in. But we should like to be deluged this Spring and

will appreciate anything you can do to help.

Sincerely,

Ruth Franklin

(Mrs.) Ruth K. Franklin
Special Assistant to the Dean

P.S. I am enclosing for you a copy of the memorial that Paul Kieffer, who was at luncheon with us, wrote for the Rhodes Scholars' Association. Caroline Warner asked me to forward it to you, recalling that you had asked to see it. Similarity between it and the letter is neither coincidental nor unauthorized.

RKF/ec

DRAFT COPY FOR MR. MURROW

Dear xxxxxxxxxxx:

When Elmer Davis died, almost three years ago, an extraordinary outpouring of news stories chronicled his achievements as a newspaper man, author, news analyst, director of the Office of War Information, and fighter for freedom of the human mind. Tributes appeared in editorial columns and elsewhere in the press, on radio and on television. As one of his former associates said, "Elmer had to die to make some people realize what a dent he had made."

These tributes had an exceptional quality; many of them were written by old friends and associates who could not conceal, had they wished to do so, their regard, esteem, and affection for the man himself. And many of these men and women soon concerned themselves with how Elmer Davis' spirit and his accomplishments might best be perpetuated. The outcome of these informal discussions was the establishment of an Elmer Davis Fund to endow a unique visiting lectureship at Columbia University, under the auspices of the Graduate School of Journalism where Elmer Davis once taught.

Under the current plan, it is proposed that the Elmer Davis Lectures be delivered annually or semi-annually by persons distinguished in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. They would be persons active in print or electronic journalism.

The lectures would be filmed, and later taped, for use in educational institutions, on independent radio and television stations, and wherever free men assemble.

To finance such a program an endowment of $75,000 is needed. Half of this amount has already been contributed by foundations, organizations, and a few individuals eager to promote these traditions. But there are many more friends and admirers of Elmer Davis whose participation in the Fund would be most appropriate and welcome. We are honored to invite you to join in this perpetuation of the name and principles that become increasingly significant as peoples everywhere awake to the challenge of freedom.

Your contribution, large or small, will be an endorsement of these principles and of a life devoted to their defense. Checks should be made payable to Columbia University--Elmer Davis Fund; contributions are tax exempt, and should be sent to Dean Edward W. Barrett, Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

Your participation in establishing the Elmer Davis Fund will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

John C. Daly Edward R. Murrow Edward W. Barrett

1/16/61

Elmer Davis Memorial. Established in memory of the author and commentator, it provides for a series of memorable lectures in the tradition of the courage and independence of Elmer Davis.

Columbia University in the City of New York

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 16, 1961

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The 1961-1962 Graduate School of Journalism Bulletin is now in the process of being printed for distribution in mid-February. We thought you might like to see the description of the Elmer Davis Memorial as it will appear in the forthcoming Bulletin.

All of us here are continuously grateful for your warm interest in and support of the School's activities.

Cordially,

Robert O. Shipman

Robert O. Shipman
Assistant to the Dean

ROS/lr

Columbia University
in the City of New York
[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 5, 1961

Mr. Wallace Carroll
THE NEW YORK TIMES
1701 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Wally:

George Healy has forwarded your very kind contribution to the Elmer Davis Fund here. On behalf of the School and of our committee, may I saw how glad we are that his note found you so receptive to a project very dear to all of us.

To a formal acknowledgement that you will receive from the University, I add our warmest thanks.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:JN

cc: Mr. Healy

bc: Mr. Daly, Mr. Murrow, Mrs. Franklin

Columbia University
in the City of New York
[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 5, 1961

Mr. Ernest K. Lindley
Newsweek Magazine
National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Ernest:

George Healy has sent along your thoughtful contribution to the Elmer Davis Fund established here at the School. We are delighted to have your participation in this project which should enable a major contribution to the same ideals Elmer stood for.

You will receive a formal acknowledgement from the University, to which I add warmest thanks from the School and our sponsors.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:JH

cc: Mr. Healy

bc: Mr. Daly, Mr. Murrow, Mrs. Franklin

December 19, 1960

Mr. George W. Healy, Jr.
Editor
THE TIMES-PICAYUNE
New Orleans 40, Louisiana

Dear George:

I understand from Mrs. Franklin that you have undertaken to write to quite a few people on behalf of the Elmer Davis Fund. Ed Murrow, John Daly, and I are most grateful for your efforts and most impressed by your success in this matter.

With warmest thanks, and best wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:JN

bc: Messrs. Daly and Murrow

December 19, 1960

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Elmo:

George Healy has forwarded to us your very generous contribution to the Elmer Davis Fund here.

On behalf of the School and our sponsors, may I say how delighted we are that George found you receptive to this project that is so dear to us. You will receive a formal acknowledgement from the University, to which I add our very warmest thanks, and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:JH

bc: Messrs. Daly, Healy, Murrow

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

December 14, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Here are the latest results of the efforts of Messrs. Bingham and Healy. I believe that the carbon of an acknowledgement of Paul Hoffman's contribution was sent to you some weeks ago with no covering letter.

I do hope that you are recovering and that, when time and health permit, you will be able to pursue a few more potential contributors. Do let me know who on that list you might wish to tackle, and I'll reserve them for you.

Sincerely,

Ruth Franklin

(Mrs.) Ruth K. Franklin
Special Assistant to Dean Barrett

RKF/ec

December 13, 1960

Mr. Eric Johnston, President
Motion Picture Association
of America, Inc.
1600 Eye Street, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Eric:

The University Treasurer's office has sent word to us of your generous contribution to the Elmer Davis Fund here. On behalf of the School and of our Sponsoring Committee, may I tell you how pleased we are to have your participation in this project. I am very glad that George Healy's note found you receptive. You will soon receive a formal acknowledgement from the University, to which I add our very warmest thanks.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:JN

bc- Mr. Murrow

December 5,1960

Miss Gladys Hall
Broadcasting
1735 De Sales Street N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Hall:

Your thoughtful contribution to the Elmer Davis Fund here was very warmly received. Messrs. Murrow and Daly join me in expressing our delight that you were moved to participate, even without being approached directly. Your most welcome gift will be acknowledged more formally by the University, to which I add our thanks.

Sincerely,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:JH

Mr. Murrow

December 5,1960

Mr. Sol Taishoff
Broadcasting
1735 De Sales Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Sol:

It was very good of you to send along that fine contribution to the Elmer Davis Fund here. On behalf of the School and our sponsors may I say how glad we are that Barry Bingham found you receptive to this project. As you can imagine, this is one of many things going on at the School just now, but it is one very dear to all of us.

Thanks for your reminder on the deadline. I am working on the piece now and expect to be able to have it for you soon.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:JH
Mr. Murrow

December 19, 1960

Mr. Bruce Catton
American Heritage
551 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Catton:

George Healy has forwarded to us your thoughtful contribution to the Elmer Davis Fund at the School of Journalism.

On behalf of the School and of our sponsors, I must tell you how delighted we are to have your participation in this commemoration of Elmer's services to his profession. We do feel that this project suitably honors a great journalist and we are grateful for your interest.

You will receive a formal acknowledgement from the University, to which I add our warmest thanks.

Sincerely,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:JN

bc: Messrs. Daly, Healy, Murrow

November 30, 1960

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
Managing Director
Special Fund
United Nations, New York

Dear Paul:

Warm thanks for your check for $200 contributed to the Elmer Davis Fund. I know Barry Bingham and all concerned are grateful that you "have never learned to say 'no'" even though you are "an impoverished International Civil Servant." I can assure you that your contribution will be used to good advantage.

All the best.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/fmb

cc: Barry Bingham

FYI copies to:
Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Mr. John Daly
Mrs. Ruth Franklin

October 19, 1960

The Honorable Joseph P. Kennedy
c/o The Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation
230 Park Avenue -- Room 953
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

The members of the committee establishing a permanent memorial to Elmer Davis felt that the Kennedy Foundation, you or other members of your family would be interested in being among the supporters of this project.

The Elmer Davis Memorial Fund has been established at Columbia University to honor the late author and news commentator. It will provide for semi-annual lectures to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. These lectures will deal with areas deemed to be significant in the world of mass communications, and will be filmed and taped for use by educational radio and television stations.

The format and memorial proposal originated with Edward R. Murrow, John C. Daly and myself. We have been working with the assistance of a sponsoring committee listed herewith. The lectures will be delivered at the Graduate School of Journalism under the auspices of Columbia University. Any contribution would be tax exempt.

Full financing for the endowment will require $75,000. We presently have $31,485 in contributions and $6,500 in pledges, bringing us just over the half-way mark. I am also enclosing a press release sent out in May. We are just beginning the second stage of the campaign now.

If you would like any additional information about the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund, please get in touch with me or with Mrs. Ruth Franklin at this address. We shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:JN

bc: RF
Mr. Murrow, Mr. Daly

enclosure

September 28, 1960

Mr. Louis G. Cowan
941 Park Avenue
New York 28, New York

Dear Lou:

On behalf of the Committee, I just want to tell you how very much we appreciate Polly's and your $500 contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund.

It was good to see you.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

EWB:md

cc: E. Morrow
J. Daly

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

August 9, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

According to Mrs. Eugene Warner, Elmer's one-time secretary who has been giving us a hand on some prospects' listings, Mr. Paul Kieffer should be asked to join in the Davis project and would be of great assistance. As I understand Mrs. Franklin of this office told you, he is a Wall Street lawyer, president of the Century Club and, according to Caroline, the closest friend Elmer ever had. As the enclosed will indicate, I have written him accordingly and trust that you approve.

I think we should gather for lunch some time during the week of September 12 to make plans for the fall. Mrs. Franklin will get in touch with you later this month to arrange a convenient date.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

EWB:ms
Enclosure

August 9, 1960

Mr. Paul Kieffer
149 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Kieffer:

Last spring John Daly, Ed Murrow and I were deliberating for several months about a memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered a variety of proposals and finally settled upon the program described in the news release enclosed. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

We are now a bit closer to our goal than the release indicates, with 26 pledges and contributions totaling $37,455. We have been developing a large listing of potential contributors whom we hope to reach this fall, and perhaps we shall have our total and be able to schedule the first Elmer Davis lecture for the Spring of 1961.

I write to you so fully because had we been acquainted, or had we known of your great friendship with Elmer, we would have been honored to have had you join in the preliminary deliberations and certainly to participate in the sponsoring committee. I do hope you will consent to do the latter even at this late date. We would be most grateful for your participation, and I must tell you how much I regret not having this oversight brought to my attention before this.

I shall look forward to hearing from you, and perhaps you will be free in September to join Messrs. Murrow, Daly and myself for lunch one day to discuss these plans.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:ms

fyi: Mr. Murrow
Mr. Daly
Mrs. Warner

August 4, 1960

Dr. William D. Province
100 North Main Street
Franklin, Indiana

Dear Dr. Province:

John Daly has forwarded to us your very thoughtful contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund. I want you to know how much we appreciate your participation in this project honoring a truly distinguished American.

Sincerely,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:ms

FYI Mr. John C. Daly
Mr. Edward R. Murrow

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

July 11, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

and Mr. John Daly
American Broadcasting Company
7 West Sixty-sixth Street
New York 23, New York

Gentlemen:

We, too, have a fiscal year, and our total for the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund is $30,955 in cash and pledges of $6,500, itemized thus:

Edward R. Murrow Foundation	$2,000
Louis & Pauline Cowan Foundation	500
Cass Canfield	100
George Healy	100
Fund for the Republic	10,000
T. S. Repplier	25
A. S. Merrill	5
C.B.S. Foundation, Inc.	5,000
ABC-Paramount Theatres, Inc.	5,000
National Broadcasting Company	5,000
Louisville Courier-Journal and Times	500
Mark Ethridge	25
Robert Bunnelle (Asheville Citizen-Times)	75
Philip M. Stern Family Fund	250
Frank P. Graham	15
Nashville Tennesseean	100
Henrietta and Nelson Poynter	500
New York Times Fund	500
Gude and Stix	100
W. E. Chilton III (Charleston Gazette)	50
John Daly	1,000
Henry Hicks	10
Stanton Griffis	100
	$30,955
Pledges:	
William Benton ($500 per year; 10 years)	5,000
John Daly	1,000
Edward W. Barrett	500
	$6,500
Combined Total	$37,455

We hope to be in touch with many more people during the summer,

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

and have gotten offers of assistance recently from Louis Cowan and Mrs. Eugene (Caroline) Warner. With that additional manpower, and spurred by this encouraging total, there should be more progress worth reporting quite soon.

In the meantime, many thanks for making the present sum possible.

Sincerely,

Ruth Franklin

(Mrs.) Ruth K. Franklin
Special Assistant
to Dean Barrett

July 5, 1960

Mr. Thomas L. Stix
Thomas L. Stix & J. G. Gude
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Tom:

To you and to Jap, our warmest thanks for your contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund. Both Ed Murrow and John Daly join me in expressing appreciation.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

EWB:ms
FYI Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Mr. John C. Daly

DRAFT

June 4, 1959

Dear _____

For several months, John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself have been discussing some kind of memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered and rejected a whole series of proposals and have finally settled upon the following:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence, the lectures to be delivered originally in New York City, to be both filmed and taped and made available to all radio and television stations. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, for general distribution.

It is our aim to raise $75,000 which, as an endowment, would permit the presentation of two lectures each year. Contributions to Columbia University

marked "For the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" will of course be tax exempt. For your information, we see about $25,000 of the money already on the horizon.

The purpose of this letter is to ask if you will join the sponsoring committee and to ask you to send to me the names of any of Elmer's friends who might be expected to contribute. I enclose a list of those being invited to join the committee. From this list, an executive committee will be named. It will not be necessary for the full committee to meet, but your counsel will be sought in fund-raising and in selecting the Elmer Davis Memorial lecturers.

I should be grateful if you would be good enough to reply by telegram, in order that an early announcement of the formation of the committee may be made.

Sincerely yours,

May 24, 1960

Mrs. Eugene Warner
157 East 94 Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Caroline:

I was delighted to get your letter of May 18.

Indeed, Ed Murrow, John Daly and I are working on a very major project in Elmer's memory. I am asking Miss Barry of this office to see that you get a copy of the proposal. We already have raised something in excess of $35,000 and feel quite heartened about it because we haven't gone after the rank and file yet. We would welcome your very able assistance on this, and we hope very much that you can join us in some special work on it after June 1st (when our own rat race is over). Will you give me a call some time early in June?

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

EWB:ms

cc: Mr. John Daly
Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Miss Kay Campbell

Memorandum for Edward R Murrow
From Joseph Q Riznik - c/o OPC.

XCBS Elmer Davis Commemoration for May 18 1960

You'll have seen or had called to your attention the story in the OPC Bulletin of April 23.
The response to the informal spreading-of-the-word has been, for me, astonishing. People WANT to remember Elmer. How they will do it remains for the individuals who can do it in the news media to choose...
The XCBS FYI says we would be content with a one-line mention. And that's true since ours is an informal approach and appeal.
I write this in the possibility that you'll be back in Manhattan before May 18 and might have an active assist to offer. Several OPC committee people have talked to me about an OPC Open House with a group of meaningful speakers and guests. The NY Times Magazine may be using some kind of piece presenting pertinent excerpts from the Elmer Davis writings (and speakings)...

I've found, whenever I've talked with active newsmakers about the projected Columbia University Memorial Lecture that it leaves them cold. Your own return to RADIO makes the original XCBS idea of a LIVING and MEANINGFUL memorial more relevant than ever.

You may recall that what was proposed before Barrett and Daly and yourself took over was an Annual Elmer Davis Commentary. A 15 or 30 minute time cleared and given in memory of Elmer by the three networks. A committee of one hundred outstanding Americans was envisaged to choose , each year, the one American who, in their estimation, exemplified in that year the best of what Elmer stood for. Elmer was RADIO more than he was TV and Radio could honor his memory through the cooperation of the networks who would I believe find it of value to themselves as well as a fine public service if they joined to give time and a proper annual award to the man chosen as "Elmer Davis Commentator". It would have national impact.

The present plans for the memorial LECTURE at a University smell of egg-headism, no one will deny. Elmer, as I knew him, was no egg-head and his reputation was not built because of his academic achievements. Rather, you might agree, in spite of them.

The memorial lecture at Columbia is a fine, standard-equipment and indeed totally conservative idea. The sponsors of the idea are of fine reputation. And the necessary funds are not easy to come by. I believe the networks might find it interesting to consider the audience-building value for radio of an annual Elmer Davis Commentary with its attendant publicity and public relations potentials.

Be assured that XCBS is not going to act unilaterally in any way in furthering the idea of a living and really meaningful memorial. Meanwhile it's refreshing to contemplate your return to the 1960 scene-of-confusion. Your kind of straight thinking and talk can be of real service.

As always, JQR

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

May 18, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The University News Office sent these releases out on Monday, I am told, and AP and UPI called to arrange to move the release date up to today. I believe that the News Office also approved this request from others, including CBS. I do not know whether you yourself received an official copy, and enclose one for you. I think you will find it identical to the draft we sent to your office a few weeks ago.

Sincerely,

Ruth Franklin

(Mrs.) Ruth K. Franklin
Special Assistant to the Dean

Office
Columbia University
New York 27, New York
UNiversity 5-4000, Ext. 886

John Hastings, Director

FOR USE ON THURSDAY, MAY 19

Establishment of an Elmer Davis Memorial Fund in memory of the late reporter, broadcaster and author, was announced yesterday (Wednesday) by Columbia University.

The present plan, to be administered by the University's Graduate School of Journalism, is to finance a continuing series of lectures dealing with significant aspects of the mass communications field. These are to be taped and filmed for broadcast and for use at other institutions. Under this plan, a permanent committee would recommend semi-annually a speaker in the Elmer Davis spirit of courage and independence.

The gift was announced on the second anniversary of the death of Mr. Davis, who had also headed the Office of War Information from 1942 to 1945 and was at one time a member of the Journalism School faculty.

Through the initiative of John Daly and Edward R. Murrow, news analysts, a sponsoring committee representing all phases of the mass media has collected contributions and pledges totalling $36,695, almost half of their goal. Dean Edward W. Barrett of the Journalism School, an associate of Mr. Davis' in the OWI, is working with the sponsoring committee.

5.16.60 #8386

May 12, 1960

Mr. Nelson Poynter
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Nelson:

On behalf of the committee and all concerned with the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund, warm thanks to you and Henrietta for your generous contribution of $500. You may be sure it will be put to good use.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

cc: George Healy, Jr.
John Charles Daly
Kay Campbell

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

May 12, 1960

Mr. Silliman Evans, Jr.
Tennessean Newspapers, Inc.
Nashville 1, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Evans:

On behalf of the committee and all concerned, warm thanks for the check for $100 we have received from the Tennessean Newspapers, Inc., as a contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund. You may be sure it will be put to good use.

Sincerely yours,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/fmb

cc: Mr. George Healy, Jr.
Mr. John Charles Daly
Miss Kay Campbell

April 13, 1960

Mr. Barry Bingham
The Courier-Journal and Louisville Times
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Barry:

We have received a check from The Courier-Journal and Louisville Times Foundation covering a $500 contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lecture Fund. On behalf of all concerned, let me express warm appreciation to you and your colleagues for this gift. I assure you it will be put to good and effective use.

Cordially,

ewb/fmh

Edward W. Barrett

P. S. You will be happy to know that the fund has now reached the level of $35,755, including $28,255 in receipts and $7,500 pledged.

cc: Mr. John Charles Daly
Miss Kay Campbell

April 13, 1960

Mr. Robert Kintner
National Broadcasting Company
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Bob:

NBC's check covering the $5,000 contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund has been forwarded here by John Daly. On behalf of all concerned with this fund, let me express warm thanks along with the assurance that it will be put to effective use.

Cordially,

ewb/fmb

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

cc: Mr. William N. Davidson
Mr. John Charles Daly
Miss Kay Campbell

April 13, 1960

Mrs.Robbins Milbank
2721 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco 15, California

Dear Helen:

Kay Campbell sent me a copy of the list she sent you yesterday. Unfortunately, we haven't been able to do much as yet on updating the list she has been carding, and I find that at least two of the persons mentioned are no longer on the West Coast: Charles E. Allen, who is now with Hill and Knowlton International here in New York; and Paul Hoffman, who is with the USUN, also here in New York. I just thought I'd let you know before you get frustrated looking for people who are not there.

Also, I have just heard that Virgil Pinkley, whose name was on the list I sent you yesterday, has recently become publisher of the Beaumont News in Beaumont, California, and presumably, is not with the Times-Mirror Company in Los Angeles.

Regards,

Frances M. Barry

cc: Miss Campbell

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

April 13, 1960

Mr. Mark Ethridge
The Courier-Journal and
The Louisville Times
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mark:

Warm thanks on behalf of all concerned for your $25 contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lecture Fund.

All the best.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/fmb

cc: Mr. John C. Daly
Miss Kay Campbell

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

April 12, 1960

Mrs. Robbins Milbank
2721 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California

Dear Helen:

I believe Kay Campbell is sending you a list of potential contributors to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lecture Fund in the Los Angeles-Santa Barbara area separately. Here are a few more names to be added to the list. They may or may not be duplicated on Miss Campbell's list:

Mr. Waldo Drake, Los Angeles Times, 202 West First Street, Los Angeles 53
Mr. Virgil Pinkley, Times-Mirror Company, Los Angeles
* Mr. Jerry Stagg, Hal Roach Studios, Hollywood (Telephone: TExas 0-2931)
* Mr. Jules C. Stein, Chairman of the Board, MCA, 9370 Santa Monica Boulevard, Beverly Hills
Mr. Frederic W. Wile, Jr., 3620 Goodland Drive, North Hollywood

Dean Barrett isn't sure about the interest of Messrs. Stagg and Stein, but suggested I send their names along anyway.

We're working on a list of other potential contributors on the West Coast which we'll send along later. In the meantime, good luck in the Los Angeles area.

Sincerely yours,

Frances M. Barry
Administrative Assistant to the Dean

cc: Miss Kay Campbell
Mr. John Charles Daly

April 12, 1960

Dear Mrs. Milbank:

I understand from Dean Barrett's Office that you are interested in receiving names of people in your area, who might perhaps contribute to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund. Our present list contains only a few names in California, but I send you these in hope that they may be of some help.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Robbins Milbank
2721 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco 15, California

gw

cc: Dean Barrett

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL FUND

IN CALIFORNIA

Mr. Charles E. Allen
Director of Public Relations
Crown-Zellerbach Corp.
343 Sansome Street
San Francisco 19, California

Mr. Frank Capra
Red Mountain Ranch
Fallbrook, California

Mr. Richard P. Conlon
130 Bush Street
San Francisco 4, California

Mr. Robert R. Gros
Vice President
Pacific Gas & Electric
245 Market Street
San Francisco, California

Mr. Paul Hoffman
1489 El Mirador Drive
Pasadena, California

Mr. Charles M. Hulten
1001 Chatham Road
Oakland, California

Mr. Victor Hunt
24514 Malibu Road
Malibu, California

Mr. Templeton Peck
San Francisco Chronicle
Fifth & Mission
San Francisco 19, California

Mr. Virgil Pinkley
Times-Mirror Company
Los Angeles, California

Mr. Paul Snell
6671 Sunset Boulevard
Hollywood 28, California

The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
LAFAYETTE SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS 40, LOUISIANA, TULANE 2411
The Times-Picayune
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NEW ORLEANS STATES
AND
NEW ORLEANS ITEM
EVENING

Office of
GEORGE W. HEALY, JR.
Vice-President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Editor
The Times-Picayune

April 5, 1960

Miss Kay Campbell,
Office of Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Miss Campbell:

Attached is a copy of a letter going today to the potential contributors to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund whose names and addresses accompanied your note of April 1.

Sincerely,

George W. Healy, Jr.

George W. Healy, Jr.

GWH/MM

The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
LAFAYETTE SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS 40, LOUISIANA, TULANE 2411
The Times-Picayune
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NEW ORLEANS STATES
AND
NEW ORLEANS ITEM
EVENING

Office of
GEORGE W. HEALY, JR.
Vice-President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Editor
The Times-Picayune

April 5, 1960

Mr. and Mrs. Hodding Carter,
The Delta Democrat Times,
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding and Betty:

Friends of Elmer Davis, headed by Ed Barrett, Ed Murrow and John Daly, are attempting to raise a memorial fund to finance annual or semi-annual lectures at Columbia University.

The lectures, which are to be significant in the area of mass communications, will be administered by the Pulitzer Graduate School of Journalism, upon the faculty of which Elmer once served. Films and tapes of the lectures will be made available to radio and television stations, universities, secondary schools and organizations interested in the general fields of communications and national and international affairs.

Members of the committee feel that you might want to give to this fund. Before any general solicitation was started the fund already had received $35,230 in contributions and pledges, sent principally by Elmer's friends and admirers who read or heard of the Fund's creation.

If you desire to make a gift, it may be sent either to me or direct to Columbia University. Checks should be payable to Columbia University for the account of Elmer Davis Memorial Fund. I am advised that these gifts are tax deductable.

Should you know of anyone in your community who might be interested in assisting the Fund, I shall be happy if you will let me have their names and addresses.

Sincerely,

George W. Healy, Jr.

GWH/MM

C. C. for Miss Kay Campbell

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Publisher*

BARRY BINGHAM, *President & Editor-in-Chief*

LISLE BAKER, JR. *Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr.*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES
LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

April 5, 1960

Miss Kay Campbell
Secretary to Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
484 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Campbell:

I am getting out letters to about twenty-five people in the upper South, using the attached list. These letters will be mailed within the next couple of days. I hope they may produce some results for the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund.

Yours sincerely,

Barry Bingham

Barry Bingham

Enclosure

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL FUND

IN THE MIDDLE SOUTH

Mr. Robert T. Barnard
342 Pennsylvania Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dr. Wilson Compton
Seneca Farms
R. R. #2
Herndon, Virginia

Mr. Virginius Dabney
The Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Mr. Neil Dalton
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
The News & Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. Philip Stern
The Northern Virginia Sun
3409 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington 1, Virginia

Mr. Kenneth Fry
P. O. Box 180
Waynesville, North Carolina

Mr. Silliman Evans, Jr.
The Tennesseean
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Frank R. Ahlgren
Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. John Goodbody
Director of Project Planning
Colonial Williamsburg
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dr. Frank Graham
Chapel Hill,
North Carolina

Mr. Carlisle H. Humelsine
Executive Vice President
Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
Williamsburg, Virginia

Mr. Sam L. Latimer, Jr.
Editor & Publisher
The State
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. O. W. Riegel
Dept. of Journalism & Communications
Washington and Lee University
Lexington, Virginia

Mr. Ned Roberts
119 West Westmoreland Road
Falls Church, Virginia

Mr. Mark Ethridge
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Robert Bunnelle
The Citizen-Times
Asheville, North Carolina

Mr. Miles H. Wolff
Greensboro News
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mr. C. A. McKnight
Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mr. Ben H. Golden
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. W. E. Chilton, III
The Charleston Mail
Charleston, West Virginia

Mr. Frank P. Miller
Box 3665, University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Mr. E. J. Paxton, Jr.
The Sun-Democrat
Paducah, Kentucky

Mr. R. S. Reynolds, Jr.
Reynolds Metals Company
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Coleman Harwell
The Cookeville Weekly
Cookeville, Tennessee

April 1, 1960

Dear Mr. Healy:

I enclose herewith the names of a few people, who might be interested in contributing to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund. I am sorry the list is not a longer one, but will try to gather more names to send you in due course.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. George W. Healy, Jr.
Vice President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Lafayette Square
New Orleans 40, Louisiana

gw
encl

The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
LAFAYETTE SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS 40, LOUISIANA, TULANE 2411
The Times-Picayune
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NEW ORLEANS STATES
AND
NEW ORLEANS ITEM
EVENING

Office of
GEORGE W. HEALY, JR.
Vice-President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Editor
The Times-Picayune

February 18, 1960

Miss Kay Campbell,
Office of Ed Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Miss Campbell:

Mr. John Charles Daly informs me that you can let me have a list of persons or organizations in the south who might be contributors to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund.

If you will let me have this list I will be very happy to get out letters to persons on it and to others whom I consider potential contributors, asking them to send contributions to Ed Barrett at Columbia.

Thanking you for your assistance, I am

Sincerely,

George W. Healy, Jr.

George W. Healy, Jr.

GWH/MM

April 1, 1960

Dear Mr. Hoyt:

I enclose herewith the names of a few people, who might be interested in contributing to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund. I am sorry the list is not a longer one, but will try to gather more names to send you in due course.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Palmer Hoyt
Editor and Publisher
The Denver Post
Denver, Colorado

gw
encl

April 1, 1960

Dear Mr. Bingham:

I enclose herewith the names of a few people, who might be interested in contributing to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund. I am sorry the list is not a longer one, but will try to gather more names to send you in due course.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Barry Bingham
The Courier-Journal
Louisville 2, Kentucky

gw
encl

BARRY BINGHAM, *President & Editor-in-Chief*

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Publisher*

LISLE BAKER, JR., *Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr.*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES

LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

February 15, 1960

Miss Kay Campbell
c/o Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Campbell:

I have a letter today from Dean Barrett of the Journalism School at Columbia University in regard to efforts that he, Mr. Murrow and others are making on behalf of the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund. He suggests that I write to some people who might be interested in the Middle South. He also mentions that you have a list of some people they have already thought of who might be approached in Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Tennessee. I would appreciate it if you would let me have any names you have accumulated.

Yours sincerely,

Barry Bingham

Barry Bingham

CC: Dean Barrett

BB

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL FUND

IN THE MIDDLE SOUTH

Mr. Robert T. Barnard
342 Pennsylvania Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Mr. D. Tennant Bryan
Richmond Times-Dispatch & News Leader
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. Wilson Compton
Seneca Farms
R.R. #2
Herndon, Virginia

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
The Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Mr. Neil Dalton
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
The News & Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. Clayton Fritchey, Publisher
Northern Virginia Sun
3409 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington 1, Virginia

Mr. Kenneth Fry
P.O. Box 180
Waynesville, North Carolina

Mr. John Goodbody
Director of Project Planning
Colonial Williamsburg
Williamsburg, Virginia

Mr. Frank Graham
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
or United Nations, New York

Mr. Carlisle H. Humelsine
Executive Vice President
Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
Williamsburg, Virginia

Mr. Sam L. Latimer, Jr.
Editor & Publisher
The State
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. O. W. Riegel
Department of Journalism & Communications
Washington & Lee
Lexington, Firginia

Mr. Ned Roberts
119 West Westmoreland Road
Falls Church, Virginia

Mr. Mark Ethridge
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL FUND

IN THE SOUTH

Mr. Bill Boring
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Hodding Carter
The Delta Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Mr. Herbert G. Dollahite II
Twin Oaks
Amory, Mississippi

Mr. John Temple Graves
Birmingham Post
1531 Third Avenue
Birmingham 2, Alabama

Mr. Clarence B. Hanson, Jr.
Birmingham News Company
Birmingham 2, Alabama

Mr. Clark Howell
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Mr. Ralph Nicholson
Dothan Eagle
Dothan, Alabama

Mr. J. Leonard Reinsch
Executive Director
WSB
1601 West Peachtree St., N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Mr. Jack Tarver
Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

PA

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL FUND

IN THE SOUTHWEST

Mr. Fred Bancroft
USIS
Mexico, D. F.

Mr. Robert S. Benjamin
Robert S. Benjamin & Associates
Atenas 40-30, Mexico

Mrs. Murry (Gene) Brophy
2214 North General Avenue
Phoenix, Arizona

Dean Quincy Guy Burris
New Mexico Highlands University
Las Vegas, Nevada

Mr. Paul R. Busch
Department of Journalism
Trinity University
715 Stadium Drive
San Antonio, Texas

Mr. Ben M. Cherrington
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

Mr. Robert W. Craig
Assistant to the President
Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies
Aspen, Colorado

Mr. Jack Danciger
Suite 1610
Continental Bank Building
Fort Worth 2, Texas

General William H. Draper
The Mexican Light & Power Co.
Gante No. 20
Mexico D F., Mexico

Mr. Allen Duckworth
The Dallas Morning News
Dallas, Texas

Miss Elizabeth Forsling
Elizabeth Forsling & Associates
Douglas at Lemmon
Dallas 19, Texas

Mr. G. William Gahagan
1001 Mapleton Avenue
Boulder, Colorado

The Honorable George L. McGhee
McGhee Production Company
2420 Republic National Bank Building
Dallas, Texas

Mr. H. N. Mallon (Neil)
Dresser Industries, Inc.
Republic National Bank Building
Dallas 1, Texas

Mr. Frederick S. Marquart
The Arizona Republic
Phoenix, Arizona

Mr. Roy V. Peel, Chairman
Department of Political Science
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

Mr. Milo Perkins
4961 East 22nd Street
Tucson, Arizona

Mr. Albert H. Rosenthal, Director
School of Public Administration
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

Dr. Gayle Waldrop
College of Journalism
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

Mrs. Stanley Walker
Lampassos, Texas

The Honorable James E. Webb
Republic Supply Company
Suite 700
218 North Robinson Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Mr. Quintus C. Wilson, Head
Department of Journalism
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL FUND

IN THE MIDDLE SOUTH

12 Mr. Sam L. Latimer, Jr.
Editor & Publisher
The State
Columbia, South Carolina

3 1/2 Mr. Virginius Dabney
Editor
The Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

4 Mr. Neil Dalton
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

6 Mr. Mark Ethridge
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

2 Mr. D. Tennant Bryan
Richmond Times-Dispatch & News Leader
Richmond, Virginia

1 Mr. Robert T. Barnard
342 Pennsylvania Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

13 Mr. O. W. Riegel
Department of Journalism and Communications
Washington & Lee
Lexington, Virginia

5 Mr. Jonathan Daniels
The News & Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina

10 Mr. Frank Graham
Chapel Hill, N. C.

(Business address: UN, New York)

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL FUND

IN THE SOUTH

6 Mr. Clark Howell
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

7 Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

2 Mr. Hodding Carter
The Delta Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

10 Mr. Jack Tarver
Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

8 Mr. Ralph Nicholson
Dothan Eagle
Dothan, Alabama

5 Mr. Clarence B. Hanson, Jr.
Birmingham News Company
Birmingham 2, Alabama

9 Mr. J. Leonard Reinsch
Executive Director
WSB
1601 West Peachtree St., N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL FUND

IN THE SOUTHWEST

13 The Honorable George L. McGhee
McGhee Production Company
2420 Republic National Bank Building
Dallas, Texas

16 Mr. Roy V. Peel
Chairman, Department of Political Science
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

17 Mr. Milo Perkins
4961 East 22nd Street
Tucson, Arizona

15 Mr. Frederick S. Marquart
The Arizona Republic
Phoenix, Arizona

4 Dean Quincy Guy Burris
New Mexico Highlands University
Las Vegas, Nevada

5 Mr. Paul R. Busch
Department ofJournalism
Trinity University
715 Stadium Drive
San Antonio, Texas

2 Mr. Robert S. Benjamin
Robert S. Benjamin & Associates
Atenas 40-30, Mexico

6 Mr. Ben M. Cherrington
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

19 Dr. Gayle Waldrop
College of Journalism
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

7 Mr. Robert W. Craig
Assistant to the President
Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies
Aspen, Colorado

18 Mr. Albert H. Rosenthal
Director
School of Public Administration
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

21 The Honorable James E.Webb
Republic Supply Company
Suite 700
218 North Robinson Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

22 Mr. Quintus C. Wilson
Head, Department of Journalism
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

SPONSORING COMMITTEE - ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL LECTURES

Mr. John C. Daly
American Broadcasting Company

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
The Fund for the Republic

Mr. Louis G. Cowan
Columbia Broadcasting System

Mr. Robert E. Kintner
National Broadcasting Company

Mr. Harold Guinzburg
Viking Press

Mr. Cass Canfield
Harper & Brothers

Mr. Palmer Hoyt
The Denver Post

Mr. C.D. Jackson
Time, Inc.

Mr. James Reston
The New York Times - Washington, D.C.

Mr. Barry Bingham
The Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.

Mr. George W. Healy
The New Orleans Times-Picayune

Mr. Edward Weeks
The Atlantic Monthly

Mr. William B. Lewis
Kenyon & Eckhardt, New York

Mrs. Robbins Milbank - (Helen Kirkpatrick)

B of M

Mike Cowles

Sherman

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

March 10, 1960

Miss Kay Campbell
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Campbell:

Following up our recent telephone conversation, I am enclosing three lists of individuals who are potential contributors to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund which you can send along to Messrs. Bingham, Healy, and Hoyt with any others you may have in their respective areas. Incidentally, Mr. Palmer Hoyt has written the Dean that he will be glad to undertake the chore of soliciting in the southwest and has requested that we provide him with names of potential contributors.

I haven't as yet any names from Pat Allen, but will send them along as soon as I get them.

Sincerely yours,

Frances M. Barry

Frances M. Barry
Administrative Assistant to the Dean

Enclosures

cc: Mr. John C. Daly

FMD

3116 CATHEDRAL AVENUE
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

send copy to JD + RC. Then return to me,

March 10, 1960

JOURNALISM

Mr. Edward W. Barrett, Dean,
Graduate School of Journalism,
Columbia University.

Dear Ed,

I think you have a fine idea in the Elmer Davis lectures as a memorial to our friend. But it would be bad for the fund, and for me, if I were to take on the job of systematic canvassing in the Washington area. I am not a member of the sponsoring committee, and I have no office resources or secretarial help.

My suggestion is that you ask Scotty, as the Washington member of the committee, to handle the job. His name will carry weight, and he has Wally Carroll at his side to help with ideas. Of course I'll be glad to contribute to the fund, and I might suggest some names of prospects.

Did you know that Elmer's widow Florence is in George Washington Hospital in serious condition, with burns over 25% of her body? Her clothes caught fire from a cigarette while she was dozing. We heard today that she is now "conscious but confused" after being just about out for two weeks.

Many thanks for sending me your report. You are doing wonderful things with the school, as I knew you would.

Delia sends best wishes with mine, to you and Mason.

As always,

Fred

Ferdinand Kuhn

February 16, 1960

Mr. George Healy
New Orleans Times-Picayune
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear George:

As I told you in the windy plaza by the skating rink, we have launched the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund with sufficient success to feel we may ask for personal contributions of substance from Elmer's former colleagues and friends.

Brothers Murrow, Ed Barrett and I have had good fortune with major contributions and the Fund has already received $35,230 in contributions and pledges. As a radio-television type, I am particularly pleased that ABC, CBS, and NBC (by whom Elmer was never employed) are among the big givers.

The Committee, the two Eds and your correspondent, feels the time has come to solicit contributions on a regional basis from individuals and organizations who wish to keep the memory and spirit of Elmer among us. Actually, following up Ed Murrow's earlier correspondence with you, we hope very much that you can undertake to get in touch with those in the South (all states below the general line South Carolina, Tennessee, Missouri) who might be potential contributors. We feel sure you will have a number of individuals and some organizations in mind and, to assist the good cause, Miss Kay Campbell in Ed Murrow's office will be glad to send along a check list of some of those of whom we have thought.

Enclosed, to refresh your memory, is an outline of the project as agreed on by the Committee.

Cordially,

John Charles Daly

JCD:le

b.cc Dean Barrett, Miss Campbell

Copy of letter asking for a contribution to "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures"

Dear

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is enclosed.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, and for distribution to all media.

It is our purpose to raise $75,000.00 which, as an endowment, would permit the presentation and distribution of two lectures each year. Contributions to Columbia University marked "For the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" will of course be tax exempt.

We are of the opinion that a semi-annual examination of the mass media in this country will not only represent a suitable memorial for Elmer Davis but will also provide bench marks for all agencies and institutions involved in the communication of information. We earnestly solicit your contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures.

Sincerely yours,

February 16, 1960

Mrs. Robbins Milbank
2721 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco 15, California

Dear Helen:

We have launched the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund with sufficient success to feel we may ask for personal contributions of substance from Elmer's former colleagues and friends.

Brothers Murrow, Ed Barrett and I have had good fortune with major contributions and the Fund has already received $35,230 in contributions and pledges. As a radio-television type, I am particularly pleased that ABC, CBS, and NBC (by whom Elmer was never employed) are among the big givers.

The Committee, the two Eds and your correspondent, feels the time has come to solicit contributions on a regional basis from individuals and organizations who wish to keep the memory and spirit of Elmer among us. Actually, following up Ed Murrow's earlier correspondence with you, we hope very much that you can undertake to get in touch with those in California and other contiguous areas of our great West who might be potential contributors. We feel sure you will have a number of individuals and some organizations in mind and, to assist the good cause, Miss Kay Campbell in Ed Murrow's office will be glad to send along a check list of some of those of whom we have thought.

Enclosed, to refresh your memory, is an outline of the project as agreed on by the Committee.

Cordially,

Jcd

John Charles Daly

JCD:le

b.cc. Dean Barrett, Miss Campbell

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

February 11, 1960

Mr. William S. Paley
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Bill:

As a member of the Elmer Davis Memorial committee, let me express warm thanks for the gift of $5,000 to the fund from the CBS Foundation, Inc.

You will be happy to know that the fund now has in or pledged $35,230 of the $75,000 set as a goal. This is encouraging since we haven't finished soliciting corporate contributions and are just getting ready to solicit individual contributions.

Incidentally, if you, John Minari, or others can think of some individuals who would be likely prospects for fair sized gifts, we would be delighted to hear of them. John Daly, Ed Murrow and I are running a little committee, and Kay Campbell in Ed's office is acting as secretary.

Thanks again to the CBS Foundation.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/fmb

cc: Miss Campbell
Mr. Daly

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

February 11, 1960

Mr. Palmer Hoyt
The Denver Post
Denver, Colorado

Dear Ep:

You will be pleased to hear that the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund has already reached $35,230 in contributions and pledges. The big givers to date have been The Fund for the Republic, ABC, CBS, and NBC.

The committee, consisting of John Daly, Ed Murrow, and myself, is about to start soliciting contributions on a regional basis fromindividuals and organizations that would be interested. Following up Ed Murrow's earlier correspondence with you, we hope very much that you can undertake to get in touch with those in the Southwest who might be potential contributors. You undoubtedly will have in mind a number of these. To assist you, Miss Kay Campbell in Ed Murrow's office will be glad to send along a checklist of some of those we have thought of.

Enclosed to refresh your memory is an outline of the project as agreed on by the committee.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

Enclosure
ewb/fmb

cc: Miss Campbell
Mr. Daly

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

INTERDEPARTMENT MEMORANDUM

Date February 1, 1960

To Dean Barrett

Subject Elmer Davis Memorial

Here are the lists prepared for the Elmer Davis Memorial contribution prospects.

#1 is the one made up from our card file, which you have gone over and marked.

#2 is the list of PWB people in OWI's overseas branch, who indicated interest in our OWI Alumni Association some years ago. This has not been checked, and, I suspect, a good many of the addresses are outdated.

#3 is the duplicate of list #1, which Pat Allen has gone over and to which she has added some names.

#4 is the list of persons to whom Mr. Murrow has written.

#5 is a supplementary list provided by Pat Allen.

Pat suggested that the lists be put on cards, to eliminate duplicates, etc. She suggested that then a master list could be prepared and distributed to a number of persons who would be likely to know current addresses of a number of them.

I would suggest that the list be carded and then sorted out regionally and sent to the regional directors as a list of prospective contributors. It could, of course, also be sent to persons whom Pat suggests who might know of the present addresses of some.

Pat says she'll be very glad to help in any way she can.

She also came up with an idea about a possible "reunion" dinner, with the price set reasonably low (maybe $10 or $15 per couple), with part of the price a contribution to the fund. My initial reaction, however, is that would involve much more work, time and organization than might be warranted by possible proceeds.

f.m.b.

P.S. If Miss Campbell doesn't have any one on tap to card the lists, perhaps Mrs. Ireland or some one else here could do the job for us.

original in file

February 1, 1960

Dean Barrett

Elmer Davis Memorial

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f.m.b.

P.S. If Miss Campbell doesn't have any one on tap to card the lists, perhaps Mrs. Ireland or some one else here could do the job for us.

December 1, 1959

Dear Miss Barry:

Here is the list we spoke about Monday. I believe there may have been a few people here at CBS whom Mr. Murrow spoke to personally.

Please contact me if there is something more I can do.

Sincerely yours,

Gabrielle Wachsner

Miss Frances M. Barry
Office of the Dean
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

encs

The following people have already received Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures appeal letters from the Murrow office:

Mr. William Ackerman
CBS Foundation Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Lynn Baker
3 East 84th Street
New York, N. Y.

General Joseph F. Batley
1500 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Thomas Dawes Blake
4664 Reservoir Road
Washington 7, D. C.

Mr. A. J. Bolton
709 Alpine Drive
Beverly Hills, California

Mr. Ben Lucien Burman
Hotel Chelsea
222 West 23rd Street
New York 11, New York

Rear Admiral Waldo Drake
Los Angeles Times
Los Angeles, California

Mr. William Ewing
Managing Editor
The Star-Bulletin
Honolulu, Hawaii

Mr. Y. Frank Freeman
Paramount Pictures
Los Angeles, California

Mr. Stanton Griffis
15 Broad Street
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Maury Hanson
J. Walter Thompson
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Carleton Healy
Hiram Walker & Sons
Penebscot Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Mrs. W. P. Hobby
2 Remington Lane
Houston, Texas

General Edward Leavey
International Tel. & Tel. Company
67 Broad Street
New York, N. Y.

Vice Admiral Leland Lovette
18 Glen Drive
Belle Haven
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. George C. McGhee
2420 Republic National Bank Building
Dallas 1, Texas

Vice Admiral A. S. Merrill
South Commerce Street
Natchez, Mississippi

Rear Admiral H. B. Miller
Pan American World Airways
135 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dr. Thomas Parran
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Mr. Ted Repplier
President
The Advertising Council, Inc.
25 West 45th Street
New York 36, New York

Mr. John Sterling
This Week Magazine
885 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. Mark Sullivan, Jr.
4929 Rockwood Parkway
Washington 16, D. C.

Mr. Clifford Sutter
Batten, Burton, Durstine & Osborn
383 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Earl Thacker
Thacker Building
Waikiki
Honolulu, Hawaii

Mr. Harold Thomas
Box 1255
Stamford, Connecticut

Mr. Murray Ward
E.F. Hutton & Company
23 South Spring Street
Los Angeles 14, California

Colonel Albert Warner
4810 Gelnbrook Road N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Judge John Minor Wisdom
U. S. Court of Appeals
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. Paul Wooton
National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Mr. James Young
Pena Blanca
Santa Fe, New Mexico

October 16, 1959

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. John Charles Daly
Miss Kay Campbell

FROM: Edward W. Barrett

RE: Elmer Davis Memorial

Alice Schneider of Don Cowan's office called today to ask how we were getting along on the Elmer Davis Memorial, because she thought that Mr. Cowan wanted to contribute and would like to say something to his colleagues at CBS about doing so.

EWB/pm

THE HOUSTON POST
ESTABLISHED 1886
HOUSTON, TEXAS

OVETA CULP HOBBY,
PRESIDENT

W. P. HOBBY,
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I think you must know how much deep pleasure it would give Governor Hobby and me to contribute to a memorial to Elmer Davis, and even without our great admiration for Mr. Davis, it would be our natural inclination to comply with any request of yours.

To our regret, we have long since this year contributed all possible funds to causes in which we believe, and since our budget is not limitless, it is impossible for us to take part.

We are tremendously sorry.

Sincerely,

Oveta Culp Hobby

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

September 14, 1959

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

October 9, 1959

Miss Gaby Wachsner
c/o Edward R. Murrow's Office
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Wachsner:

Per our telephone conversation this afternoon, I am enclosing a list of possible prospective contributors to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund. I'll appreciate it very much if you will just check off the names of persons to whom letters may have already been sent.

Sincerely yours,

Frances M. Barry

Frances M. Barry

Enclosure

Sent list back

Gaby

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

September 10, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for your letter of August 7, which I found here upon returning from a good long vacation.

I agree with you about the announcement of the Lectures, and agree that John Daly should make it.

The Executive Committee is all right with me. I would be more than happy, however, to withdraw in favor of someone else in view of the fact that we of Columbia will be concerned with executing the project. I wonder if this would not be a good idea.

As you know, Miss Barry of my office has been in touch with Miss Campbell about a list. We have a very extensive list of OWI alumni. However, it was made up a number of years ago and most of these addresses are probably out of date. It will be necessary to do some extensive work in updating the list.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/ap

September 10, 1959

Mrs. Robbins Milbank
2721 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco 15, California

Dear Helen,

After that lovely chat with you on the Coast, I returned to the office to find a letter from you to Ed Murrow (forwarded because both Ed and his efficient Miss Campbell are out of town).

It will indeed be Daly's job to inform the members what they are to do. In the meantime, my dear, I can unofficially inform you. It is to raise any money you can for this worthy project. Seriously, why don't you start off by tapping any of your San Francisco colleagues who would be interested. Off hand I can think only of a couple, and their interest far exceeds their affluence. They are: Templeton Peck, chief editorial writer of the Chronicle, and Lowell Clucas, PR director for Crown Zellerbach. Helen Russell might be interested, but I have my doubts. You doubtless know of others.

Mason and I would love to see you when you are in New York and I would like particularly to get you up here to discuss some problems in this field that will interest you as much as they do me. Do give us a call when you get in.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

cc: Ed Murrow ✓
J.C. Daly

f

f. Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures

September 8, 1959

Mrs. Robbins Milbank
2721 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco 15, California

Dear Mrs. Milbank:

I apologize for the delay in replying to your letter of August 25 which arrived here after Mr. Murrow's departure for Scandinavia and while I was on vacation. He is, as you may know, on a year's sabbatical leave and hopes to travel extensively from now until July 1960, when he returns to work. In his absence, I have sent your letter on to Dean Barrett at the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia, who is handling arrangements for the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures fund-raising. I am sure he will get in touch with you if there is anything to be done on the West Coast before the end of September.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

September 8, 1959

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University in the City of New York
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Dean Barrett:

As Mr. Murrow and Miss Campbell are both away at present, and will be until November, I am sending you this letter from Mrs. Robbins Milbank in case you feel there is some action she should take on the West Coast before she comes to the east at the end of September.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

RM

2721 PACIFIC AVENUE SAN FRANCISCO 15, CALIFORNIA · FILLMORE 5-6653

August 25, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I finally replied by wire to your letter of June 8th about the Elmer Davis Fund, but have not heard anything since that time. I suppose it is Charlie Daly's job to inform the members of the Committee what, if anything, they have to do.

Barry Bingham was here last week and I forgot to ask him if he had been pressed into action.

I am not seeking anyextra work, but as we plan to be East for a month from September 24th, I thought I should set wheels in motion in the next few weeks if it were contemplated doing something this fall.

I have lost track of your present whereabouts and I must say that CBS clogs its news programs with so many commercials that we have now switched to NBC which seems somehow to keep the commercials manageable.

Love to Janet and let us know if you will be in New York this fall.

Yours,

(Mrs. Robbins Milbank)

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

F

September 4, 1959

Miss Kay Campbell
c/o Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Campbell:

Thank you for your letter of August 28 enclosing checks for $25.00 and $5.00 from Theodore S. Repplier and A. S. Merrill respectively. We are adding these to the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund.

Dean Barrett is due back in the office on Tuesday. I have ready for him to check a list of names to whom he may want to send letters and will be in touch with your office about this as soon as he has had a chance to check it.

Hope you get off on your vacation o.k. and that you have a very wonderful trip.

Sincerely yours,

Frances M. Barry

Frances M. Barry

Elmer Davis

August 28, 1959

Dear Dean Barrett:

Here are two more small checks for the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures Fund.

Sincerely yours,

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Columbia University
Graduate School of Journalism
New York 27, New York

gw
enc. 2 checks

VICE ADMIRAL A. STANTON MERRILL
U. S. N. (RETD.)
1503 VALENCE STREET
NEW ORLEANS 15, LA.

Dear Mr Murrow —

I am about to take off for a month of Salmon fishing in New Brunswick which will leave me pretty flat broke! However I will take $5.00 out of my fly-box to further in a very small way your excellent plan to raise a Memorial fund to perpetuate the fine accomplishments of our dear friend Elmer Davis! Success to you and personal regards —

Sincerely
"J" Stemm

12 Aug 59

STerling 3-9153

THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL INC.
NEW YORK • WASHINGTON • CHICAGO • HOLLYWOOD
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

THEODORE S. REPPLIER
PRESIDENT

August 12, 1959

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thank you for your letter of August 6. I'm very happy to make a modest donation to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures, and I am only sorry it cannot be more.

I, in common with many others, admired Elmer Davis very much.

Cordially,

T. S. Repplier

TSR/els

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

A non-profit organization, representing all phases of advertising, dedicated to the uses of advertising in the public service.

Kay

GEORGE C. MCGHEE
2420 REPUBLIC NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
DALLAS 1, TEXAS
RIVERSIDE 2-3448

August 17, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am acknowledging in Mr. McGhee's absence from the city for the summer your letter of August 5, 1959, with respect to a contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures. I do not expect Mr. McGhee to return to the office until September. If he does wish to make a contribution, I am sure you will hear from him at that time.

Very truly yours,

Retha A. Holliday

Retha A. Holliday
Secretary to Mr. McGhee

rh

file

CBS FOUNDATION INC.

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Mr. Ackerman

August 14, 1959

Dear Ed:

I have your letter of August 7 regarding the plans to establish an endowment for "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures."

I will be pleased to submit this request to the Board of the Foundation at its next meeting, which is not now definitely scheduled but which will probably take place early in September.

Regards.

Bill

August 7, 1959

Mr. William Ackerman
CBS Foundation Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bill:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is enclosed.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, and for distribution to all media.

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We are of the opinion that a semi-annual examination of the mass media in this country will not only represent a suitable memorial for Elmer Davis but will also provide bench marks for all agencies and institutions involved in the communication of information. We earnestly solicit your contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 7, 1959

Dear John:

Regarding the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures -

(1) The announcement of the establishment of the lectures and Sponsoring Committee should be made as soon as possible. Daly as Chairman should make it.

(2) I suggest that for practical purposes we create an Executive Committee consisting of Daly, Barrett and Murrow.

(3) Copy of the appeal letter is enclosed. I am sending this out to the names we have already received, and to the CBS Foundation. In order to avoid duplication, I suggest that you send any names you may have or will receive to Miss Kathryn Campbell, in my office, who will coordinate the whole thing and prepare letters for your signature. I shall be in this country and reachable through my office until August 24th.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. John C. D ly
American Broadcasting Company
7 West 66th Street
New York, N.Y.

August 7, 1959

Dear Ed:

Regarding the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures -

(1) The announcement of the establishment of the lectures and Sponsoring Committee should be made as soon as possible. Daly as Chairman should make it.

(2) I suggest that for practical purposes we create an Executive Committee consisting of Daly, Barrett and Murrow.

(3) Copy of the appeal letter is enclosed. I am sending this out to the names we have already received, and to the CBS Foundation. In order to avoid duplication, I suggest that you send any names you may have or will receive to Miss Kathyn Campbell in my office, who will coordinate the whole thing and prepare letters for your signature. I shall be in this country and reachable through my office until August 24th.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University in the City of New York
New York 27, N.Y.

August 6, 1959

Mrs. Lynn Baker
3 East 84th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Baker:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is enclosed.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

General Joseph F. Batley
1500 Rhode Island Avenue N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

Dear General Batley:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. Thomas Dawes Blake
4664 Reservoir Road
Washington 7, D.C.

Dear Mr. Blake:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. A.J. Bolton
709 Alpine Drive
Beverley Hills, California

Dear Mr. Bolton:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. Ben Lucien Burman
Hotel Chelsea
222 West 23rd Street
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Burman:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Rear Admiral Waldo Drake
Los Angeles Times
Los Angeles, California

Dear Admiral Drake:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. William Ewing
Managing Editor
The Star-Bulletin
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Ewing:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. Y. Frank Freeman
Paramount Pictures
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Freeman:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. Stanton Griffis
15 Broad Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Griffis:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. Maury Hanson
J. Walter Thompson
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hanson:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skj

August 5, 1959

Mr. Carleton Healy
Hiram Walker & Sons
Penebscot Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Mr. Healy:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 6, 1959

Mrs. W.P. Hobby
2 Remington Lane
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hobby:

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

General Edward Leavey
International Telephone & Telegraph Company
67 Broad Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear General Leavey:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Vice Admiral Leland Lovette
18 Glen Drive
Belle Haven
Alexandria, Va.

Dear Admiral Lovette:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. George C. McGhee
2420 Republic National Bank Building
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. McGhee:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures", and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form: - an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Vice Admiral A.S. Merrill
South Commerce Street
Natchez, Mississippi

Dear Admiral Merrill:

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 6, 1959

Rear Admiral H.B. Miller
Pan American World Airways
135 East 42nd Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Admiral Miller:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is enclosed.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Dr. Thomas Parran
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Dr. Parran:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 6, 1959

Mr. Ted Repplier
President
The Advertising Council Inc.
25 West 45th Street
New York 36, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Repplier:

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 6, 1959

Mr. John Sterling
This Week Magazine
485 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sterling:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is enclosed.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped and for distribution to all media.

It is our purpose to raise $75,000.00 which, as an endowment, would permit the presentation and distribution of two lectures each year. Contributions to Columbia University marked "For the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" will of course be tax exempt.

We are of the opinion that a semi-annual examination of the mass media in this country will not only represent a suitable memorial for Elmer Davis but will also provide bench marks for all agencies and institutions involved in the communication of information. We earnestly solicit your contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 6, 1959

Mr. Mark Sullivan, Jr.
4929 Rockwood Parkway
Washington 16, D.C.

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is enclosed.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught/ The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. Clifford Sutter
Batten, Burton, Durstine & Osborn
383 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sutter:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. Earl Thacker
Thacker Building
Waikiki
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Thacker:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 6, 1959

Mr. Harold Thomas
Box 1255
Stamford, Conn.

Dear Mr. Thomas:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is enclosed.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. Murray Ward
E.F. Hutton & Company
23 South Spring Street
Los Angeles 14, California

Dear Mr. Ward:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Colonel Albert Warner
4810 Glenbrook Road N.W.
Washington 16, D.C.

Dear Colonel Warner:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Judge John Minor Wisdom
U.S. Court of Appeals
New Orleans, La.

Dear Judge Wisdom:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. Paul Wooton
National Press Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Wooton:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is enclosed,

The memorial will take this form:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lecturers and lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume the responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped and for distribution to all media.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

August 5, 1959

Mr. James Young
Pena Blanca
Santa Fe, N.M.

Dear Mr. Young:

A group of Elmer Davis's friends have determined to establish "The Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" and we solicit your support. A list of the Committee members is attached.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

OA720

O SFF186 NL PD=SAN FRANCISCO CALIF 21= 1959 JUL 21 PM 9 00

MR EDWARD R MURROW=

:485 MADISON AVE NYK=

:I AM WORLDS WORST FUND RAISER HENCE RELUCTANT TO JEOPARDIZE ENDEAVOR BUT DEEPLY DEVOTED TO ELMER AND YOU IN THAT ORDER SO OF COURSE WILL DO MY BEST=

HELEN K MILBANK=.=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

July 21, 1959

To: Mrs. Robbins Millbank
2721 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco 15, California

DEAR HELEN WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE REPLY TO MY LETTER OF JUNE 8 CONCERNING ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL FUND COMMITTEE AS SOON AS YOU HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO CONSIDER IT REGARDS

Ed Murrow

514-70
News

July 20, 1959

Dear Dean Barrett:

Mr. Murrow asked me to send you the attached copies of his recent exchange of correspondence with Joseph Riznik. I am also sending you three checks we have received as contributions to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lecture Fund. They are as follows:

$500 from The Louis & Pauline Cowan Foundation, Inc.

$100 from Cass Canfield

$100 from George W. Healy, Jr.

Sincerely yours,

KAY CAMPBELL
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

enc.
mcc

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

July 1, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
The Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

This is just to say thank you for the check for $2,000 as a contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lecture fund. On behalf of all concerned, thanks.

Could you let me have a copy of whatever letter you sent Joe Riznik so I will have background on the subject the next time (inevitable) he writes me.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

EWB:mk
c.c. Mr. James Seward

Joseph Quentin Riznik

June 29 1959

Edward R Murrow
CBS New York City

Dear Ed:

Logic is logic and in reply to the expressed hope in your note of June 19 just now received, appropriate is as appropriate does.

Now that the memorial is as you say under way, what's the action program and how could organization of an XCBS fund appeal campaign be coordinated with the sponsoring committee's present and future plans?

It was just about a year ago, you'll recall, that an announcement of a memorial idea by XCBS brought thoughtful response from Elmer's friends and colleagues. An announcement sent out in the week after Elmer died brought acceptance, via return-postal device, by scores of men and women of their willingness to serve in achieving a living, meaningful and lasting memorial to Elmer. Ed Barrett was among the very first to proffer his help. Then, when John Daly advised me that he was conferring with you and subsequently with Ed Barrett and counselled coordination of XCBS activity with your own, I forwarded all data, including a list of names, to you with the assurance that I, as general secretary of XCBS who'd sparked the memorial action, had no intention of unilateral action; that you could be assured of my total cooperation.

And you have similar assurance of cooperation right now in any action program you devise. The original XCBS announcement made from San Francisco where XCBS had been founded and Elmer chosen honorary president in 1955, included the idea of an eventual fund raising campaign.

Now, what role can I, as general secretary of XCBS, play in your plans and program ? Certainly you may include me in your sponsoring group if it would serve a useful purpose. Will " pledge cards" or other fund appeal materials be distributed ? Will you have a master list of those who will be reached through direct personal appeal for contributions ? Should I plan to make a special appeal for special XCBS contributions and pledges ? Would you wish me to specifically handle a West Coast fund drive coordinated with your eastern seaboard activities ? What's your pleasure, gentlemen ?

Examination of the names on your sponsoring committee as of this time provokes the notion that you have men who could get individual contributions from every radio and tv station in the USA and from every publication and publisher in the country plus contributions from such groups as the Authors League, the American Newspaper Guild and the internationals of the CIO-AFL, the Rhodes Scholar Association, etc.etc.

Again, Ed: any service you feel I can give, you need only signal me how I can best serve.

My best, as always,

JQR

Joseph Q. Riznik

Redwood Road
San Anselmo
California

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Mr. Seward

from: Mr. Murrow

June 26, 1959

I should like to contribute $2,000.00 to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures at Columbia University. The check should be made payable to Columbia University and sent to Dean Edward Barrett of the Graduate School of Journalism.

I assume this should be done by the foundation.

Many thanks.

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 1-2345

JAMES M. SEWARD

Executive Vice President

June 29, 1959

Dear Dean Barrett:

Enclosed please find an Edward R. Murrow Foundation, Inc. check in the amount of $2,000 which Mr. Murrow asked me to send you as a contribution to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures.

Sincerely yours,

Dean Edward Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism
2960 Broadway
New York, New York

Enclosure

Copy for Mr. Murrow.

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Sheila Hogg June 23

For the record - in his conversation with you the other day, Mr. Cowan mentioned Jim Lennan, the CBS Foundation (he will support your overtures) and Bill (Paley?) as possible sources of money for the Elmer Davis Memorial.

K.C.

June 23, 1959

Dear Harold:

I have your letter of June 11th telling me your reasons for not joining the Committee for the Elmer Davis Memorial project.

This is merely a note to say that I thoroughly understand and that I appreciate your writing me so promptly.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Harold K. Guinzburg
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

mc

HAROLD K. GUINZBURG
625 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

June 11, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Although I feel complimented to be included in your proposed list of sponsors for the Elmer Davis Memorial project, I am afraid I must decline the invitation. I do this for a number of reasons.

I share the admiration which you obviously have for Elmer and his great accomplishments, but I was never a close friend and only briefly a working associate and I do not think I would be able to suggest any names of people who were close to him that one or another of you wouldn't know far better than I. I am an atrociously bad money-raiser and try to avoid any involvement where fund-raising is an obligation. I am basically less interested in endowments than in current operations and prefer to contribute to the latter than to the former. It happens that I have already this year made some special non-recurrent gifts above my normal annual contributions so that I am not in a position at the moment to make any significant additional donation.

These reasons, as you will see, are entirely personal and do not mean that I disapprove of your proposal. On the contrary, I wish you the best of luck with it.

Faithfully yours,

Harold

P.S. Your letter was mis-addressed and has only just reached me.

HKG/pg

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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=OB758

O SFG008 NL PD=SAN FRANCISCO CALIF 22=

1959 JUN 23 AM 2 54

=EDWARD R MURROW=

485 MADISON AVE NYK=

=MRS ROBBINS MILLBANK IN EUROPE RETURN APPROX JULY 1 WILL REPLY YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 8TH AT THAT TIME PLEASE CORRECT MAILING ADDRESS TO 2721 PACIFIC AVE SAN FRANCISCO 15=

STEBBINS=.

KC.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

June 19, 1959

Dear Mr. Healy:

Many thanks for your letter of June 13th and for your contribution of $100.00 to the fund for the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures.

I am delighted to know that you will serve on the committee.

Many thanks also for your list of possible contributors. This will be most helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. George W. Healy, Jr.
The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
Lafayette Square
New Orleans 40, Louisiana

mc

The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
LAFAYETTE SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS 40, LOUISIANA, TULANE 2411
The Times-Picayune
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NEW ORLEANS STATES
AND
NEW ORLEANS ITEM
EVENING

Office of
GEORGE W. HEALY, JR.
Vice-President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Editor
The Times-Picayune

June 13, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your letter of June 8 did not reach me until June 13, when I telegraphed that I shall be happy to serve on the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures committee.

I enclose my check for $100, to which I expect to add later, and suggest the following as likely contributors on the basis of my knowledge of their friendship with and admiration for Elmer:

Mr. George C. McGhee,
2420 Republic National Bank Building,
Dallas 1, Texas

Mr. Carleton Healy,
Hiram Walker & Sons,
Penebscot Building,
Detroit 26, Michigan

Mr. Murray Ward,
E. F. Hutton & Company,
23 South Spring Street,
Los Angeles 14, California

Vice Admiral A. S. Merrill,
South Commerce Street,
Natchez, Mississippi

Judge John Minor Wisdom,
U. S. Court of Appeals,
New Orleans, Louisiana

Rear Admiral Waldo Drake,
Los Angeles Times,
Los Angeles, California

Mr. Earl Thacker,
Thacker Building,
Waikiki,
Honolulu, Hawaii

The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
LAFAYETTE SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS 40, LOUISIANA, TULANE 2411
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Office of
GEORGE W. HEALY, JR.
Vice-President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Editor
The Times-Picayune

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, New York 22, N. Y. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - #2

Mr. William Ewing,
Managing Editor,
The Star-Bulletin,
Honolulu, Hawaii

General Edward Leavey,
President,
International Telephone & Telegram Company,
(in NY telephone directory) (NB. returned, forwarded)

Mr. Stanton Griffis,
(in NY telephone directory-Manhattan)

Mr. Ben Lucien Burman,
Hotel Chelsea,
222 West 23rd Street,
New York 11, N. Y.

Vice Admiral Leland Lovette,
18 Glen Drive,
Belle Haven,
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. Y. Frank Freeman,
Paramount Pictures,
Los Angeles, California

Mr. Maury Hanson,
Vice-President,
J. Walter Thompson, 420 MU 6-7000
(in NY Manhattan directory)

Mr. Clifford Sutter,
Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, 383 Madison EL 5-5800
(in NY Manhattan directory)

Dr. Thomas Parran,
University of Pittsburgh,
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Mr. Thomas Dawes Blake,
4664 Reservoir Road,
Washington 7, D. C.

The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
LAFAYETTE SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS 40, LOUISIANA, TULANE 2411
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Office of
GEORGE W. HEALY, JR.
Vice-President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Editor
The Times-Picayune

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, New York 22, N. Y. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - #3

Mr. A. J. Bolton,
709 Alpine Drive,
Beverly Hills, California

General Joseph F. Batley,
1500 Rhode Island Avenue, NW,
Washington 5, D. C.

Mr. Paul Wooton,
National Press Building,
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Lynn Baker,
3 East 84th Street,
New York City

Mrs. W. P. Hobby,
2 Remington Lane,
Houston, Texas

Rear Admiral H. B. Miller,
Pan American World Airways,
New York City

Mr. Mark Sullivan, Jr.,
4929 Rockwood Parkway,
Washington 16, D. C.

Mr. Harold Thomas,
Box 1255,
Stamford, Conn.

Mr.John Sterling,
Chairman of the Board,
This Week Magazine,
485 Lexington Avenue,
New York 17, N Y

Mr. Ted Repplier,
President,
The Advertising Council, Inc.,
25 West 45th Street,
New York 36, N. Y.

The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
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Vice-President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Editor
The Times-Picayune

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, New York 22, N. Y. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - #4

Colonel Albert Warner,
4810 Glenbrook Road, NW,
Washington 16, D.C.

Mr. James Young,
Pena Blanca,
Santa Fe, N.M.

I am sure Ed Barrett remembers that Elmer played a lot of bridge during the war years with Eugene Meyer and that he and Adlai Stevenson also were very friendly. The names I have sent here have been selected with the hope of giving you additions rather than duplications.

Sincerely,

George W. Healy, Jr.

George W. Healy, Jr.

GWH/MM

June
~~January~~ 19, 1959

Mr. Joseph Q. Riznik
Redwood Road
San Anselmo, California

Dear Joe:

We are finally under way on the Elmer Davis Memorial, as you will see from the attached letter. The committee is practically completed. We all hope you will be willing to lend a hand in raising the necessary dough. Daly, Barrett and I spent a fair amount of time, trying to concoct something which we thought would meet with Elmer's approval, and we hope you will think the solution we came up with is appropriate.

As ever yours,

enc.

June 19, 1959

Dear Bill:

Many thanks for your nice letter of June 16th.

I thought the program we did with Anna Rosenberg was one of the best we have had on that show, but that was PERSON TO PERSON which I will not be doing next year. I am, however, continuing with SMALL WORLD on Sundays.

Thank you again for your generous pledge of $500.00 a year for ten years to Columbia University for the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures. The Committee is growing slowly but surely, and I hope we shall have things pretty well organized by the end of July.

I hope there will be an opportunity to see you before I take off on my year's leave.

Sincerely yours,

Senator William Benton
Encyclopaedia Britannica
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

mc

ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA
342 MADISON AVENUE
SUITE 702
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

WILLIAM BENTON
PUBLISHER & CHAIRMAN

June 16, 1959

Dear Ed:

My wife and I have just watched your program on which Anna Rosenberg was your guest. We thought she did very well. I hope you agree.

I don't understand how you can turn out this particular program in five hours. Do you remember that you told me this was the time you were going to allocate to it on your forthcoming year off?

Yes, I am prepared to pledge $500 a year for ten years to Columbia University for the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures. Of course it would please me, if there's any announcement of how these lectures are to be financed, if it were pointed out that I succeeded Elmer Davis in his role as head of the OWI when I went into the State Department in August of '45 at the end of the war! However, I am not suggesting any announcement and I am most certainly not seeking any publicity. My gift is predicated wholly on my admiration for you and for Elmer Davis.

Sincerely,

Bill Benton

William Benton

Mr. Edward Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

P.S. Of course, your Sponsoring Committee gains prestige, as far as I am concerned, when I see the names of Bob Hutchins, Louis Cowan, Bob Kintner, Harold Guinzburg, Cass Canfield, Jim Reston, Barry Bingham and Bill Lewis -- and this isn't any reflection on those I am not mentioning!

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Sheila Hogg June 19

Mr. Cowan, who has just returned from the Coast, says he will be delighted to join the committee for the Elmer Davis Memorial and will be in touch with you about it in a day or two.

Promised 500 ☑

THE DENVER POST

PALMER HOYT
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

June 18
1959

Dear Ed:

I presume you received my telegram accepting with pleasure the invitation to join the sponsoring committee for a Elmer Davis Memorial. I think it is a wonderful idea and will be pleased to hear details of further progress.

At the moment I can think of only two people you don't have on the list who might contribute to the fund. One is James Allen, 8701 Wilshire Blvd., Beverly Hills, California. The other is Mr. Wellington, whom I am sure you know. He is head of the BBC radio division and was a classmate of Elmer's at Oxford.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Palmer Hoyt

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

HARPER & BROTHERS
Publishers Since 1817

CHAIRMAN OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD 49 EAST 33D ST., NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

June 16, 1959

Dear Ed:

Replying to your letter of June 8th I shall be glad to join the sponsoring committee for the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures. This is a very good idea and I am pleased that Elmer should be remembered in this way.

Enclosed is a contribution of $100.

As ever,

Cass

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Cass Canfield...RNH

KENYON & ECKHARDT INC.

Advertising & Marketing

WILLIAM B. LEWIS
PRESIDENT

NEW YORK 17: *247 Park Avenue*

June 15, 1959

Dear Ed:

After our recent trip to Europe, I haven't enough money left to send a telegram and I doubt that I shall be able to contribute to the Elmer Davis Memorial for some months to come.

Nevertheless, I shall be delighted to join the sponsoring committee.

For contributors, I would suggest Bill Paley and Frank Stanton who worked with him at CBS and Bob Kintner and Gardner Cowles who worked with him in Washington.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA132 PD=FE NEW YORK NY 11 315PME= 1959 JUN 11 PM 3 49

EDWARD R MURROW=

485 MADISON AVE=

I SHALL BE GLAD TO JOIN THE SPONSORING COMMITTEE=

ROBERT M HUTCHINS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION
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(30)

NA 224 PD= WUX BOSTON MASS 15 -25 ME= 1959 JUN 15 PM 4 32

EDWRD R MURROW=

=485 MADISON AVE=

PROUD TO SEVE AS SPONSOR FOR ELMER DAVIS=

TED WEEKS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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G66CC 8S NL PD WUX NEWYORK NY JUN 11 1959

EDWARD R MURROW

485 MADISON AVE NYK

DELIGHTED JOIN ELMER DAVIS SPONSORING COMMITTEE.

REGARDS.

C D JACKSON

718P

RE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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NA158 PD=WUX DENVER COLO 12 1208PMM=

1959 JUN 12 PM 3 51

EDWARD R MURROW=

485 MADISON AVE NYK= 17th floor

HAPPY TO JOIN ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL SPONSORING COMMITTEE. LETTER WILL FOLLOW SHORTLY. REGARDS=

PALMER HOYT=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

WU024 PD

WUX NEW YORK NY 12 310P

RECEIVED
1959 JUN 12 PM 4:42
C B S TELETYPE ROOM N.

EDWARD R MURROW

DEAR ED RE YOUR LETTER I WILL BE HAPPY TO SERVE ON DAVIS

COMMITTEE SUGGEST POSSIBILITY FOR

COMMITTEE OF ARCHIE MAC

LEISH BEST REGARDS

BOB KINTNER

338P..

Eben G. Fitz

RECEIVED
1959 JUN 12 PM 4:42
C B S TELEVISION ROOM N

WUX2A PD

WUX NEW YORK NY 12 310P

EDWARD R MURROW

DEAR ED RE YOUR LETTER I WILL BE HAPPY TO SERVE ON DAVIS COMMITTEE SUGGEST POSSIBILITY FOR COMMITTEE OF ARCHIE MACLEISH BEST REGARDS

BOB KINTNER

33SP..

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1959 JUN 13 PM 1 23

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

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NA 049 PD=NEW ORLEANS LA 13 1111AMC=

=EDWARD R MURROW, CARE NETWORK OPERATIONS, DEF IMMY
485 MADISON AVE 21 FL=

1959 JUN 13 PM 1 23

=HAPPY TO SERVE ON ELMER DAVIS COMMITTEE LETTER FOLLOWS=
GEORGE W HEALY NJR=

=NJR=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

17

RECEIVED 1959 JUN 12 PM 6:56
C B S TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.
RECEIVED JUN 12 6
C B S TELETYPE ROOM

WU036 PD

LOUISVILLE KY JUN 12 319PMC

EDWARD R MURROW COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

RELET GLAD TO JOIN YOU IN SUCH A VERY GOOD COMMITTEE

IN SPONSORING MEMORIAL FOR ELMER DAVIS REGARDS

BARRY BINGHAM

540P

Columbia University
in the City of New York
[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

June 10, 1959

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
Treasurer
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Hallock:

Remembering our pleasant meeting on the Coast, I am doubly happy to write this note expressing my personal thanks for the $10,000 Fund contribution toward the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures.

I have noted what you say in your letter of June 3 about the press releases and will be in touch with the Fund before making any announcements.

Our thanks to the Fund.

Every personal good wish.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

ewb/fmb

Copy to: Dr. Robert M. Hutchins - Warm thanks. E.W.B.
Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Mr. John C. Daly

June 8, 1959

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Bob:

For several months, John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself have been discussing some kind of memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered and rejected a whole series of proposals and have finally settled upon the following:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence, the lectures to be delivered originally in New York City, to be both filmed and taped and made available to all radio and television stations. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, for general distribution.

It is our aim to raise $75,000 which, as an endowment, would permit the presentation of two lectures each year. Contributions to Columbia University marked "For the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" will of course be tax exempt. For your information, we see about $25,000 of the money already on the horizon.

The purpose of this letter is to ask if you will join the sponsoring committee and to ask you to send to me the names of any of Elmer's friends who might be expected to contribute. I enclose a list of those being invited to join the committee. From this list, an

executive committee will be named. It will not be necessary for the full committee to meet, but your counsel will be sought in fund-raising and in selecting the Elmer Davis Memorial lecturers.

I should be grateful if you would be good enough to reply by telegram, in order that an early announcement of the formation of the committee may be made.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

June 8, 1959

Mr. Louis G. Cowan
Columbia Broadcasting System Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Lou:

For several months, John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself have been discussing some kind of memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered and rejected a whole series of proposals and have finally settled upon the following:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence, the lectures to be delivered originally in New York City, to be both filmed and taped and made available to all radio and television stations. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

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I should be grateful if you would be good enough to reply at once, in order that an early announcement of the formation of the committee may be made.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

June 8, 1959

Mr. Robert E. Kintner
National Broadcasting Company Inc.
RCA Building
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bob:

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

June 8, 1959

Mr. Harold Guinzburg
Viking Press
18 E. 48th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Guinzburg:

For several months, John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself have been discussing some kind of memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered and rejected a whole series of proposals and have finally settled upon the following:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence, the lectures to be delivered originally in New York City, to be both filmed and taped and made available to all radio and television stations. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

June 8, 1959

Mr. Cass Canfield
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Cass:

For several months, John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself have been discussing some kind of memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered and rejected a whole series of proposals and have finally settled upon the following:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence, the lectures to be delivered originally in New York City, to be both filmed and taped and made available to all radio and television stations. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

June 9, 1959

Dear Palmer:

For several months, John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself have been discussing some kind of memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered and rejected a whole series of proposals and have finally settled upon the following:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence, the lectures to be delivered originally in New York City, to be both filmed and taped and made available to all radio and television stations. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

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Sincerely yours,

Mr. Palmer Hoyt
Denver Post
650 15th Street
Denver, Colorado

mc

June 9, 1959

Dear C. D.:

For several months, John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself have been discussing some kind of memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered and rejected a whole series of proposals and have finally settled upon the following: - an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence, the lectures to be delivered originally in New York City, to be both filmed and taped and made available to all radio and television stations. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

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Sincerely yours,

Mr. C. D. Jackson
Time, Inc.
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

mc

June 9, 1959

Dear Barry:

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Sincerely yours,

Mr. Barry Bingham
Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

mc

June 8, 1959

Mr. George W. Healy
New Orleans Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Healy:

For several months, John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself have been discussing some kind of memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered and rejected a whole series of proposals and have finally settled upon the following:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence, the lectures to be delivered originally in New York City, to be both filmed and taped and made available to all radio and television stations. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

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I should be grateful if you would be good enough to reply by telegram in order that an early announcement of the formation of the committee may be made.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

June 9, 1959

Dear Ted:

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Sincerely yours,

Mr. Edward Weeks
Atlantic Monthly
8 Arlington Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

mc

June 9, 1959

Dear Bill:

For several months, John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself have been discussing some kind of memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered and rejected a whole series of proposals and have finally settled upon the following:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence, the lectures to be delivered originally in New York City, to be both filmed and taped and made available to all radio and television stations. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

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I should be grateful if you would be good enough to reply by telegram, in order that an early announcement of the formation of the committee may be made.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. William B. Lewis
Kenyon & Eckhardt
247 Park Avenue
New York, New York

mc

June 8, 1959

Mrs. Robbins Milbank (formerly Helen Kirkpatrick)
~~1030 Brookvale Road~~
~~Burlingame~~, California
2721 PACIFIC AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO 15.

Dear Helen:

I hope to hell the attached is self-explanatory. What we want is for you to be the West Coast Chairman - in fact, the co-Chairman with John Daly - and help us beat the bushes for some dough. I hope you will do it.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

encs.

June 8, 1959

Mrs. Robbins Milbank
~~1030 Brookvale Road~~
~~Burlingame~~, California

2721 PACIFIC AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO 15, CALIFORNIA

Dear Helen:

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Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

June 5, 1959

Dean Edward Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University in the City of New York
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Herewith the letter from Hallock Hoffman, Treasurer of The Fund for the Republic and their enclosed check in the amount of $10,000. I have acknowledged same.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh
encs.

cc: Mr. John C. Daly

Reston, James
for
Elmer Davis

June 8, 1959

Mr. James Reston
New York Times
1701 K Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Scotty:

For several months, John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself have been discussing some kind of memorial for Elmer Davis. We considered and rejected a whole series of proposals and have finally settled upon the following:- an annual or semi-annual lecture to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence, the lectures to be delivered originally in New York City, to be both filmed and taped and made available to all radio and television stations. The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communications, with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism.

The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism where Elmer Davis once taught. The School of Journalism will assume responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed and taped, for general distribution.

It is our aim to raise $75,000 which, as an endowment, would permit the presentation of two lectures each year. Contributions to Columbia University marked "For the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures" will of course be tax exempt. For your information, we see about $25,000 of the money already on the horizon.

The purpose of this letter is to ask if you will join the sponsoring committee and to ask you to send to me the names of any of Elmer's friends who might be expected to contribute. I enclose a list of those being invited to join the committee. From this list, an

executive committee will be named. It will not be necessary for the full committee to meet, but your counsel will be sought in fund-raising and in selecting the Elmer Davis Memorial lecturers.

I should be grateful if you would be good enough to reply by telegram, in order that an early announcement of the formation of the committee may be made.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

June 5, 1959

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Hallock Hoffman:

I write to say you our thanks for the Fund's check for the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund.

I am sure I can embezzle a few words from the seven million on television and politics. My thanks in advance.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

June 3, 1959

Dear Ed Murrow:

Herewith the official letter of grant to Columbia, and the Fund's check.

Ping and I will count the 7 million words on television and politics, to see if there are any worth your looking at.

Nice to see you. Good luck with the fund raising.

Yours,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Edward R. Murrow
CBS News
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

June 5, 1959

Dear Bill:

Belated thanks for your gracious and generous letter of May 5 about the Elmer Davis Memorial. We have received the $10,000 grant from the Fund, with authorization to spend it on an annual basis or to apply it toward an endowment. What we have decided to do is to make a quick but determined effort to raise the maximum amount possible and then decide whether to spend principle or income. It is my personal opinion that we can raise enough money to take the endowment route. I hope you will agree that it is wise to maintain this degree of flexibility and I hope, too, that we may count on your generous proposal to give us $500 a year over the next ten years. You may care to know that John Daly is giving a couple of thousand and so am I. Thanks again.

As ever yours,

P.S. I am enclosing a list of those being invited to serve on the committee.

cc: John C. Daly, Dean Edward Barrett

ERM:skh

Senator William Benton
Encyclopaedia Britannica
342 Madison Avenue, Suite 702
New York 17, N.Y.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA
342 MADISON AVENUE
SUITE 702
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

WILLIAM BENTON
PUBLISHER & CHAIRMAN

May 5, 1959

Dear Ed:

Bob and I have chatted about the proposed memorial to Elmer Davis. He shares my views that it will be easier to raise money by the year. I think you may get $10,000 from him, and perhaps he'll give it to you as a lump sum. I'd rather give you $500 a year over the next ten years. Do you think you want to underwrite this in perpetuity? At $2,500 a lecture you will have to raise about $60,000. Why don't you start with a ten year underwriting of $25,000? Bob and I are seemingly in a position to give you 60% of it.

Sincerely,

Bill

William Benton

– for endowment

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

arh

Copy of this letter sent to Dean Barrett June 5, 1959

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

June 3, 1959

Dear Dean Barrett:

I am happy to tell you that the Fund's Board of Directors has approved a grant of $10,000 to the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism to assist in establishing the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures. The Fund's check is enclosed. Your acknowledgment of its receipt will be appreciated.

You are free to publicize the Fund's grant, but we would appreciate the opportunity to review any press release before it is made public.

Our Board is grateful to the Elmer Davis Memorial Lecture Committee for this project to honor the principles of a man who long served freedom well. We wish you and the Committee much success.

Sincerely yours,

Hallock Hoffman
Treasurer

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Columbia University
Graduate School of Journalism
New York, New York

cc: Edward R. Murrow
CBS News
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 22, 1959

F

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Splendid performance last night. Everyone was fine and elevated and dignified except, alas, the guest of honor, the perennial youth.

How would you like to see Hallock Hoffman and me sometime next week to talk about the Elmer Davis affair? Our Board of Directors has met and Bob, who is leaving in seven minutes for California, has deputed us to talk with you.

Just call me here, will you?

Hasty regards,

W. H. Ferry

Enc.

I'll send Conant Notes later: all out at moment.

May 8, 1959

Mr. Stephen Fitzgerald
Stephen Fitzgerald & Company
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Steve:

We are delighted to hear of the Providence Journal's probable interest in helping with the Elmer Davis Memorial.

Enclosed is the plan developed by the committee of Ed Murrow, John Daly, and me.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

EWB/rpe

Encl.

cc: Messrs. John Daly
Ed Murrow

Burlingame, Roger

ROGER BURLINGAME
WEST REDDING
CONNECTICUT

April 30, 1959

Miss Sheila Hogg,
Secretary to Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Dear Miss Hogg:

Thank you for your letter of the 28th and please thank Mr. Murrow for his suggestion that we meet at lunch on May 20th to talk about Elmer Davis. I shall be delighted to meet him at the Century at one o'clock on this date.

Sincerely,

Roger Burlingame

RB:L

April 28, 1959

Mr. Roger Burlingame
West Redding
Connecticut

Dear Mr. Burlingame:

Mr. Murrow has asked me to arrange a time mutually convenient to you and to him to discuss your biography of Elmer Davis.

I wonder whether a long lunch on May 20 would suit you? If so, the Century at 1 p.m. can be your rendezvous. Would you be kind enough to confirm this appointment to me at this address, or by calling PLaza 1-2345, ext. 7494.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

TEL: DANBURY, CT.
PIONEER 3-3609

ROGER BURLINGAME
WEST REDDING
CONNECTICUT

April 24, 1959

Will see — for long lunch.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I spoke to you on Wednesday at the Long Table in the Century about the biography of Elmer Davis that I am writing and I was delighted to have you say that you would be able to talk to me some time about him. I knew Elmer quite well but not of course in connection with his work. I am most anxious to get some glimpses of him in his broadcasting activity and I know of no one who can help me in this better than you. Any anecdotes or incidents that you can recall would be particularly valuable. I have always wondered, for instance, what was the attitude toward him of his various sponsors. I shall of course be discreet in the use of any information you may give me.

As I know that you are extremely busy in these last months before your departure I want you to set the time and place for our interview. I shall undoubtedly be able to meet you anywhere that will be most convenient to you. Can you drop me a line or telephone me here?

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Roger Burlingame

RB:L

May 20?

April 3, 1959

Miss Barbara Munn
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42 Street
New York 17, New York

~~Dear~~ Miss Munn:

Thank you for your good letter of March 25. I will look forward to hearing from Mr. Hutchins upon his return.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett
Dean

ewb/ap

cc: Mr. Edward R Murrow

original in file

March 17, 1959

Dear Ed:

This is, by nature, a cry for help. I am off to Europe for two or three weeks at the end of this week, and I don't think the Elmer Davis business and Hutchins should be left hanging. Could you possibly have a chat with him and, perhaps, get things underway during my absence?

As ever yours,

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

EEM/hl

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

JOURNALISM
MAR 20 1959

c/o Dean 30

March 17, 1959

Dear Ed:

This is, by nature, a cry for help. I am off to Europe for two or three weeks at the end of this week, and I don't think the Elmer Davis business and Hutchins should be left hanging. Could you possibly have a chat with him and, perhaps, get things underway during my absence?

As ever yours,

Ed

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

ERM/hl

4/1/59

Dear Ed;
Have been in touch with Bob Hutchins' office. However, he is out of town for two weeks.
Ed

February 24, 1959

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Columbia University in the City of New York
Graduate School of Journalism
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Dean Barrett:

Mr. Murrow asked me to send you the enclosed copy of a letter which he has received from Dr. Hutchins.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

enc.

February 24, 1959

Mr. John C. Daly
American Broadcasting Company
7 West 66th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Daly:

Mr. Murrow asked me to send you the enclosed copy of a letter which he has received from Dr. Hutchins.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

enc.

February 17, 1959

Dr. Robert Hutchins
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Bob:

Here is the memo re Davis which I mentioned to you.

As ever yours,

Dean Barnett's suggestion of Jan 21 sent.

Explanatory Notes on the

ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL LECTURES

It is proposed that the Elmer Davis Memorial Committee should at the outset, include the following or comparable membership: E. Palmer Hoyt, Wallace Sterling, Robert M. Hutchins, John C. Daly, Edward R. Murrow and Edward W. Barrett. The last three members served on the original planning committee and have unabashedly suggested themselves because of their deep and continuing interest in the development and success of the project.

Columbia University has been proposed to administer the program because of its central location, because a university can provide necessary continuity and responsible administration, and because of Elmer Davis' past connection with the School of Journalism. Replacements on the six-member committee will be made as required by the trustees of Columbia University after receiving the recommendations of the committee. It seems a most appropriate way to achieve continuity.

An endowment of $50,000, under Columbia's investment policies that have existed for several years, should provide an annual income of $2,500 a year. It is proposed that this money be used at the outset in the following way:

Fees to lecturers (@ $200 each)	$ 400.00
Filming plus 2 prints of each lecture	1400.00
Postage, telephone, telegraph and clerical expenses	400.00
Administrative costs and contingencies	300.00

This will require some economical shortcuts in the filming. It is felt, however, that with help from the industry and perhaps with some semi-professional graduate-student personnel the costs can be kept within the budget for the years immediately ahead. If and when budget considerations require, the lectures may be reduced to one in any given year.

Proposal for

ELMER DAVIS MEMORIAL LECTURES

Having studied during the last six months countless proposals for a memorial to Elmer Davis, the undersigned informal committee now proposes the following:

A continuing series of lectures to be delivered by distinguished Americans in the Elmer Davis tradition of courage and independence. The lectures are to be delivered originally in the city of New York and are to be filmed or taped or both to reach maximum audiences in other sections of the nation.

The lectures will be established at Columbia University and administered by the Graduate School of Journalism, where Mr. Davis once taught. There will be a permanent Elmer Davis Memorial Committee to recommend the choice of speakers, to oversee the program and to advise the University on program policies.

The lecturers and the lecture subjects are to be such as are deemed to be significant in the area of mass communication with emphasis balanced between print journalism and broadcast journalism. The Graduate School of Journalism, with assistance from the Elmer Davis Memorial Committee, will assume responsibility for staging the lectures in a setting of appropriate dignity, for having them filmed or taped or both for use before other university, general or broadcast audiences and for preserving the films and tapes as permanent historical documents. It is contemplated that, insofar as practicable, there shall be two Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures a year.

The undersigned committee recommends a total endowment of $50,000 to provide permanent financing for the memorial [illegible]

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 19, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I assume from your note of February 17th that you are asking me two things about the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures:

1) Will I serve on the Committee? The answer to this question is that I am honored and am glad to accept.

2) Will the Fund for the Republic contribute to the endowment fund? The answer is that I should be glad to recommend it. I should think our share would be about $15,000. Our Board may have other ideas; meanwhile I should be glad to have yours.

My gratuitous advice would be to cut the lectures to one a year and make the honorarium not less than $500. In fact I would be prepared to recommend an increase in our suggested share if you would make the honorarium higher than that. In my observation the size of the honorarium has something to do with the distinction of the speakers and the seriousness with which they take the assignment.

As ever yours,

Bob

Robert M. Hutchins
President

February 17, 1959

Dr. Robert Hutchins
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

I have asked our Public Affairs Department to send you a transcript of THE EMPTY SCHOOLHOUSE. As far as a full text of your remarks is concerned, this will have to be taken from the tape and typed up for you, as no transcript was kept. However, we hope that this can be finished by tomorrow and sent over to you.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Columbia University
in the City of New York
[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

February 9, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I chanced to run into Elmo the other day and he told me exactly what he told you in his letter. By all means, I would suggest you proceed to beard Bob Hutchins. I scarcely know him and might appear to be somewhat less than disinterested. Moreover, I am sure he would attach considerable importance to your personal views.

Cordially,

ewb/fmb

Edward W. Barrett

P. S. I trust you can do this without getting enmeshed in the beard as did John and his colleagues.

cc: Mr. John C. Daly

February 4, 1959

Dear Ed and John:

I attach a confidential communication from Elmo Roper. Do you wish me to beard Hutchins? I suggest this only because I understand Daly already has half his beard.

As ever yours,

EKM:skh

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Columbia University in the City of New York
Graduate School of Journalism
New York 27, N.Y.

Mr. John C. Daly
American Broadcasting Company
7 West 66 Street
New York, N.Y.

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 28, 1959

Dear John and Ed:

1) Attached is a copy of the latest from J.Q.

2) Any more reactions to that draft of some weeks ago?

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/ap

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Mr. John C. Daly
American Broadcasting Company
7 West 66 Street
New York, New York

Joseph Quentin Riznik

January 15

JAN 19 1959

Dear Ed:

My thanks for your reply. What a pity that the timing did not work out.

Your evaluation and comment please on a situation confronting the XCBS group and which involves more than anything else keeping the good will of those who came forward so quickly and sincerely in response the the XCBS appeal for their services and who have, with under standable reason, become restive and querulous.

While XCBS acted in good faith in deferring to John Daly, Ed Murrow, yourself and the rest of the group you got into action on a project we may have acted a bit cavalierly in the matter and ruffled some feelings. I hope that you and your group will see the value of making acknowledgment in your first public announcement of the part the XCBS group played in rallying the active interest and volunteered services of XCBSers and others on the list which you have in the memorial cause.

I'd like to be prepared to make a shirt-tail announcement out of San Francisco to go with the public announcement I assume you will make from New York City or Washington.

I will rely on your good judgment and feeling for protocol to keep everybody, but everybody, happy. As the man said: There's only one goddam thing wrong with this world —— PEOPLE.

As always,

Dean Edward W Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University

Redwood Road
San Anselmo
California

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

January 22, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I read with interest the plan for an Elmer Davis Memorial up with which you and your colleagues came!

I don't think there's any question but what this would strike a responsive note with certain members of the staff and certain members of the Board of The Fund for the Republic, but on the other hand, I am afraid there's no question but what it would be rather vigorously opposed by others as being in the nature of a reversal of many things we agreed upon.

I think the key in this will be Bob Hutchins. If he will go along with it, I'm sure we can muster a majority for it.

Please regard these as my personal and confidential views.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

January 15, 1959

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y.

Dear Elmo:

This is in no sense a formal application to the Fund for the Republic, but it is a first draft of something knocked out by John Daly, Ed Barrett and myself. Perhaps you would give me an informal opinion as to whether the Fund would be prepared to receive an application along these general lines.

As ever yours,

KRM:skh

enc.

January 9, 1959

Mr. Joseph Q. Riznik
Redwood Road
San Anselmo, California

Dear Joe:

Many thanks for your good letter of January 3 and the greetings.

Ed Murrow, John Daly and I have a project in the almost final stages now, I believe, I doubt if we can get it out by January 13. I do hope, however, that we will be in touch with you and all other interested parties within the very near future.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/ap

cc: Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Mr. John Daly

Joseph Quentin Riznik

January 6

7

Dear Ed:

A week from today, Tuesday the 13th, is Elmer Davis' birthdate.

I call this to your attention in the possibility that the date might be used in some way publicly.

I've asked Ed Barrett to let me know what progress is reportable on the memorial planning with the possibility that some kind of public announcement might be made for the 13th.

Allow me, Ed, to convey my respects for a most admirable analysis of the implications of the Lunik-Mikoyan gambit. Could you, too, be feeling it in the air: Frustration USA ! Do you sense it in the land, the frustrated Americans saying: We want to do something, but WHAT ?

You may not realize it but the only affirmations heard today come from men like yourself, like Edward Morgan, like William Winter, like Eric Sevareid. And what the hell can THEY do about it ? Yet, I say: Be strong and of good courage. And we do have reason to remember Elmer Davis.

As always,

JQR

Redwood Road
San Anselmo
California

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

December 22, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mr. John C. Daly
American Broadcasting Company, Inc.
7 West 66th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed and John:

Enclosed is the first rough draft of the idea that Ed and I worked out at the luncheon last week. I suggest that the two of you confer and that Ed edit it or re write it just as freely as he cares to.

I have talked over the project with Grayson Kirk and my colleagues. All are happy to have Columbia undertake it, although it is felt that with a budget this size it may end up costing us money to administer the program. That is overcome by the enthusiasm hereabouts for the project as a fitting memorial to Elmer.

At the moment I have some doubts as to whether I should stay on our fund-raising committee, since, in a sense, I have become an interested party. We can talk that over at our convenience.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

EWB/rpe

Encl.

Columbia University
in the City of New York
[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

December 12, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Though I am belated about answering your letter, I rather like your idea of combining the lecture and film project.

I am looking forward to lunching with you and John on December 18 at the Century.

All the best.

Cordially,

EW

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/ap

November 25, 1958

Dear Ed and John:

I have had a private and altogether informal and unofficial chat with Elmo Roper about the Fund for the Republic's participation in an Elmer Davis Memorial. Elmo guesses that we might get as much as $25,000 from the Fund, if the memorial had something to do with the mass media. I would guess that we could raise another twenty-five from Elmer's friends.

Why not expand Barrett's suggestion under date of November 21 and have two lectures given each year, one a sort of auditing of print and the other, radio and television, put them on film and records and make them available to anybody who wants to use them. If this idea has any merit, let's meet again and talk about it.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University in the City of New York
New York 27, N.Y.

Mr. John Daly
American Broadcasting Company
7 West 66th Street
New York 23, N.Y.

Min 5-4000

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

- Return - 27.00 -

November 21, 1958

Dear Ed and John:

I am troubled by the fear that nothing at all may come of the Elmer Davis Memorial project.

As an alternate to our much more ambitious proposals, let me suggest the following modest proposal that would come to $10,000:

An annual Elmer Davis Memorial Lecture given at one of our outstanding educational institutions by an individual who reflects appropriately the spirit of Elmer Davis.

I would suggest that the lecture be staged at this School but be open to the University at large and the public at large--primarily on the gounds that Elmer Davis taught here for several years. However, I would not be obdurate in saying that this institution should be selected above others. The income from the $10,000 (at least under Columbia's policies) will be $500 a year. Two hundred dollars of this could be allocated to the lecture fee and $300 to reproducing the lecture in some appropriate form and giving it distribution among an appropriate list of individuals and institutions.

This is very modest but would be far better, in my mind, than nothing at all. I recommend it only as an alternative on which we could fall back.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Mr. John Daly
American Broadcasting Company
7 West 66 Street
New York 23, New York

October 31, 1958

Dear Joe:

John Daly, Ed Barrett and I have had several sessions about the Elmer Davis Memorial and we have not yet been able to come up with an award which we feel would have been acceptable to Elmer. It isn't so much a question of raising the money as it is of devising a suitable memorial. We are still working on it, and will let you know.

As ever yours,

KRM:skh

cc: John Daly - Edward W. Barrett

Mr. Joseph Q. Riznik
Redwood Road
San Anselmo, California

Joseph Quentin Riznik

October 21,1958

Dear Ed:

I was much moved by your passionately reasonable ideas for the public service of democracy by American business users of radio and tv networks as reported in Variety.

I'm hoping that Ed Barrett has talked with you about the XCBS National Elmer Davis Memorial Committee project. He signalled me upon his return to his university office some weeks ago that he would discuss the matter with you and John Daly.

It occurs to me, Ed, that the networks could set an example for American business public service contributions in the implementation of the idea, in the XCBS memorandum, projecting an annual Elmer Davis Memorial Commentary to be carried simultaneously by all the networks at a time cleared by all the networks and given by them as their contribution to the Elmer Davis memorial idea.

An example for American business could also be set by a group of American public service foundations by their cooperation in jointly financing and administering the memorial idea chosen by an Elmer Davis Memorial Committee.

As a result of the public announcement of the XCBS project I have received queries from people — "I'm just one of the people who listened to Mr.Davis..." — asking how they could help in a Memorial project. It's my notion now that if the project is developed in the next few months, the occasion of Elmer's birthday, January 13, might be used by the Memorial Committee as a Dollars for Elmer Davis announcement. This even if joint Foundation financing of a memorial is achieved. Should the idea of the Annual Elmer Davis Memorial Commentary appear by then to be possible dollar contributors from the general American public might be asked to accompany their contributions with their nominations for the American they'd choose to be considered as the one to be honored for the first annual commentary. Also, there appears no good reason why the networks might jointly give a five or ten thousand dollar award to the man or woman chosen for the annual commentary. Anyway, something substantial beside the honor.

I hope Ed that by this time it has become clear that the XCBS project was a spontaneous expression of deep esteem and affection for Elmer and what he'd meant to all of us in his time.

And very much FYI: Has it come to your attention yet that here and there around the country there are men with long-range thoughts of the public service of democracy who, at opportune moments, ask: " Would you go for Ed Murrow for President in 1964 ?" It's quite an idea!

JQR

Redwood Road
San Anselmo
California

Elmer Davis

September 26, 1958

Miss Sylvia Spence
Sylvia Spence Associates
Suite 515
527 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Miss Spence:

I regret to say that neither Daly, Barrett nor Murrow have yet come up with a suggestion for a Davis Award which we feel would have met with Elmer's approval. Do you have any ideas on the subject?

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

Sylvia Spence Associates AWARD CONSULTANTS AND MANAGERS

Suite 515
527 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.
PLaza 5-2584

September 22, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Has anything ever come of the idea of having an Elmer Davis Memorial Committee? I understood from John Daly that you and Edward Barrett were providing leadership for this activity.

It occurred to me that if such a committee has been formally established, it might be interested in setting up an award in memory of Mr. Davis. Elmer Davis was always interested in meaningful awards and served as a judge on many occasions.

As awards are my business, and because of my association with Mr. Davis at the Fund for the Republic, I would very much like to get involved in such an undertaking.

Want to talk?

Good luck to you and Mr. Friendly with the new series. I look forward to nominations for the Sherwood Awards.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sylvia Spence

Sylvia Spence

Elmer Davis
Memorial

September 19, 1958

Mr. J. Q. Risnik
The Press & Union League Club
555 Post Street
San Francisco 2, California

Dear Joe:

Your letter about the Elmer Davis Memorial arrived here while I was on vacation. I don't quite know what I should say in response to your flattering suggestion that I assume the chairmanship of an organization. Until the summer hiatus, John Daly, Ed Murrow and I were functioning as a sort of an informal committee. I must say I have the feeling that one of them would be a more appropriate and--better known--chairman for the group. However, as soon as the three of us get together, I will be happy to discuss your line of thought with them and let you hear from me.

In the meantime, let me say that all three of us felt we should go forward with a memorial program only if we had a first-rate and significant project thoroughly worthy of Elmer's name.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/ap

cc: Mr. Edward R. Murrow ✓
Mr. John Daly

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Sheila Hogg July 22, 1958

Are you planning to contact the Fund for the Republic concerning funds for the Elmer Davis Memorial Lecture series?

In September

July 14, 1958

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University in the City of New York
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

This is a hasty reaction to yours of July 2. It is my feeling that your plan has merit, but I think we would have one hell of a time raising the money for it. Some time in the course of the next couple of weeks, I will see what, if anything, I can spring from the Fund for the Republic, and then maybe we can consult again.

As ever yours,

Dictated but not signed by Edward R. Murrow

ERM:skh

cc: John Daly

July 8, 1958

Dean Edward W. Barrett
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University in the City of New York
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Dean Barrett:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 2, outlining your plans for the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures.

Mr. Murrow is at present on vacation, but I will put your letter before him immediately upon his return.

Very truly yours,

Secretary to Mr. Murrow

skh

Columbia University
in the City of New York
[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

Um 5-4000

July 2, 1958

Dear Ed and John:

Again my embarrassed apologies for missing our lunch. (The worst feature of my mixup is that I can't find anyone else to blame for the flub!)

Here is my brainwave in outline form:

The project would involve a $100,000 fund for the Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures on 16 mm. film.

Every great University has at least one great lecturer who gives at least one notable lecture in the liberal tradition of Elmer. It may be a "Buzzer" Hall at Princeton, a Carl Van Doren at Columbia, or the wonderful old gentleman who gave the "Wagon Wheels" course at Harvard. In addition, there are occasional great lectures given by visiting lecturers. Elmer Davis himself gave at least one such.

Under my proposal, we would select a handful of such great lecturers and set them up for repeat performances before an audience, having them filmed at the same time. We would then make these available to various institutions of higher learning, where they would be used as parts of existing courses in the broad area of freedom and security. We could also arrange for subsidiary but wide distribution without cost through one of the educational film distributing organizations.

The making of such films would be fairly expensive if done on a straight commercial basis. However, the making of such 16 mm. films of really decent quality would not be very expensive if done under educational auspices. My work with our own television shows and with the Center for Mass Communications here has convinced me of this. Indeed, we have done far more complicated films of eminently broadcastable quality at as little cost as $200 to $300 for a half hour. In brief, I should say that fairly good quality films that do this job well could be produced for anywhere from $600 to $3,000 each.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. John Daly
American Broadcasting Company
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

The plan would call for having an educational organization take charge of the project, select the lecturers, and make a starting collection of say six Elmer Davis Memorial Lectures in film form. The institution itself would then carry on correspondence with other major institutions to set up the appropriate showings. Having spent $20,000 -- or somewhat less -- on the original films, the institution would have $4,000 a year (the income from $80,000) to administer and service the project and to make an occasional additional film. I am sure that the films could be shown in a number of large institutions, that we could arrange supplementary handling by one of the educational film networks, and arrange some showing before adult groups. I suspect, but do not know, that some educational TV showing could also be arranged.

The advantages of this suggestion seem to me to include the following:

1. It would preserve some of the really great lectures that are now being lost to posterity.

2. It would attain fairly wide hearings for decent and thoughtful opinion in the Elmer Davis tradition.

3. The project would have much more freshness and impact than just another fellowship or award.

4. The plan, I believe, would be widely welcomed in academic circles, as well as in liberal circles.

5. The project could be turned over to a qualified institution to carry out and execute without the committee having to be plagued continually with decision making.

Let me say that I would not like to be in the position of seeking this project -- because it would contain a very large number of headaches. However, the whole thought fascinates me to such a degree that I would, if you thought wise, be willing to seek to make the arrangements here for us to take on the project with the cooperation of our Center for Mass Communications and our Oral History Project. We would be in the happy position -- as would other comparable institutions -- of being able to set up the lectures easily, arrange for them to be presented before a good audience while they are being filmed, and work out the distribution arrangements.

Incidentally, I suppose the day may come when we can switch the medium from that of film to videotape, but both of you would know more about this than I do.

Again my apologies for missing that lunch.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/ap

Mailing lists from O.P.C. and ARNA

Maurice Hanson V.P. J. Walter Thompson

Jim Linen - Time

Adrian Berwick - Readers Digest

Sullivan Stauffer Coldwell & Bayles

Bill Lewis

Palmer Hoyt & D

Kirkpatrick

Ask Pat Allen & Pat Lochridge about Chicago & Texas

Ethel Schroeder (C.D. Jackson) Mailing list

J.C.D. - Roston, Healy Kirkpatrick Jackson

E.B. Canfield, Paley, Hoyt Bingham

[illegible]

[illegible]

7188

Bob Dixon: Sherman, Connecticut

New Milford Elgin 4-3323

5th Ave 4½ [illegible]

$185

Box RR 534 Times

35th 2½ $175

MU 5-1619

58th - 6th 4 / $156 elevator

SA 2 7133

72nd East 4 /

$160

FI 8-6847

14 East 75th.

Riker & Co., PL 5-8290

Miss Lewis

~~Mr. Elliot, Funeral Director~~

~~Newburyport. 2,30 Monday.~~

~~Congregational~~

~~Dr Edward L. Bliss.~~

Reporter Magazine
TE 2-8800

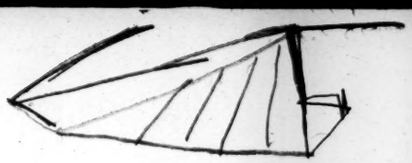
The Thomas School
Rowayton, Conn.

118 East 72nd

LA 4-9109 Mr. Arthur

TE 8-4280

Between 1st & 2nd.



Z. Ask Healy

Mid West

Z. Barry Ringham

Kirkpatrick $5000.00

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60th & 5th.

O.P.C, ARNA

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FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

JUN 23 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

"Operation Alert" had considerable impact on the American people. It did much to let them know that we do have a national civil defense team that cooperates -- despite its many bugs.

Your broadcast pickup out of High Point did much to get that story across.

I hope that you and Jack DeChant can work out a format for a series of TV programs on the H-Bomb and its meaning to civilians, with particular emphasis on evacuation. It's a story that badly needs telling.

Sincerely,

Val

Val Peterson

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Here is the complete operation plan for the practice evacuation of Mobile, Alabama and some backup dope on evacuation and the H-bomb. This plan is to be carried out at 5:00 P. M. on June 14, 1954, during our nationwide "Operation Alert."

It is estimated that approximately 26,000 people will ride or walk from the downtown area during this test dispersal.

One interesting aspect of the Mobile Civil Defense organization is that there is not one single paid member, including the Director, in the entire Mobile Civil Defense force. Civil Defense has been undertaken as a community project by a group of outstanding community-minded citizens headed by Mr. W. M. Sturgeon.

This test evacuation will be of nationwide interest. Both the dispersal and the outstanding community spirit displayed by the people who have formed the local Civil Defense force will be, I believe, excellent material for one of your "See It Now" programs.

If Fred needs any more data or help on the scene, please call me. This is one show we are most anxious to have you do.

Cordially,

Jack

John A. DeChant
Director of Public Affairs

Enclosures

Cy

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

PA #118

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

For your Information

May 19, 1954

INITIAL REPORT ON "OPERATION WALKOUT"

The following early official report of the limited evacuation test exercise held in Spokane, Washington, on April 26, 1954, is useful for information and guidance.

To: Honorable Val Peterson, FCDA Administrator, Wash. D. C.

From: State Civil Defense Office, Olympia

Perhaps you and the Mayors Executive Committee may be interested in an evacuation exercise held in Spokane on Monday of this week (April 26, 1954). It was the third in a series of Civil Defense tests involving public participation.

Within the past few months Tacoma and Seattle have held tests in which all streets were cleared and the public sought safety in previously designated shelters. This procedure of duck and cover seemed inadequate in this new era so it was decided to test out the practicability of temporary mass evacuation on the assumption that a four-hour warning time will become available prior to or coincident with the capability of soviet H-bomb attack.

Spokane was chosen for the test because it is contiguous to a strategic bomber base, is of moderate size, has topography suitable to the purpose, a good Civil Defense organization, and an alert citizenry.

Considerable courage was required on the part of the public officials as there was grave doubt whether business concerns and the general public were sufficiently interested in Civil Defense to give up the necessary work time to participate to the full.

It was feared that the shoppers would remain away from the business area during the test period or that they would refuse to participate in case of inclement weather. The fears were unfounded. People were encouraged to carry out their regular routine and did so. In spite of strong winds and light rain it is estimated that eighty per cent of the normal population of offices, business houses and hotels joined in the walk-out from a seventy block down town area. Ninety per cent of the medical profession reported to their emergency hospital stations and forty first aid stations. Buildings were evacuated and the public reached the seven perimeter loading stations in one-half of the time that was estimated for this purpose.

Operation Walkout was a sobering success. Eight minutes after the huge siren on top the old National Bank ceased its wailing, Riverside St. was deserted except for white helmeted auxiliary police who stood at each street corner and Civil Defense block wardens checking building after building.

Down Riverside Street rolled two complete Engineering and Rescue units with power shovels, cranes, two rescue trucks, tankers, general road graders, bulldozers and a score of large trucks, one loaded with pipe. As fighter planes and bombers approached, machine guns and antiaircraft guns opened fire. Two speedy F-86's, crossing from East to West appeared narrowly to miss colliding with a Civil Air Patrol Plane flying at low level to observe the operations.

Twenty motorcyclists, also attached to the auxiliary police unit, accompanied city police on tours of the area, assisting with the walkout traffic control.

Three giant bombers appeared through the cloud at the time of the simulated bomb drop. As one of these made its second approach to the city center, thousands of leaflets reading, "This could be a bomb" were released from the craft. Noise from its giant motors reechoed through the streets.

Spokane Mayor Arthur R. Meehan stated "we have had nothing but high praise on our walkout from both civilians and military. Not one bit of adverse criticism. We are receiving hundreds of letters and phone calls wanting us to prepare plans for a more extensive walkout to be combined with a rideout into the suburbs. In spite of the weather the 15,000 rain soaked people who participated feel it was well worthwhile."

The serious manner in which the public participated indicated to me that there is no public apathy where there is leadership and organization and Spokane has both in full measure. However, I think the greatest value of the problem is in the necessary advance preparations of the little businesses, the big businesses, the hotels, the banks, the department stores, the hospitals, the schools--each of these groups made a plan even if it wasn't written down. It was an oral plan in many cases--a determination of what to do--who turns off the gas, who locks the doors, who stays behind to prevent looting. "Walkout" created an awareness on the part of the public that safety requires planning, discipline and organization and that each and every individual has a part.

Daniel E. Barbey, Vice Admiral, Ret.
State Civil Defense Director

PRESS INFORMATION

Federal Civil Defense Administration
Washington 25, D. C. HUdson 3-5500 Ext. 340

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1954 No. 400

CIVIL DEFENSE REPORTS MADE PUBLIC

The Federal Civil Defense Administration made public today a report on civil defense by Mayor Elmer E. Robinson of San Francisco, President, The United States Conference of Mayors, and a letter to Mayor Robinson from the Federal Civil Defense Administrator, Governor Val Peterson. The release has the approval of Mayor Robinson.

Both documents are based on formal discussions held in Washington April 29 by a special committee of The United States Conference of Mayors with Governor Peterson.

Following is the text of Mayor Robinson's report:

"As President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, I can say that the chief executives of our great American cities, without exception, have been deeply disturbed by the increasing threat to our civilian population as posed by the H-bomb and other new developments in atomic weapons.

"With many of our fellow citizens, our first reaction has been that there could be no adequate Civil Defense against such enemy attacks. At first the H-bomb appeared to many of us to be such an overwhelming destructive weapon as to make obsolete current Civil Defense planning.

"At the invitation of Federal Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson, a Special Committee of The United States Conference of Mayors has met and discussed these grave problems with Federal officials. Now I am greatly reassured by what we have learned, in two important respects.

"First, it is evident that sensational early reports of the blast, fire and radiation effects of the H-bomb were greatly exaggerated. Like all other bombs, the H-bomb has definite limitations. It will not kill everyone and everything for hundreds of miles around. As with the A-bomb, there are measures which the average citizen can take to save himself and his family.

(more)

"Second, the H-bomb has not come as a surprise to Civil Defense planners. The Federal Civil Defense Administration has always taken into account the possibility of larger bombs than the A-bomb which destroyed Hiroshima. For the past year and a half, Federal authorities have been working on modifications of the original U.S. Civil Defense program which would provide increased protection against the increasing danger brought about by the hydrogen weapons.

"The success of the new Civil Defense strategy of evacuation depends upon two factors: (1) the assurance of earlier warning from the military, and (2) the full cooperation of the target cities, their officials and all their citizens in preparing and testing adequate dispersal plans which will remove most people from the immediate danger area.

"The early warning system now under construction by the Air Force in northern Canada and elsewhere, when completed, will eventually provide from 2 to 6 hours notice of approaching attack. This additional warning time is of little or no value to the people unless tested dispersal plans are ready in each city to make use of the time for survival purposes.

"The Federal Civil Defense Administration also urges that the cities employ the 18 month interval required for this construction in learning how to use earlier warning to advantage; namely, in dispersing the residents of our crowded urban centers to outlying areas in time of emergency.

"This will be a hard job for everyone concerned, but there are no easy answers to the problem of survival in this air-atomic age. For the safety of ourselves and the Nation, we must learn to live through atomic attack. I am convinced that it can and will be done by this generation of Americans, for the sake of future generations yet to come."

Following is the text of Governor Peterson's letter:

April 30, 1954

Honorable Elmer E. Robinson
President, U.S. Conference of Mayors
730 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mayor Robinson:

You have advised me that the release of the data on hydrogen bombs in "Operation Ivy" and exaggerated reports on the current Pacific tests have raised a question in the minds of many mayors as to the real effectiveness and need for the civil defense program in this country.

Let me assure you that, after intensive study, the President, the National Security Council and our military leaders have strongly endorsed the need for an accelerated civil defense program, with emphasis on evacuation, as a critical part of America's continental defense program.

A review of the dangers that confront us and the new preparedness measures needed to counter them will make clear why civil defense is today more important than

(more)

ever -- if we are to help keep the peace, and failing that, to survive an atomic war.

You will recall that at the historic White House Conference of Mayors in Washington last December, the President told the Chief Executives of 175 target cities, "The real occasion for this conference is, that for the first time in history cities have become principal targets for any enemy seeking to conquer our Nation. The city has moved from a position of support in the rear. It has moved out in a very distinct way in the front line."

Now we know, without question, that the enemy has a growing stockpile of atomic weapons which will be bolstered with hydrogen weapons. We know further that the enemy has now within his capability the means of delivering these weapons, whether atomic or hydrogen, to every major city in the United States.

Make no mistake, our military forces are working intensively to build up the military defenses against such means of attack. However, we must face the grim reality outlined by the President that there is no complete military protection against enemy attack for our cities, once that attack is launched.

The grave and urgent problem which confronts the civil authorities of America at the Federal, State and municipal level, is what improved preparedness measures can be taken now to minimize the effects of an enemy attack with atomic or hydrogen bombs.

In the face of the increased destructive capacity of hydrogen bombs, planned evacuation of our cities becomes an urgent necessity. If I may over-simplify the problem the choices that confront us are (1) get out, (2) dig, (3) or die. Right now deep shelters are un-tested and economically un-feasible, and certainly no American by choice will deliberately stay in his city to die. Our choice then is the un-disciplined mass evacuation from our cities by hysterical mobs in the event of attack, or planned, highly organized and frequently tested evacuation by the civil defense authorities. Here is why we have no choice but that of planned evacuation:

1. The basic problem which confronts us is the protection of people. Protection of physical installations is important, but our most valuable resource for survival as a nation is the people of America.

2. From the very beginning, Federal Civil Defense planning has recognized that either physical <u>protection</u> of people by <u>shelter</u> or <u>protection</u> through <u>distance</u> from an atomic explosion represented the two choices that could be offered.

3. Early warning of attack is absolutely essential to achieve protection by actual removal of people from the danger area through evacuation. Facing only a few minutes of warning, the early plans of FCDA were of necessity geared to shelter as the best form of personal protection. Against low-yield atomic weapons this was a modest program and offered important hope of survival even in major danger areas, although it was far from an ideal solution.

(more)

4. In November, 1952, FCDA learned through Operation Ivy not only of the hydrogen device but also that very high-yield fission weapons were being built.

5. As a direct consequence, intensive planning for the evacuation of people from probable danger areas in our target cities was started by FCDA early in 1953. It was clear, however, that early air raid warning of an approaching attack was the key factor in such a program.

6. During 1953, there were several high-level Continental Defense studies in which FCDA participated. These studies developed not only the importance but the feasibility of a system of detection of approaching aircraft which could, when completed, give a probability of an earlier attack warning of 2 to 6 hours. Toward the end of the year, decisions were made within the Government to proceed with the necessary early warning installations on an expedited basis.

7. FCDA recognizes that the evacuation of people from our large cities poses staggering problems requiring careful analysis and intense leadership by civil authorities in each of the target cities. FCDA decided that the time required by the military for improving the air raid warning detection system could be profitably used by civil defense officials for planning and public testing of city evacuation systems. Consequently since June 1953 FCDA has been urging State and local directors of Civil Defense to proceed with such planning and tests.

8. From all this, it should be clear that America's civil authorities are not now confronted with a new problem posed by the declassification of the films on Operation Ivy and by the current series of tests in the Pacific. We have been working on this problem for eighteen months.

9. It is necessary to point out that there have been gross exaggerations in some of the reporting on the spring series of tests in the Pacific. Analysis of all the effects data has not been completed, but FCDA is aware that these recent tests do not pose a problem of a totally new order of magnitude. Civil Defense planning against the threat of a hydrogen weapon of the power of the Mike Shot in Operation Ivy will need little modification to face the threat of higher yield thermonuclear weapons.

10. To sum up, there is no easy, simple solution to the problem posed by today's weapons of mass destruction. The problems must be dealth with calmly and analytically in full recognition of the fact that there is neither a painless nor a completely successful Civil Defense. If this country is attacked with weapons of mass destruction, there will be many casualties. The measure of our success will be the degree to which those casualties are reduced by the application of planned evacuation and other vital civil

(more)

defense measures. It is important to remember that the dispersal of people on early warning of approaching attack has tremendous lifesaving potential. It is definitely worth the planning and organizing effort in every target city.

The first practical evidence that planned evacuation is feasible came in Operation "Walkout" held in the downtown business district of Spokane, Washington, on April 26. The State Civil Defense Director, Admiral Daniel E. Barbey, called this test, limited as it was, a 'sobering success.'

Spokane's Mayor, Arthur R. Meehan said "We have had nothing but high praise on our 'walkout' from both civilian and military. Not one bit of adverse criticism. We are receiving hundreds of letters and phone calls wanting us to prepare plans for a more extensive "walkout" to be combined with a 'rideout into' the suburbs."

An analysis of the Spokane test appeared in the May 3 issue of Time magazine, 'The test proved that civil defense, even in the nuclear age, is no more obsolete than the instinct of preservation.'

I sincerely hope that we can continue working closely with the mayors of our cities and our State authorities in expediting the nation's civil defense program, with increased emphasis on planned evacuation.

Sincerely,

/s/ Val Peterson
Val Peterson

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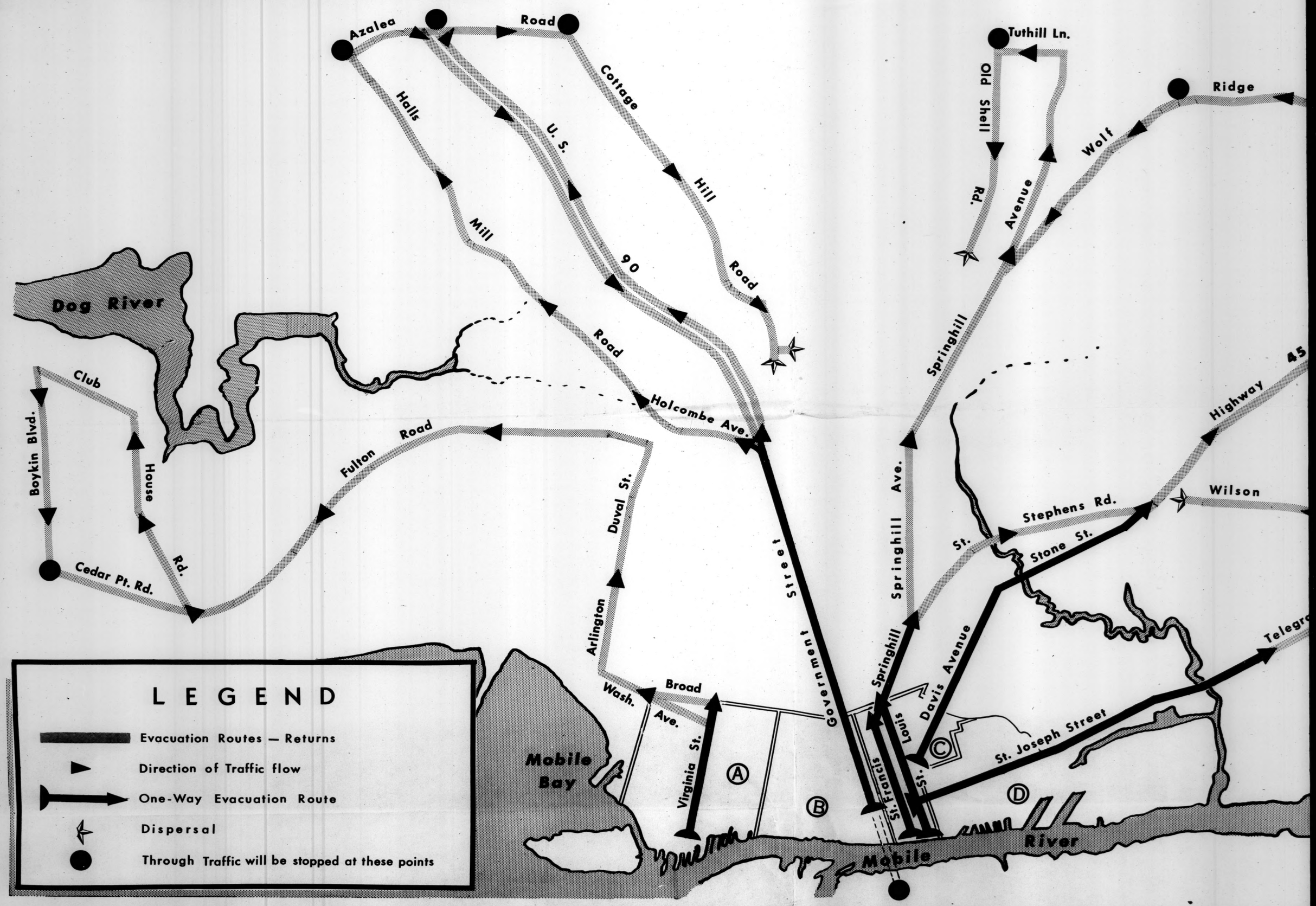
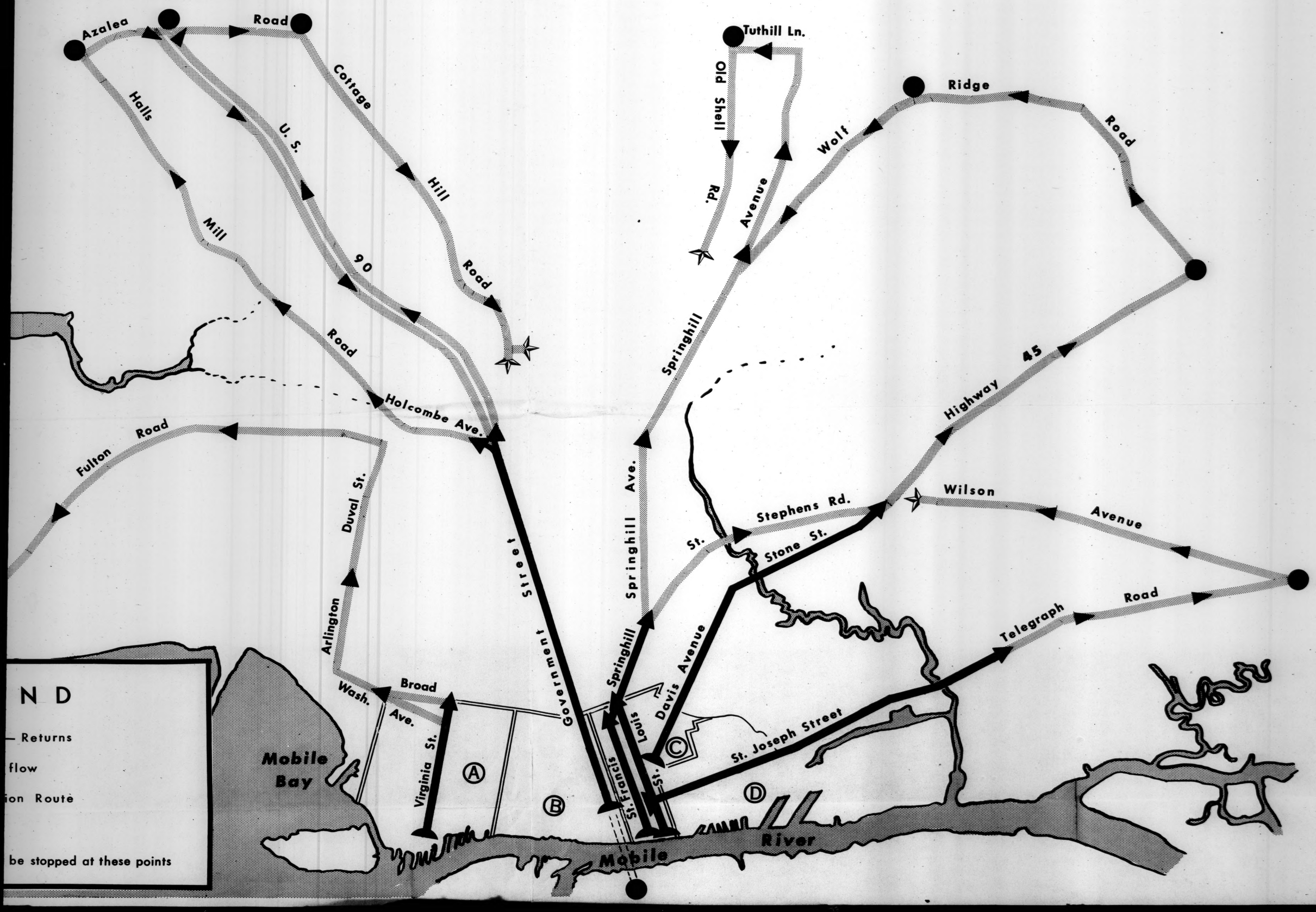
EVACUATION PLAN FOR MOBILE COUNTY

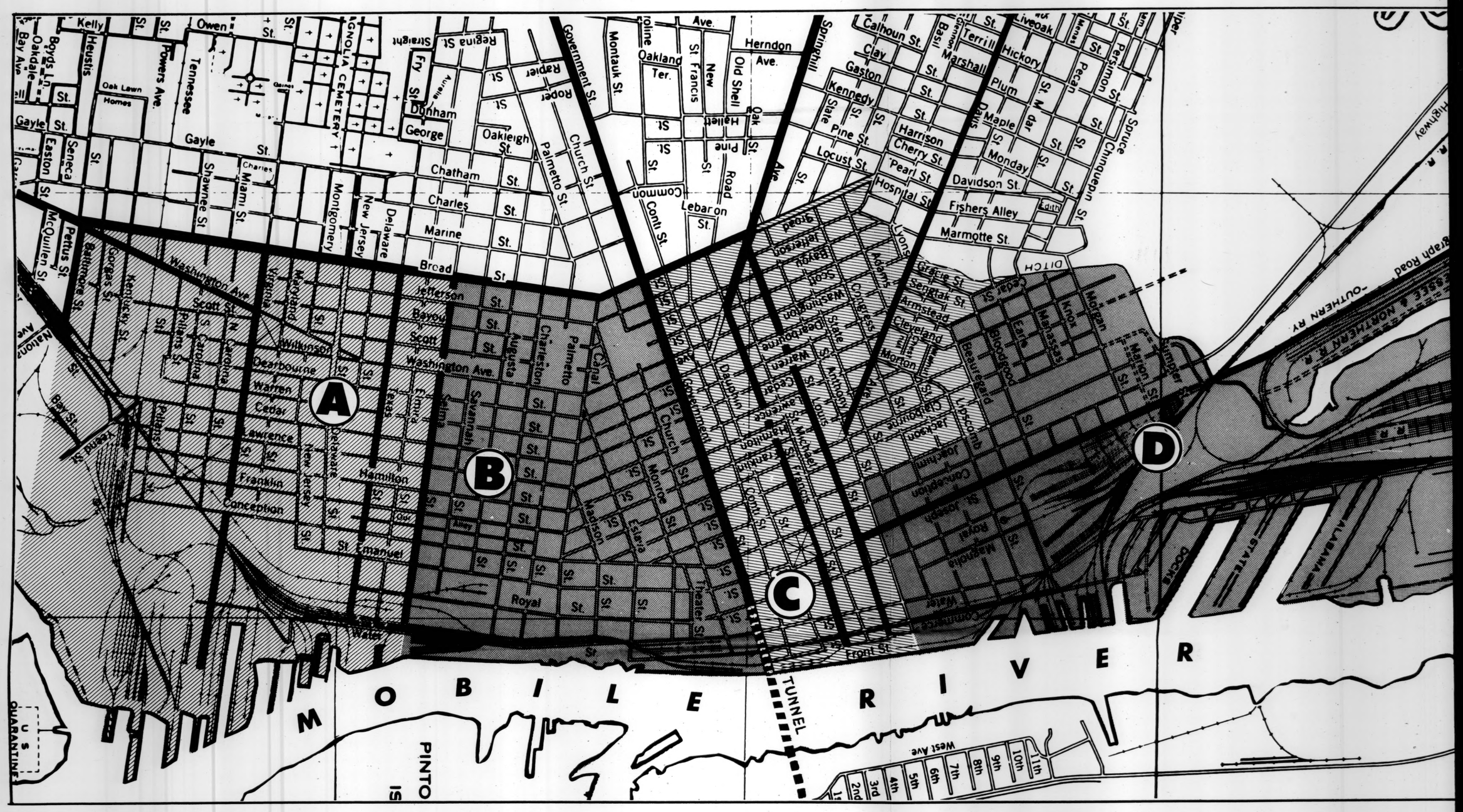


APPENDIX I TO ANNEX I
Operations plans "OPERATION SCAT"

EVACUATION PLAN FOR MOBILE COUNTY



Detail of EVACUATION AREA (estimated area of maximum damage in the event of enemy action) People who are in a particular sector, (A, B, C, or D), when the dispersal signal sounds will use the designated Evacuation Routes leading from their sectors.



A—Vehicles in this area will utilize Virginia Street and other west-bound streets as main evacuation routes, to Washington Avenue or Broad Street, then south to Arlington Street; west on Arlington and Duval Streets to Fulton Road.

B—All vehicles in this area will utilize Government Street as main evacuation route. Government Street may be reached either directly or by utilizing west-bound streets to Broad Street and thence to Government Street.

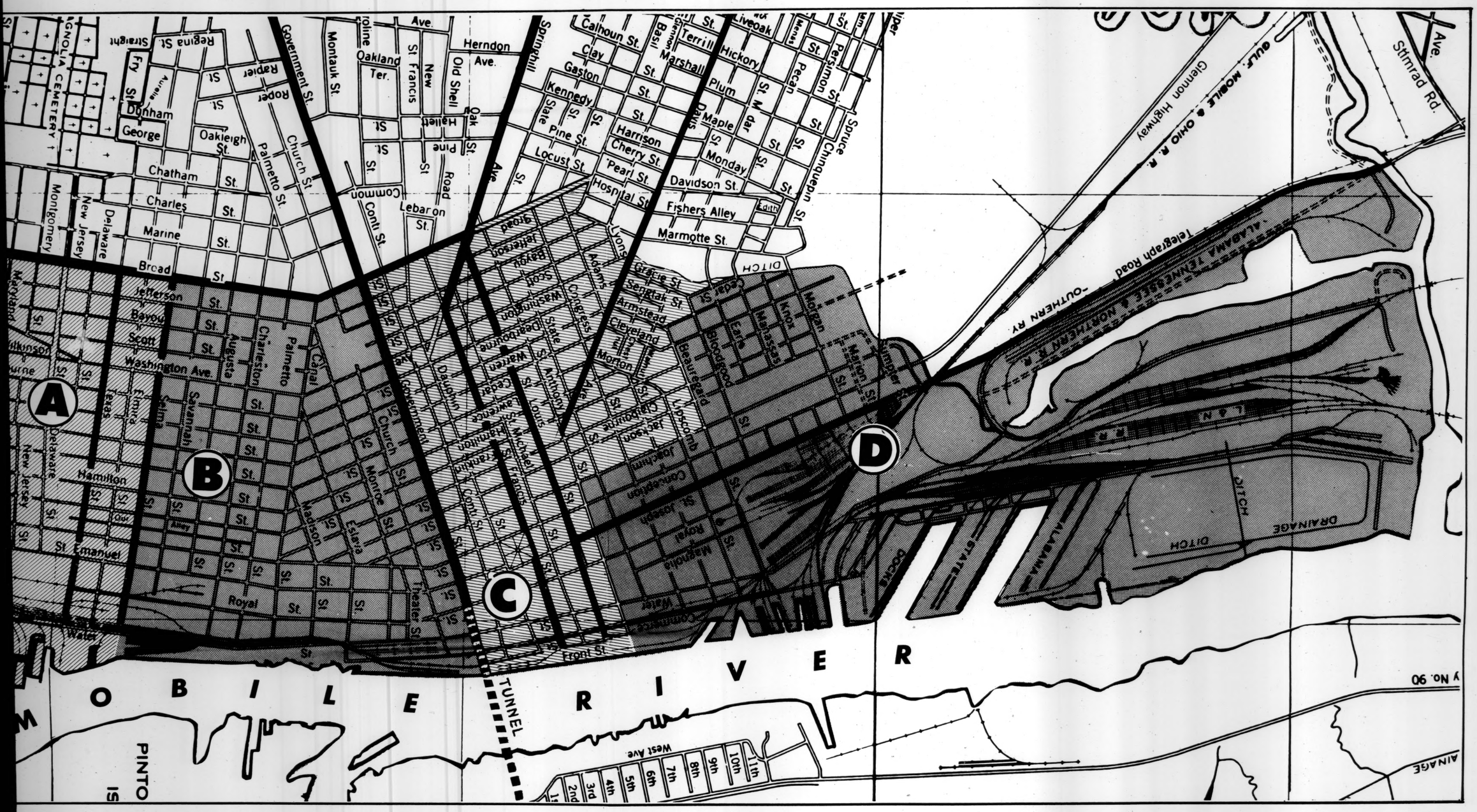
C—All vehicles in this area will utilize Davis Avenue moving to the west, or St. Louis and St. Francis Streets west to Broad, thence to Springhill Avenue.

D—All vehi Street and route.

Persons in areas A, B, and C, not having previously arranged transportation, will walk in a westwardly direction until picked up by motor vehicles or until western boundary of said area has been reached. Persons in area D will walk toward St. Joseph Street and continue in a northerly direction until picked up by motor vehicles or until northern boundary of this area has been reached.

Printed As A Public Service by **RANKIN PUBLISHING CO., MOBILE.**

Detail of EVACUATION AREA (estimated area of maximum damage in the event of enemy action) People who are in a particular sector, (A, B, C, or D), when the dispersal signal sounds will use the designated Evacuation Routes leading from their sectors.



ginia Street
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B—All vehicles in this area will utilize Government Street as main evacuation route. Government Street may be reached either directly or by utilizing west-bound streets to Broad Street and thence to Government Street.

C—All vehicles in this area will utilize Davis Avenue moving to the west, or St. Louis and St. Francis Streets west to Broad, thence to Springhill Avenue.

D—All vehicles in this area will utilize St. Joseph Street and Telegraph Road as an evacuation route.

Persons in areas A, B, and C, not having previously arranged transportation, will walk in a westwardly direction until picked up by motor vehicles or until western boundary of said area has been reached. Persons in area D will walk toward St. Joseph Street and continue in a northerly direction until picked up by motor vehicles or until northern boundary of this area has been reached.

APPROVED—

Mobile County Civil Defense Authority.

W.C. Sturgeon, Director.

LISHING CO., MOBILE.

MOBILE COUNTY CIVIL DEFENSE

OPERATIONS PLAN FOR 'OPERATION SCAT'
to be held
JUNE 14, 1954

1. MISSION:

To test the evacuation plan of Mobile County Civil Defense by evacuating, through means of a Drive-Out, a sector of Mobile of primary vulnerability containing 22,000 residents and approximately 30,000 persons employed in area.

2. ASSUMPTIONS:

a. It is assumed that an attack is carried out on continental U.S. and Alaska by an aggressor force of 425 aircraft on June 14, 1954. Formations of aggressor aircraft are identified 250 miles East South-East of Boston, headed South South-West. Other aggressor aircraft formations are identified 175 miles West of Seattle, Washington, headed South East. It has been learned through intelligence sources that the escape plan of part of the aggressor force is to reach Central America after having delivered their strikes on target cities in the U.S. Further intelligence indicates the presence of unidentified underwater craft in the Gulf of Mexico.

b. The Yellow Alert is received by the Police Department of Mobile at 4:35 P.M. cst. At 4:57 P.M. cst the Action Signal for the Dispersal for the population is received. With aggressor planes approaching from the East, the Red

Alert is sounded at 5:41 P.M. cst.

c. At 5:46 P.M. cst, planes appear over the city and drop a 50 kiloton atomic bomb. The bomb is dropped at optimum height and the ground zero is estimated to be in the vicinity of the Police Building.

d. At 5:59 P.M. cst the All-Clear Signal is given.

3. PARTICIPATING CIVIL DEFENSE SECTIONS & OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:

a. Evacuation Section

b. Transportation Section

c. Police Section

d. Warden Section

e. Plant & Facilities Protection Section

f. Communication Section

g. Public Affairs Section

h. Welfare Section

i. Aviation Section

j. Mutual Aid Section

k. Brookley Air Force Base

l. National Guard

m. American Legion

n. Veterans Foreign Wars

o. State of Alabama

p. Federal Agencies operating in Mobile.

4. TASKS:

a. EVACUATION SECTION will evacuate an area bounded on the East by Mobile River, on the South by Baltimore Street, on the West by Broad Street, on the North by Basil Street, Marmotte Street, Lyons Street, One Mile Creek, Telegraph Road, and Three-Mile Creek.

(1) Every able-bodied person in the Evacuation Sector will be evacuated. The following groups of personnel will be excepted:

(a) Sick and invalid, aged, children under one year with necessary attendants.

(b) Key personnel actively engaged in Public Service.

(c) Personnel considered necessary for guard and maintenance service, if so authorized by their employers.

(2) The evacuation will be executed by the utilization of all vehicles available in the evacuation sector at the time of the commencement of the dispersal.

(3) Evacuation will proceed on pre-designated Evacuation Routes which are so designed as to return evacuees into the city after the All-Clear has been sounded. For Details see Traffic Regulation Plan (Annex 1).

(4) All through-traffic will be stopped prior to the sounding of the dispersal signal.

(5) All evacuees will be admonished to securely lock their houses before leaving.

b. TRANSPORTATION SECTION-

(1) All buses downtown will load passengers to maximum and carry them outside the Evacuation Sector. No passengers will be allowed to alight within the Evacuation Sector.

(2) All private passenger vehicles will furnish rides to pedestrians to maximum capacity. Preplanned car pools will be encouraged through all news media.

(3) Two-way radio equipped taxis will not be considered available to carry out evacuees since they are earmarked to support the Medical Section and to provide auxiliary communications. Other taxis will support the evacuation with maximum effort.

(4) Motor vehicles not loaded to maximum will use outer traffic lanes to load to maximum capacity and then use inside or faster lanes to evacuate the area.

(5) All owners and operators of motor vehicles in Mobile County will be advised to maintain a minimum of one half of maximum gasoline supply in their vehicles at all times.

(6) Persons in areas A,B, and C (See map Appendix 1 to Annex 1) not having previously arranged transportation

will walk in a westward direction along the sidewalks until picked up by motor vehicles or until western boundary of evacuation area has been reached. Persons in area D will walk toward St. Joseph Street and then continue northward along the sidewalks until picked up by motor vehicles or until northern boundary of evacuation area has been reached.

(7) Persons in the immediate vicinity of Bienville Square who have not previously arranged transportation will first attempt to use public transportation made available, especially for evacuation, at Dauphin and Conception or normally available at other parts of Bienville Square and then take action as outlined in subparagraph (6).

(8) Details of the Public transportation plans are shown in Annex 2.

c. POLICE SECTION will be in charge of all traffic control for the evacuation exercise and will coordinate activities with the Mobile County Law Enforcement Agencies and the State Highway Patrol. Anti-looting and security patrols will be furnished by the National Guard. Assistant Fire Chiefs (3 vehicles) will support the Police Section by patrolling the downtown area.

d. WARDEN SECTION will furnish personnel to assist in traffic control in outlying areas.

e. PLANT PROTECTION & FACILITIES SELF PROTECTION SECTION will be in charge of and co-ordinate evacuation in industrial installations, evacuation area stores, theaters, hotels, and other commercial facilities. Continuous process plants will execute evacuation as a paper exercise.

f. COMMUNICATIONS SECTION -

(1) The Yellow Alert will be disseminated through the Bell & Lights Systems, Radio, and Television. Political leaders, key disaster personnel and facilities including Brookley Air Force Base will be notified by telephone or messenger.

(2) The Action Signal for Dispersal, the Red Alert, and the All-Clear Signal will be disseminated by appropriate siren blasts.

(3) All taxis equipped with two-way radio will be utilized as communications facilities for simulated First-Aid Stations and for other Civil Defense rendezvous points.

(4) The Messenger Service of Civil Defense will be attached to the Communications Section.

g. PUBLIC AFFAIRS SECTION will publicize the impending operation to maximum possible, inform public of actions to be taken during test, and will assist in the pro-

paration of instruction sheets for residential dwellings and business establishments in the Evacuation Sector. Publicity through all media will be directed to those persons in the evacuation area who, because of their physical condition are unable, without assistance, to avail themselves of public transportation or random transportation or who have not previously arranged transportation advising them that emergency evacuation measures will not be taken during operation SCAT but that, in the event of actual evacuation, transportation will be made available for them.

h. WELFARE SECTION will establish one Emergency Welfare Center each at the intersection of Highway 90 and Azalea Road (Auto Show Drive-In Theatre), and at the intersection of Highway 45 and Wolfridge Rd., (Do Drive-In Theatre). Full Welfare operations including mass-care will be simulated. In actuality, however, the Welfare Section will be prepared to serve coffee and doughnuts to motorists stopped at these check points.

i. AVIATION SECTION will furnish the following aircraft:

(1) One plane to the Chief Umpire (foursoater)

(2) One plane to the Police Commissioner (four-seater)

(3) One plane to the Chief of Plans & Estimates Section (L-4)

(4) Four planes will be held in readiness for official visitors.

(5) In addition, two planes will be equipped with loud-speakers to be furnished by FCDA and will be used for traffic control and dissemination of information to the public.

j. MUTUAL AID SECTION will communicate with Mutual Aid Cities, informing them of the evacuation and advising them to make simulated plans for the reception of the evacuees.

k. BROOKLEY AIR FORCE BASE will be requested to furnish:

(1) one plane to simulate bombing run at 5:45 P.M. cst and to drop pamphlets on the city.

(2) to run an air-photographic mission covering the main evacuation routes every five minutes.

(3) two helicopters for close observation of the operation.

(4) coordinated sounding of sirens.

l. NATIONAL GUARD will furnish 300 men for the mission of executing anti-looting and security patrols of the Evacuation Sector, beginning at 4:35 P.M. cst, and ending at 5:59 P.M. cst. National Guardsmen will hand cards containing proper instructions to persons who do not participate in the evacuation and who cannot show authorization to remain in the evacuation sector.

m. AMERICAN LEGION will furnish 30 men to act as assistant umpires beginning at 4:00 P.M. cst.

n. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS will furnish 30 men to act as assistant umpires beginning at 4:00 P.M. cst.

o. STATE OF ALABAMA will furnish Highway Patrolmen to assist the law enforcement agency of Mobile County in traffic control.

p. FEDERAL AGENCIES OPERATING IN MOBILE will be requested to cooperate with Mobile County Civil Defense Authorities in the execution of this evacuation test in accordance with the terms of Executive Order dated April 22, 1954 and with the directive issued by the President of the U.S. dated April 30, 1954.

5. COMMAND POSTS:

The Command Post will be in the Police Communications Center at the Mobile Police Building. Supporting communications for the command post will be the Civil Defense Trailer at Spring Hill. Supporting Mutual Aid Communications will be at the intersection of Azalea Road and Highway 90.

6. CHIEF UMPIRE:

Rear Admiral M.E. Eaton

7. CHIEF LIAISON AGENT TO ALL FEDERAL AND STATE ORGANIZATIONS:

Major Thomas E. Crane, Jr.

8. ACTIVITIES OF NON-PARTICIPATING CD SECTION CHIEFS:

All Section Chiefs and their assistants will act as observers in the Evacuation Sector and will prepare the following reports:

(a) Report of observation to be made to the Chief Umpire.

(b) Report of what actions they and their sections would have taken in case of an actual attack. These reports are to be made to the Director of Mobile County Civil Defense.

Wm. C. Sturgeon

Wm. C. Sturgeon, Director
Mobile County Civil Defense

Date: May 28, 1954

MOBILE COUNTY CIVIL DEFENSE

TRAFFIC REGULATION PLAN

ANNEX I

TO Operations Plan
for "OPERATION SCAT"

1. The following are the primary evacuation routes and these routes will be one-way out from the City to the points indicated as soon as signal for dispersal is sounded:

   Virginia Street to Broad Street

   Government Street to Government St. Loop

   St. Francis Street to Springhill Ave.

   St. Louis Street to Springhill Ave.

   Springhill Ave. to Five Points

   Davis Avenue to Toulminville

   St. Joseph Street to Bay Bridge Road

2. Traffic on all other roads in the Evacuation Sector will follow normal traffic regulations.

3. Dauphin Street will be the primary route for incoming public transportation. Such transportation will turn right on Conception Street and use Conti Street as an egress route. Dauphin Street will also serve as inbound emergency route.

4. St. Michael Street will remain in-bound and will be used as an emergency route into the city.

5. At the signal for Dispersal, all incoming vehicles not in the Evacuation Area will make appropriate turns, move off of the primary evacuation Routes, and not re-enter the evacuation routes until after the All-Clear signal.

6. The Evacuation Area is divided as follows in 4 Sub-Areas:

   a. Sub-Area A is bounded by Mobile River to the East; Selma Street on the north; Broad Street to the west; and Baltimore Street to the south. Vehicles in this area will utilize Virginia Street and other west-bound streets as main evacuation routes, to Washington Avenue or Broad

Street, then south to Arlington Street; west on Arlington and Duval Streets to Fulton Road.

b. Sub-Area B is bounded by Mobile River on the east; Dauphin Street on the north; Broad Street on the west; Selma Street on the south. All vehicles in this area will utilize Government Street as main evacuation route. Government Street may be reached either directly or by utilizing west-bound streets to Broad Street and thence to Government Street.

c. Sub-Area C is bounded on the east by Mobile River; on the north by St. Anthony Street; west to Jackson Street, thence north on Jackson Street to Beauregard Street; west on Beauregard Street to Lawrence Street, north on Lawrence Street to Bloodgood Street, west on Bloodgood Street to Cedar Street, north on Cedar Street to a point on One-Mile Creek to a point where One-Mile Creek crosses Davis Avenue, thence south on Washington Avenue to Lyons Street, west on Lyons Street to Marmotte Street, south-west on Marmotte Street to Basil Street, west on Basil Street to Broad Street;- on the west by Broad Street; on the south by Dauphin Street. All vehicles in this area will utilize Davis Avenue moving to the west, or St. Louis and St. Francis Streets west to Broad, thence to Springhill Avenue.

d. Sub-Area D is bounded on the east by Mobile River; on the north by Three-Mile Creek; on the west by Telegraph Road and One-Mile Creek to Cedar Street and south on Cedar Street to Bloodgood; on the south by St. Anthony Street; west to Jackson Street, north on Jackson Street to Beauregard Street, west on Beauregard Street to Lawrence Street, north on Lawrence Street to Bloodgood Street, west on Bloodgood Street to Cedar Street. All vehicles in this area will utilize St. Joseph Street and Telegraph Road as an evacuation route.

7. Evacuation traffic will be channeled as shown on the attached map.

8. All in-coming traffic will be stopped:-

On Cedar Point Road at Boykin Blvd.;

On Highway 90 at Azalea Road;

On Old Shell Road intersection McGregor Avenue;

(cont'd)

(cont'd)

On Highway 42 intersection McGregor Avenue;

On Highway 45 at Wolfridge Road;

On Highway43 at intersection Wilson Avenue & Telegraph Rd.

On Highway 90 from East at Bankhead Tunnel;

All Highway traffic designated above, with the exception of Bankhead Tunnel, will be stopped at 4:40 P.M. Highway Traffic at Bankhead Tunnel will be stopped at 4:55 P.M.

9.

a. All established traffic regulations will be observed, except as indicated in paragraph 1.

b. Traffic lights will be observed but will be superceded by traffic control exercised by Police.

c. All vehicles driving into town on especially established one-way streets (see paragraph 1) will turn off on this road at the next intersection.

d. At the sounding of the All-Clear Signal all streets designated as one-way streets especially for the Evacuation Test will revert to normal traffic procedure.

MOBILE COUNTY CIVIL DEFENSE

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION PLAN

ANNEX II
TO Operations Plan
for "OPERATION SCAT"

1. The City Bus Lines will, on the sounding of the sirens, have their buses that are headed downtown and within the evacuation area, and those within two blocks of Broad Street, continue in to town, crossing over to Dauphin St., proceed to Dauphin & Conception Sts., fill up with passengers, and go out of town via Conti and Dauphin Sts., to Sage Avenue (City Playground) and return to Broad and Dauphin Sts. where they will park until the ALL CLEAR is sounded at 5:59 P.M. The Texas Street Line as well as any others from the South that come in as far as Virginia St., will go out on Virginia St., and park at Ladd Stadium until the ALL CLEAR is sounded. At the parking places, passengers will be allowed to disembark and use their transfers to any other of the buses for their return trip back to town or to their destination. In order to prevent traffic jams buses will not discharge passengers enroute to the parking areas. All buses that are enroute to town and are more than 2 blocks away from Broad St. when the alarm sounds at 4:57 P.M. will go via LaFayette St. to Dauphin St. and thence to Broad St. where they will park until the ALL CLEAR sounds. Any city buses operating on the north-south cross streets within the evacuation area, will make necessary turns into the outbound evacuation streets, fill up with passengers, proceed to Sage Avenue and return to

Broad and Dauphin St. parking area. The following exceptions are; North bound buses on St. Joseph St. will proceed to Beauregard St. and thence out via Davis Avenue, and South bound buses on South Conception will proceed to Virginia St., and out to Ladd Stadium.

2. Buses in the Bus Stations of Greyhound; Trailways, etc. will load and proceed out of town on their regular runs, when departing schedules are within the evacuation area until 5:20 P.M. Those buses that ordinarily use the tunnel will either detour over the bridge or wait with their loads outside of Broad Street on side streets until the ALL CLEAR is sounded. Other buses at the stations standing empty and having drivers, will load all personnel in the bus depots and proceed out on US 90 to the turn around at Azalea Road, and return on the ALL CLEAR.

3. Truck Companies within the evacuation area will drive their equipment for which they have drivers, to the truck assembly area at Theodore. Those whose establishments are in the north of the evacuation area, will go out and assemble in Chickasaw. All will return on the ALL CLEAR at 5:59 P.M.

4. All railroads are working on a plan of stopping incoming trains outside the evacuation area, and sending all already assembled within the evacuation area, outside the area. This plan is not yet firm, since the operating

personnel needed may wish to evacuate with the rest of the citizens, and let the equipment stand. We expect a final word on this by 5 June, 1954.

5. Vessels at docks in the area, will restrict their personnel to the vessel until the ALL CLEAR is sounded. For this excercise, they will not be asked to cast loose and go down the Bay. However, they are being warned to prepare their plans to leave in the event of an actual impending attack. Those who feel they can not get moving in time, will permit all their crews to evacuate with the rest of the citizens, in the event of actual attack.

6. Transportation Section Personnel, will, for this operation, be scattered in the evacuation area, to observe its action, and when the movement will be about complete, they will proceed to the assembly and turn-around points to observe the action at those points. All Transportation Section Personnel will render reports on their observations, which will be consolidated and rendered to the Director.

7. Any further developments will be promptly communicated.

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION

Special Civil Defense Folder

May 12, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Here's a quick fill-in on the Conelrad program which will be ready for operation May 15.

We will send you some additional material within the next week. This is one of the biggest things we have to sell; it will take a sustained drive to do it.

The report on the Las Vegas test will be ready within a week. So will our ten-minute film called "Operation Doorstep." We will spring it on your show if that is what you want.

In the meantime, I will wait to hear from you or Fred.

Cordially,

Jack

John A. DeChant
Director of Public Affairs

P.S.

If you haven't seen it, you will be interested in George Fielding Eliot's article in the current issue of Collier's.

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION
Office of Public Affairs
Washington 25, D. C.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

"CONELRAD"

A SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EMERGENCY RADIO BROADCASTING

The Plan For

CONtrol of ELectromagnetic RADiation

1. NORMAL BROADCASTING METHODS ARE A MILITARY RISK, JUST BEFORE AND DURING A HOSTILE AIR ATTACK.

The aircraft navigational instruments now in standard use enable the pilot of an airplane to use broadcasting stations as navigational aids. During World War II, each side used the beams from major enemy broadcasting stations to guide invading bombers to their targets. Similar navigation means is now possible for enemy guided missiles. The missile's homing instruments can be adjusted to guide it down the path of a broadcast, if the beam is strong enough, directly to a radio transmitter in or near a target city. So far the only decisive counter-action by military authority has been to silence all broadcasting as soon as an attack Alert is given, and to keep the broadcast silence until the All-Clear.

2. CIVIL DEFENSE MUST HAVE MEANS OF BROADCASTING EMERGENCY INFORMATION.

To silence broadcasting under enemy attack is to lose the quickest and most direct contact from Civil Defense to the civilian population, at the moment when it is most needed. The difference between public fortitude and panic under enemy attack, especially under atomic attack, may well depend on a rapid continuous flow of civil defense survival information and official news broadcast direct to the general public. Therefore, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has pressed for development of some means of emergency broadcasting throughout the nation.

3. THE CONELRAD PLAN ELIMINATES THE MILITARY RISK AND PROVIDES FOR BROADCASTING TO THE PUBLIC UNDER ATTACK CONDITIONS.

Officially entitled "Plan for the CONtrol of ELectromagnetic RADiation" the underlined initials are merged into the short title, CONELRAD. This word now becomes part of the official defense language of the United States. Before World War II, the word "radar" was similarly devised from the initials of its long title "Radio Detecting and Ranging."

The Air Defense Command, U.S. Air Force, will order the attack warning which will activate the CONELRAD system. This means that all broadcasting stations will be silenced on their normal frequencies or dial settings. AM radio stations will switch, in a matter of minutes, to the emergency broadcasting system on the two officially designated CD frequencies -- 640 and 1240 kc.

Only AM (amplitude modulation) or standard broadcasting stations will participate in the emergency broadcasting system. As yet no engineering method has been devised to enable FM and TV stations to remain safely on the air just prior to and during an enemy attack.

The radio audience need only to switch to 640 or 1240 on the dial of any standard receiver. Which of these two frequencies (640 or 1240) will be used in various cities will be determined by local authorities to meet local broadcasting needs.

Navigators of hostile planes in the air can also listen to CONELRAD broadcasts, but the engineering system devised for CONELRAD will make it difficult if not impossible to use the broadcast beams or station locations for accurate navigational purposes.

4. CONELRAD ENGINEERING FOR DEFEATING HOSTILE AIR NAVIGATION.

CONELRAD is relatively simple in concept, but complex in its engineering applications.

The identity of any individual broadcasting station is wiped out by CONELRAD in several ways, all applied to each station. There is no self-identification by station announcement, or by any program reference on the air which might locate the transmitter. The normally assigned dial frequency, which is characteristic of the individual station and locality, is replaced during the alert by a civil defense frequency which is common to the entire nation (either 640 or 1240). The effective radiated power of each station is adjusted so that no station stands out in the common broadcast pattern.

Further, the general power level of all broadcasting is lowered so that the radiation of any station will be limited to the locality which it serves. The radiated power for any individual station will in no case be permitted to exceed 10 kilowatts. Usually it will not be permitted to exceed 5 kilowatts and it may be required to be less. Consequently, a hostile bomber can fly into range of one unknown broadcasting station and out of it, into range of another unknown station broadcasting from a different direction without getting an accurate "fix" on their locations.

To further confuse an enemy pilot on the location of the CONELRAD stations, they may be hooked up in groups or clusters in limited areas, in any one of four styles or methods of broadcasting.

(A) The "Sequential or Cluster Method" is expected to be the most usual CONELRAD operation of a group or cluster of two or more broadcast stations.

The stations of the cluster will all be hooked together on a ground line carrying the same program to all. The stations will take the air, one at a time, with the program as it comes over the ground line at that moment. As soon as one station goes off, the other goes on. They take turns and stay on the air for periods varying from five to forty seconds.

Since they are all airing a common program, on a common frequency, and with power mutually adjusted through the cluster, the random pieces of program fit together. For the listener, there is no appreciable gap or overlap in the program as one station follows in the sequential pattern.

In the air, however, as the stations in the sequence pass the program from one to another, the enemy navigator gets such fleeting and such fluctuating indications of direction out of the cluster of stations that he can not get a usable "fix" or line on any one of them.

(B) The "On-Off Method" will be used for CONELRAD in areas where there are few stations and where broadcasting clusters can not be readily hooked up. The individual stations will operate by themselves. A station broadcasting alone will use one or both of the official civil defense frequencies, 640 or 1240 kilocycles. It will take the air for a short message from ten to thirty seconds. Then it will go off the air for a silence of several minutes. During the on the-air time, an enemy navigator can fix the direction of the station only approximately at best. Then the off-the-air interval is relatively so long for a high speed bomber that the previous approximate "fix" loses its significance for navigation.

(C) The "Pulsating Method" may also be used for individual stations operating by themselves. The effective power radiated by a station is varied over a range of 10 decibels, in an irregular pulse lasting from ten to 45 seconds. In the listener's receiver the 10 decibel sound range produced by the varying power pulse is substantially equalized. But in the navigator's direction finder the result is similar to that described under the sequential method.

(D) The "Synchronous Method", the fourth of the broadcasting styles, may be applied to a cluster of stations by putting them on the air all at the same time instead of in sequence. The program reaches the listener continuously. The result for the enemy navigator is an interlaced pattern of radiations having no significant direction.

The operating choice among the four methods of CONELRAD broadcasting will depend on local engineering conditions. The methods may be used in combination to make the effect on navigation even more confusing.

The initial purpose of the CONELRAD plan is officially stated as "to minimize" the use of broadcast radiation as an aid to enemy navigation. The radio engineers who devised and tested CONELRAD, however, are satisfied that the aid which it gives to navigation is not only "minimized" but approaches zero.

5. AUTHORIZATION AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONELRAD.

In 1950, practical tests for operation of broadcast stations without giving navigational aid to an enemy were undertaken by a group of private stations in the New York area, in cooperation with the Continental Air Command, which was then at Mitchell Field, N. Y.

By March 1951, the Federal Communications Commission as regulator and licenser of radio, had developed a plan which was submitted to the broadcasting industry of the nation at a general meeting in Washington, and again in Chicago. Since then, area and regional meetings between the FCC and the broadcast industry have been continual.

Meanwhile, the Department of Defense moved to have Congress broaden the Presidential authority to suspend or control electromagnetic radiation beyond the definitions of the Communications Act of 1934. In view of the many new devices, including television, the President's authority was extended in October, 1951 by amendment to Sec. 606 (c) of the Communications Act, to include "any device capable of emitting electromagnetic radiations between 10 kilocycles and 100,000 megacycles, which is suitable for use as a navigational aid beyond five miles."

Part of this statutory authority was delegated by the President in Executive Order 10312 of December 10, 1951, to the Federal Communications Commission. FCC was to prepare and put into effect a plan for all radio stations defined in the amended Communications Act, which are non-government owned. The plan was either to silence them or to operate them during hostile air action or threat of such action in such a way as to "minimize the use of their radiation as an aid to navigation of hostile aircraft, guided missiles, and such devices."

Under the President's Executive Order, the plan prepared for non-government radio stations by FCC was required to have the concurrence of the Secretary of Defense as to military security, and the concurrence of the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board for the adjustment of military and civilian requirements.

The government-owned-or-operated radio stations were to make their own control plans and secure concurrence directly from the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board.

The planning authority delegated to the Federal Communications Commission by the Executive Order was limited, specifically, in Sec. 1(a) -- "The Commission shall exercise no authority with respect to the content

of station programs"; and in Sec. 1(b) — "The Commission shall have no authority to take over and use any radio station or to remove the apparatus and equipment of any radio station."

Industry Cooperation

The present CONELRAD plan to substitute emergency broadcasting for broadcast silence under hostile air attack, has been made possible by the sustained and voluntary cooperation of the private broadcasting industry with the government. The working party organized by FCC included its own experts, industry experts, and representatives of the White House, the Department of Defense, the Air Force, the National Security Resources Board and the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

Following the necessary concurrences, CONELRAD was approved by the Federal Communications Commission on November 19, 1952.

The responsibility for initial attack warning alert which will silence all normal broadcasting and substitute CONELRAD broadcasting rests with the Air Defense Command of the U.S. Air Force. The alert will be issued under the authority of the commander of each Air Division, for his own divisional area, through his divisional Air Defense Control Center. This Air Defense Control Center will phone the alert directly to the designated Basic Key Broadcast Stations. In turn the Basic Key stations will relay the alert to the Relay Key Stations, which will further relay it to all stations for which it has been made responsible.

Under CONELRAD, the shut-down of all normal broadcasting (AM, FM and TV), under an alert, is mandatory. The switch of standard AM stations to the official CONELRAD frequencies for further operation under attack, is voluntary. Station participation is arranged in advance with the FCC, and the commitment to CONELRAD broadcasting is binding on the participant unless a thirty-day notice of withdrawal is served on the Commission.

The Federal Communications Commission promulgates rules and regulations to make CONELRAD legally effective and fits each participating station into the plan. It groups the stations, according to location, in relation to the particular Air Defense Control Center from which they are to get their alert and all-clear. FCC designates the stations which are to be the basic key stations, as well as the relay key stations. The FCC designates the CONELRAD frequency which each station will use and the mode of broadcasting for each cluster, as well as the participants in each cluster. FCC is also responsible for readiness of the CONELRAD stations.

6. PROGRAMMING UNDER EMERGENCY BROADCASTING CONDITIONS.

The CONELRAD clusters of broadcast stations have been instructed by the FCC to give priority to official announcements of attack warnings and to "official Civil Defense programs requested by Federal, State and local Civil Defense authorities."

When these obligations are carried out, the FCC says, "These stations may, on their own responsibility, broadcast such other programs as they may desire."

A suggested CONELRAD Program Guide for emergency radio broadcasting has been developed by the Federal Civil Defense Administration, with the help of State Civil Defense Directors, with members of the broadcasting industry and National Association of Radio-Television Broadcasters, FCC's CONELRAD staff and others.

This initial Programming Guide contains suggested procedures and program material to aid local Civil Defense authorities and broadcasters in developing local emergency broadcasting plans.

Under CONELRAD emergency broadcasting system, the radio listeners will be able to receive radio programs from three different sources -- local, State and National. Line connections can be arranged for programs broadcast on a State or regional basis. By using the existing network structures and line connections between stations, defense officials can originate programs which will reach the entire country.

7. THE EFFECT OF CONELRAD ON THE BROADCASTING INDUSTRY.

Under CONELRAD, the commercial broadcasting industry will enable each transmitter to receive the air defense attack warnings which both silence and restore normal broadcasting. According to current figures, the number of stations involved are: Standard AM stations, 2427; FM stations, 606; TV stations, 168.

Among the standard AM stations which alone are eligible for CONELRAD operation, about 1200 stations have volunteered to participate. These stations have spent approximately $2,000,000 of their own funds to make equipment changes which are necessary for the operation.

The AM stations in each CONELRAD broadcasting cluster will be connected by a telephone line provided by the Air Force, for sequential operation.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration will provide a telephone line from the main municipal civil defense control center in each area to the key control station in each CONELRAD cluster, as well as other necessary program circuits, so that civil defense survival information from all sources can be put on the air to the public.

After the commercial broadcast industry is ready for operation under CONELRAD, the next phase for the Federal Communications Commission will be to devise a control system for the 79,000 transmitters used by the land transportation industry; the 87,000 transmitters used by the public safety services, and about 100,000 transmitters used by amateurs.

As part of the present CONELRAD plan, the Federal Communications Commission announces that it will attempt, "so far as funds and personnel are made available", to establish a monitoring system capable of scanning the entire broadcasting spectrum during the alerts when this plan is in operation.

In addition to clearing the air, FCC attempts to keep enemy clandestine operators from using the silenced frequencies, to set up radio navigational aids for the enemy or for broadcasting false information to the public.

Under the Communications Act, the penalty for wilful violation is a fine up to $10,000 or imprisonment of not more than two years, or both.

8. THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF CONELRAD.

Until May 15, 1953, when the CONELRAD plan will become operative, the first official alert of impending air attack will continue, as it has up to the present, to have the immediate effect of silencing all radio broadcasting after an official announcement, and keeping all stations silent until the all-clear.

When CONELRAD becomes operative, the silencing of all broadcasting will be followed within five minutes by a resumption of broadcasts over many of the standard AM stations, on the official CONELRAD frequencies, for the duration of the attack, or threat of attack.

9. EMERGENCY RADIO RECEIVERS

The Federal Civil Defense Administration is encouraging the development of a small, inexpensive portable Standard "CD Alert" receiver, capable of receiving the CD CONELRAD Programs on 640 or 1240 kc. This set, independently powered by batteries or other means, would enable families to receive emergency radio broadcasts if the regular power supply fails. In case of power failures, the public can also use the 27½ million auto radio receivers and 10 million portable battery sets now operating in the United States. 70% of all cars in the United States are now radio equipped, while receivers currently are factory installed in 92% of new cars. 98% of the homes in this country are now radio equipped. This, despite TV, shows an increase from 95% of radio homes in 1950.

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

In reply refer to: PA

April 16, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Here is the paper on the morale effects of atomic attacks that we talked about yesterday. Tacked on to it is a broadcast we did last summer on fighting panic and rumor in wartime.

These should be of some help to you in the potential show on psychological warfare--and our defenses against it. As you know, the "East River Report" has an excellent section on rumor and panic (Information and Training, Appendix, page 55-65.)

I hope that you are able to pull together that special CBS show on the March 17 test and its results. By the way, the working label for the test is "Operation Doorstep." We will have a good deal of film and technical matter available for you on it anytime you say.

We would appreciate your comments and criticisms on the morale paper when you have the time.

Many thanks for many things.

Cordially,

Jack

John A. DeChant
Director of Public Affairs

Enclosure

THE GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY RADIO FORUM

July 6, 1952

FIGHTING RUMOR AND PANIC IN WARTIME

PARTICIPANTS:

Mr. John A. DeChant, Director of Public Affairs, Federal Civil Defense Administration

Dr. Stefan T. Possony, Professor, International Politics, Graduate School, Georgetown University

Colonel Wendell W. Fertig, Acting Chief, Psychological Warfare, United States Army

MODERATOR:

Mr. Frank Blair

MR. BLAIR: "Fighting Rumor and Panic in Wartime," the topic for the 293rd consecutive broadcast of the Georgetown University Radio Forum, is another in a series of educational and informative programs from Washington. The Georgetown Forum was founded in 1946.

This is Frank Blair speaking by transcription from the Raymond Reiss Studio on the campus of Georgetown University, historic Jesuit seat of learning in the Nation's Capital. Today's discussion, "Fighting Rumor and Panic in Wartime."

Did you ever wonder how a rumor got started? First, of course, somebody has to put the story in circulation. The person he tells passes it on to somebody else. From there the story spreads first to the man's wife who calls a friend and tells her. The friend tells her husband, who tells the boys in the barber shop, who in turn tell their wives and friends until, well, if the rumor is frightening enough, the roads are jammed with cars all trying to escape a danger that does not exist, from a terror they themselves are making by attempting to flee. A small rumor has turned into a panic, a danger far more horrible than the mythical one from which they are running.

Tonight we have called upon three gentlemen, who are in the know on the subject, to discuss "Fighting Rumor and Panic in Wartime: John A. DeChant, Director of Public Affairs, Federal Civil Defense Administration; Colonel Wendell W. Fertig, Deputy Chief, Psychological Warfare Branch, United States Army; and Dr. Stefan T. Possony, Professor of International Politics, Georgetown University, and author of the book, "Strategic Air Power for Dynamic Security."

I think a larger percentage of our ordinary social conversations consists of rumor than many of us realize. Most of the "I heard" and "They say" stories are rumors that have been passed on by word of mouth without the slightest proof. Ordinarily, these stories are not dangerous, but in times of an emergency or war these rumors could menace our national safety; could undermine the morale of the public; could lead to panic.

Dr. Possony, as an expert in this field, will you tell us just how a rumor becomes dangerous?

DR. POSSONY: Well, the classic case of a dangerous rumor obviously is the one which occurs in a theater where somebody suddenly cries that there is a fire. You know what can happen when people start dashing wildly for the exits, people trample over each other and a great deal of damage can be done to the theater as well. Many people may be killed in the process. As a matter of fact, most of the casualties connected with fires in theaters are usually due to panic.

Now, to show the possible effects of rumor in wartime, I will tell the following true story - In England there was an air raid shelter in which people were trying to sit out the air attack. A little girl had quite a coughing spell. Suddenly, somebody cried, We are under gas attack." Immediately people panicked and started for the exit and many casualties resulted. An entirely unnecessary event, and yet, this is how panic happens.

MR. BLAIR: Well, we are all more or less familiar, I think, with the ordinary weapons of war and we have been learning through Civil Defense the facts about the atom bomb; what to do to protect ourselves in case of an atomic attack. Colonel Fertig, how dangerous a weapon could rumor be if it was used against us?

COLONEL FERTIG: Mr. Blair, in Psychological Warfare we feel that rumor is as dangerous a weapon as any of the others in the arsenal of war. A rumor can be used against us as effectively as an extra division. There is no question that rumor has been used as a weapon in past wars. As an exa mple, the SCHARNHORST, a single pocket battleship, was used by the Germans in conjunction with rumors to tie up six British dreadnaughts. The rumor being that she was apt to foray against our convoy lines. The whole fleet was kept immobilized. That is an example of rumor in the past.

A type of rumor you might expect in any future war, and remember a cold war is a form of war which simply has not yet exploded into hot war, can be illustrated by the following common example. Last January, 1951, in Birmingham, Alabama, a rumor spread that the city reservoir had been poisoned. Police were simply snowed under with innumerable calls. Radio station switchboards were so jammed that radio jumped into the breach and every fifteen minutes broadcast a statement that the reservoir hadn't been poisoned. Yet it was two days following these radio broadcasts and publication in the newspapers before the rumor was scotched. There had been no poisoning. That is an example of what rumor can do.

MR. BLAIR: Mr. DeChant, I know that one of the principal problems that you have to deal with in your job as Director of Public Affairs for the Federal Civil Defense Administration is to combat rumors. What would you say are some of the ways the individual has of determining just what is a rumor and what is a fact?

MR. DECHANT: Well, Mr. Blair, we look at this business of rumor and fear and panic as part of the psychological warfare tactics of the enemy. We recognize psychological warfare as being one of the five major terror weapons that the enemy can use against us. Civil Defense, by two major actions, ought to be able to help defeat enemy attempts at psychological warfare. One of them is mass public education before something happens, and the second is the organization of the Civil Defense Corps throughout the country, which will take in about 17,000,000 volunteers.

In that area we are working for a trained and organized group consisting of about one person out of every ten. This nucleus should become pretty well familiar with what the enemy can do, what the enemy capabilities are in terms of weapons, and how these weapons can be used against us.

The individual has to do a number of things himself. First he has to recognize the spreading of rumors as a problem. He is used to gossip, he is used to rumors as you mentioned earlier but he has to recognize that this is not just a problem of passing juicy tidbits at the bridge table. Rumor is something that the enemy use as a weapon. Knowing that and knowing that he has to check his sources for each story he gets, the individual develops a critical mind. He has to ask questions: "Where did you get that information? Who told you this?" And when he raises these questions he will do a great deal to help defeat the rumor problem.

MR. BLAIR: How is he going to differentiate between rumor and fact? What will cause him to make up his mind?

MR. DE CHANT: Well, It is going to be a neat trick but I think there are two or three things that are pertinent there. One of them is that you pay a great deal more attention to what is actually said by official sources. In wartime, for example, you pay close attention to the official radio broadcasts and to the official bulletins that come out from the government, and you read all the details. As you know we are a great nation of headline readers. We don't pay much attention to the details of a story. You have to in wartime, however, so that the enemy can't use headlines to fool you.

DR. POSSONY: I think the enemy will try to use precisely this habit of the American people to follow only the headlines. Is that not correct?

MR. DE CHANT: Certainly.

MR. BLAIR: Which brings up this question, Dr. Possony; just how susceptible to rumor do you think the average American is--the average citizen is?

DR. POSSONY: Well, the average American is quite susceptible to rumors as, incidentally, is the citizen of every other country. But I think the incident of the famous broadcast by Orson Welles prior to the last war about the--

MR. BLAIR: The Martian invasion you mean?

DR. POSSONY: The Martian invasion, that is right. There was a network show that purported to give the step-by-step story of the invasion by people living on Mars, and many people in many cities believed the story to be quite accurate.

MR. BLAIR: But the amazing thing about that, Doctor, was that throughout the broadcast, after the panic had started, the announcer repeated frequently that this was only fiction and there was no truth to it; but it didn't placate the people. Then what?

DR. POSSONY : Well, I think one of the reasons is that so many people were looking in the streets and looking at the sky where they could see the Martians coming down.

MR. BLAIR: The point I am trying to get at, Doctor, is a point of psychological thinking. Can people take rumor to heart to the point of panic and so severely that they lose their reason?

DR. POSSONY: Oh, definitely. Definitely they can and do. And the same thing is true of rumors. The very fact that the man knows that the enemy may be using rumors against him, particularly for the purpose that he take some action which in the last analysis is going to hurt himself as well as hurt the nation at large. If he knows that, he is going to be very careful about it.

MR. DE CHANT: I think you made the point earlier, Mr. Blair, in our discussion that one of the reasons people pass on rumors is that it makes them a social center of attraction. They get to a cocktail party or they call someone on the phone and say they just heard something from the inside.

MR. BLAIR: Well, of course, I think that is quite true, Mr. DeChant. There is nothing that will liven up a conversation faster than for somebody to come in at the last minute and say, "I've just come from so and so and I just heard." Now that will immediately set him up as the center of attraction and, after all, we are only human.

MR. DE CHANT: Well, we want to establish a counterforce to that. We would like to see people do this. They can still remain the center of social attraction but instead of passing the rumor on, should step up and challenge the first person that says something like that. Ask him where he got his facts, who actually told him that, and get him to spell out the details. I think if you do that, you will not only get a lot of attention on the telephone or in the bridge club, but you will also do a good job in making people aware of the fact that they are rumors and that they are very harmful in wartime.

MR. BLAIR: Well, I can see another point in favor of that, too, Mr. De Chant, and that is the wallflower, simply by asking one question, can suddenly become the center of attention, simply by saying, "Where do you get your information?"

DR. POSSONY: There is another element that should be considered. Many rumors are completely unfounded, and others are not really possible. I remember one story at the very beginning of the last war. Some old lady told me that New York had been bombed. Now, we knew at that time that the Germans hadn't any planes with the necessary range of action to attack New York, and when I pointed it out to her she was a little taken aback. Finally she said, well, actually somebody else had told her, who had heard it from a third person, who in turn had heard it from a fourth person. But the rumor was stopped then and there.

MR. BLAIR: Well, that goes back historically, I think, to the early days of the founding of our nation when information was passed by word of mouth and there were no daily newspapers, radio and television stations to impart it as quickly as we get it now. But I can also see a possible danger in all this, gentlemen. We are telling people to be rumor conscious and not jump to conclusions. On the other hand, doesn't that lead to complacency?

COLONEL FERTIG: No. I think it should lead to a skepticism, a challenging of the statement, rather than a blind acceptance of what may be offered to us. Unfortunately, it is human nature to accept the most rabid rumor rather than one that appears to have some factual basis. I think it all boils down to a matter of leadership.

Coming back to a statement by Mr. DeChant, if we can have one person in ten capable of exercising leadership we won't have any serious panic. It is exactly the same principle of leadership that we have in the Army. We have a squad of ten, or twelve men with a corporal who leads it. Believe me, panic is a problem with the Army just as it is with the civilians. When shooting starts a mans first instinct is to run, but, if the corporal doesn't run, the private doesn't either.

MR. BLAIR: Why doesn't the corporal run, Colonel?

COLONEL FERTIG: Because he has been trained and indoctrinated. He has been educated.

MR. BLAIR: And he knows--

COLONEL FERTIG: -- that there is more danger to him by running than there is by staying where he is.

MR. BLAIR: Mr. DeChant.

MR. DE CHANT: Colonel, that is what we are aiming for in Civil Defense. We would like to see the civilians of this country, so well trained and so well indoctrinated to this whole problem of enemy weapons and enemy attack capabilities that they will behave under fire very much like a trained soldier in combat, so that they will go through the air raid alerts and make civil defense a part of their daily lives. Once they have done this they are not going to take off like sheep. And one of the things we ran into early in our civil defense operation was the susceptibility of the public to what we call

the "taking to the hills" philosophy. Almost everybody you talked to said, "Well, if the atom bombs fall, I am going to get out of here." They never paid any attention to where they were going, or how they were going to get there, or that there might be 2,000,000 other people in the same city trying to do the same thing.

MR. BLAIR: More important, why would they do that? Did they have any reason why they would do it?

COLONEL FERTIG: No, that was never important. It was just get up and go because that is one of our natural instincts - to get out of the way of trouble. If they thought at all, they'd know that the highways would be jammed. A regular Sunday traffic jam ought to teach them that. With fear and panic pushing the people in those cars trying to get out of town, they would probably kill more people than an atomic attack.

Well, fortunately, because of some of the educating we have been able able to do in the past two years, the people generally don't feel that way today. They recognize that they are much safer staying home, getting in their shelter and taking all of the precautions they have been told about. They are not going to do the one thing the enemy wants them to do - to panic and get out of their cities, thus destroying our production and our morale.

MR. BLAIR: We are getting to an important point now, I think, which is probably the crux of the whole situation - what the enemy wants us to do.

DR. POSSONY : Well, the enemy definitely wants us to leave the cities in such a way that in getting out of them we will have more casualties than we would have if we stay. However dangerous it may be to stay in an area which might be bombed, you have at your own home a great deal of protection. You can go to the basement.

I remember 1940. I, unfortunately, participated in the evacuation of Paris, which was sort of a semi-panic. People knew they had to get out of the city because it was about to be taken. One of the things that impressed me most was that when we were out about twenty miles from the city there was no food left and people were very hungry, and it was very difficult to keep the children quiet and to keep them nourished.

MR. BLAIR: Colonel, you could probably give us some more on the German breakthrough in France in 1940 and tell us the effect. That was strictly a rumor-propaganda deal, wasn't it?

COLONEL FERTIG: That is right. Before we get into that, might I make a comment on Mr. DeChant's remarks on education? We have to disabuse the individual of the belief that the bomb is aimed at him. In other words, until you convince the soldier that the shell coming over the hill isn't aimed directly at him - - doesn't have his name on it - you aren't getting anywhere.

Of course, you will run into the situation I ran into with a young Filipino officer. I cautioned him about taking to the hills every time the Japs dropped a few bombs on us. I said, "If your name isn't on the bomb what makes you think it will hit you?"

He said, "Colonel, they just address them 'To Whom It May Concern.'"

MR. BLAIR: There is more truth than poetry in that statement, too, isn't there?

COLONEL FERTIG: Coming back to your statement about the breakthrough in France, that was the finest example of propaganda preparation. It started in spring when the Germans dropped green leaflets, paper replicas of leaves, on France and said, "Your men will fall like the leaves in the Fall if you fight Britain's battles." Then came the phony war, and that was followed by the blitzkrieg. In conjunction with the blitzkrieg, the Nazi informers in every village circulated rumors that the village would be bombed; that it would be strafed; that the only safe place was the fields or the roads. So, they took off down the highway. Then when the German columns hit the French Army, it couldn't manuver being immobilized by the mass of refugees that blocked the roads. It was beautiful example of rumor, force, and panic.

MR. BLAIR: Colonel, do you really think the Germans planned it that way?

COLONEL FERTIG: There is no question of it.

MR. BLAIR: By using the civilian population?

DR. POSONY: Actually, they sent a lot of agents into Belgium and Northern France to stimulate traffic, to speed up refugees getting out of the villages, and they misdirected traffic in order to create traffice jams.

MR. BLAIR: I see. There is no question about the point being, Colonel, that under peculiar circumstances of stress and strain which

can be induced by propaganda, people can do most anything, right?

COLONEL FERTIG: That is right and that is the time which calls for individual leadership, I mentioned. If you have one leader who can control ten people, then you have no mass panic.

MR. BLAIR: All right. Let us go back to Mr. DeChant and ask him where we are going to get this leadership.

MR. DE CHANT: Well, I think it is predicated first on public education. If you can get 150 million people very well aware of the problem, to know that the enemy is highly capable of waging propaganda warfare on us and that we are very susceptible to it--

MR. BLAIR: But don't you think we are pretty well informed on that score now? Aren't we, the 150 million people of America, right now, pretty hep to that subject?

MR. DE CHANT: Frankly not. The general public recognizes the atomic bomb as the major weapon and then, 'way down the list, are biological and chemical warfare, and probably last of all would be fear and panic and psychological warfare, as such. They recognized psychological warfare but not as an enemy weapon, and for that reason, it is that much more dangerous. If they actually knew that this was a weapon that could kill more people than an atomic bomb, they'd pay an awful lot of attention to it. This can kill people out in the farm areas as well as it can kill people in the cities.

MR. BLAIR: Panic, specifically?

MR. DE CHANT: Yes.

MR. BLAIR: Yes.

MR. DE CHANT: And this business of rumor and fear generally.

MR. BLAIR: Right.

MR. DE CHANT: The second thing is the organization of the Civil Defense Corps. The people in Hamburg, for example, where they had a tremendous fire storm as a result of allied bombings, were in a severe state of shock for many months. The civil defense officials there today and the American and British people who have been there since the war all have said that there is only one way to prevent mass panic. The civilian must be organized and trained before something happens -- particularly with atomic bombs, because you don't have time to run around and train people after the bombs start falling. So with public education and with this Civil Defense organization where you provide the leadership that Colonel Fertig was talking about, you can pretty well eliminate panic and fear as a major problem. There will always be some, certainly, but you will be able to stop it before it gets to be a mass situation.

MR. BLAIR: Now, if all these things are true and if there is a real danger of our being bombed or gassed, or germ warfare being thrust upon us, plus rumor and panic playing such an important part in the enemy's arsenal of weapons, why is it that we are so lax and doing so little about this problem, Mr. De Chant?

MR. DE CHANT: I wouldn't say that we are doing so little about it. There are about three and one half million people today who are in Civil Defense as volunteers and they will be ....

MR. BLAIR: Is that enough?

MR. DE CHANT: No, no. It will take probably 17 million, but in eighteen months that is an awful lot of people to sign on the dotted line. One of the problems is that we are living in a time of continual crises. We have had one crisis after another and the people don't enjoy this business of recognizing the imminence of danger.

We believe that by a continued undramatic type of public education of just the cold, hard facts - the people will eventually take on this responsibility and will be prepared to meet this problem when it comes. But there is one real weapon, one counter-weapon, that I would like to emphasize. That is the business of truth and lots of it. We operate on the basis of a free press in this country and we in Civil Defense feel that the press, radio, television, and all the mass media of communications must be freer and better and move a lot faster than they ever have because they can get the facts to the public to stop rumor before it starts. If the people know the whole truth, get a lot of honest reports, a lot of facts about what has actually happened to the country, all the enemy's psychological weapons will be turned aside. The enemy simply can't wage that kind of warfare against truth.

MR. BLAIR: Do you agree with that, Dr. Possony?

DR. POSSONY: Yes, I do. Of course, the difficulty is that there is a time interval between the start of a rumor and the time it breaks into the news even in the form of an official denial. When a man hears a rumor, I think it is up to him to take precautionary measures. Always keep in mind that a rumor is dangerous only if it is passed on, and it is up to the individual to pass on the rumor or not to pass it on. There is the question a man ought to ask kimself all the time. Is that rumor, if I pass it on, going to hurt somebody? Or, conversely, if I don't pass it on, am I going to hurt somebody else?

MR. B LAIR: Yes.

DR. POSSONY: Is it necessary that I pass it on? Can it wait? Can I take off two or three hours, maybe, to check on it? Then if it is true rumor, because after all there are some true rumors, I can take action. Action is not necessary in most cases. Generally, as soon as a man hears a rumor he immediately runs to the next man and tells him about it, usually with some embellishments.

MR. BLAIR: According to you, Dr. Possony, it is an individual thing, something that we, as individuals, can stop and therby cam contribute to the whole effort--

DR. POSSONY: It is not strictly an individual thing. Of course, the government has a great deal of obligation in this field. Certainly as long as the government does not take action, it is up to the individual to take his own defense measures.

MR. BLAIR: Colonel Fertig, what are we doing in the opposite direction in attempting to create panic and fear among the enemy, the so-called enemy?

COLONEL FERTIG: Unfortunately, we have not entered into the struggle with the whole-hearted effort that the enemy has. Psychological warfare is a relatively new subject with our armed forces. We are getting organized. We are learning, and there is no question of our capabilities in the future. In the past, we have not treated psychological warfare with the importance it deserves.

MR. BLAIR: You know, Colonel, I doubt if we ever will really use it as a weapon the way Communists do, for example because I think that we take too much stock in the truth.

COLONEL FERTIG: We have an innate sense of honesty which is absolutely lacking in the enemy. Might I illustrate the effectiveness of honesty in reproting the news? The BBC started at the beginning of the war to report news factually. In 1945 when we captured the G-2 of a division, we found in the records of this Jap officer a statement that the BBC says that the Japanese losses are such and such. "We do not believe Radio Tokyo." The effect of truth.

DR. POSSONY : The effect of the truth of the British broadcast was established.

COLONEL FERTIG: Yes.

MR. BLAIR: Y es.

DR. POSSONY: I understand that it paid dividends.

MR. BLAIR: That is right. Now, our time is running short.

Mr. De Chant, just what should each of us do, in your opinion, to protect ourselves against rumor and panic?

MR. DE CHANT: Two or three simple things: One of them, is to keep your head, and the next thing is to check the facts. Ask the people who pass on a story to you, where they got their information. The next thing is to get as much information as you now can on the business of self-protection. Learn what the enemy's weapons are, what they can do and what they cannot do, also what you can do to protect yourself against them. Finally, listen to the official broadcasts, the official news reports, and pay careful attention to them.

MR. BLAIR: Thank you very much, gentlemen. I found this very interesting and informative. Thank you, Mr. John A. DeChant, Director of Public Affairs, Federal Civil Defense Administration; Colonel Wendell W. Fertig, Deputy Chief, Psychological Warfare, United States Army; and Dr. Stefan Possony, Professor of International Politics, Georgetown University, for discussing Fighting Rumor and Panic in Wartime on the Georgetown University Radio Forum, broadcast of which was transcribed in the Raymond Reiss Studio on the campus of historic Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

This program has been presented in the interest of public education by Georgetown University.

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FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION

CIVIL DEFENSE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT AND MORALE EFFECT OF ATTACKS ON THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

Public Affairs Office
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I. The Problem

Success for an enemy, if all-out global war occurs, will hinge upon his ability to break our will to resist and to fight back, as much as upon his ability to cripple or destroy our means of production in the factories and on the farms. This view is supported by the firm belief of General Touhy Spaatz, our strategic air commander in World War II, along with many other experts and scientists, that the major problem will be the maintaining of public morale and the sustaining of our will to fight back.

II. Discussion

A. Terror Warfare

The enemy now has at his disposal major terror weapons and the means of delivering them. This combination is designed to produce two principal products -- the destruction of people and production facilities, and terror in the surviving civilian population.

Historically, we are inclined to put our primary planning emphasis on physical destruction, whether by conventional weapons or atomic bombs. To continue thus leaves us vulnerable in what could be a decisive area; the psychological. The enemy has five major means of creating terror, as well as destruction:

(a) atomic or nuclear weapons

(b) biological warfare

(c) chemical warfare

(d) mass sabotage

(e) psychological warfare

These may be employed individually or in concert.

To sense the dimensions of the psychological impact of such weapons, translate terror into terms of fear and panic. These are the fundamental morale destroyers, first in the individual and then in the community and the Nation.

In the Project East River report panic is defined as "highly excited individual or group behavior characterized by aimless, unorganized unreasoning, nonconstructive activity."* Panic is extremely volatile and highly contagious. It starts with the individual and his fears. It strikes out with avalanche speed and if not checked may soon create mass paralysis, or uncontrolled and uncontrollable mob action.

As a fundamental proposition it is well established that all human beings are disturbed by certain types of stress in proportion to their intensity and duration. These are:**

1. Threats to life and health.
2. Discomforts from pain, heat, cold, dampness, fatigue and poor food.
3. Loss of means of subsistence, whether in the form of money, jobs, business or property.

* - Part IX, Information and Training for Civil Defense, Appendix IX B, Section III, Page 56.

** - Human Relations In A Changing World, Alexander H. Leighton, Page 232.

4. Deprivation of sexual satisfaction.
5. Enforced idleness.
6. Restriction of movement.
7. Isolation.
8. Threats or harm to family members and close friends.
9. Rejection, dislike and ridicule from other people.
10. Unpredictable behavior by those in authority upon whom one's welfare depends.

Derived from these specific types of stress are a number of a more general sort:

1. Persistent frustration of goals, desires, needs, intentions and plans.
2. Circumstances that promote the dilemma of conflicting and mutually incompatible desires and intentions.
3. Circumstances creating confusion and uncertainty as to what is happening at present and what can be expected in the future.

At a time of stress such as would arise most certainly from a surprise attack, and to varying degrees for the duration of an all-out global war, several reactions can be expected to occur. Some of the more important are described by Leighton* as:

1. Well Directed Action.

People may strive to come to grips with the sources of the stresses they feel in order to achieve release. As a result, they put forth greater effort, work longer hours, respond well to orders

* - Human Relations In A Changing World, Alexander H. Leighton, Page 236.

from those in authority, cooperate willingly with each other and are prepared to endure even worse hardship if it promises ultimate security.

2. Variable Behavior.

Others feel that "something can be done; something must be done" but are skeptical of the existing plans for action. Hence, they embark upon or suggest a great variety of new projects. But their enthusiasms do not last very long. Such persons manifest the kind of variable behavior ("trial and error" responses) characteristic of animals caught in a trap or placed in a threatening and unfamiliar situation from which they cannot discover a route of escape.

3. Aggression.

Aggression of a controlled sort is, of course, an ingredient in what has been described under well directed action. However, anger and the need to vent that anger immediately on some object can become so intense that it breaks out of control and leads to attacks, not on the enemy, but on substitutes and symbols that are much closer at hand. These substitutes are commonly people distinguished by clique, class level, minority status, race, or residence in a particular geographic area. Needless to say, such behavior may obscure real issues and increase, rather than decrease, the stress situation. In fact, because of the compelling nature of the need for aggressive expression it often leads, when once aroused, to extraordinary flights of inappropriate behavior. Hate can be more blind than love.

4. Emotional Instability.

People who become emotionally unstable cover the range of

emotional activity, now quivering with fear, now towering with rage, now grieved and dejected, and now buoyed up by fantistic hopes. As a result their behavior is inconsistent and shifting; they try many things and complete few.

5. Apathy.

Numbers of individuals slow down in their talk and bodily actions. They retire into themselves and cut off, as much as possible, contact with those events in the world around them which arouse the unpleasant and unrelieved feelings of fear, anger and sadness. Sometimes this walling-off takes the form of a rather empty apathy, as if half asleep, with verbal expressions of fatalism and preoccupation with trivial but immediate details of life. Other persons develop a fantasy world in which bitter realities are displaced by wishful day-dreams.

Leighton goes on to say* that, considering a society under the stress of war as a huge machine attempting to manufacture victory, we may describe the alterations in the parts of which the machine is composed as:

1. When the types of stress outlined above become severe an overall result is a general deterioration in working capacity. People suffering from threats to life and health, and from emotional disturbance, cannot work as well as those whose basic living needs are being met. The general drop in working efficiency means a decrease in production and other activity necessary for the war effort, over and above what may be imposed by lack of raw materials and similar difficulties.

* - Human Relations In A Changing World, Alexander H. Leighton, Page 238.

2. From those people who react to stress with well directed activity, there come attempts at compensatory adjustment aimed at keeping up production and fighting capacity in spite of the current weakening.

3. From the people who show the variable "trial and error" type of behavior, also, there comes increased activity, but it is of a disorganizing and inefficient sort. New schemes are constantly being formulated for meeting the stresses, but they are then dropped before being properly established and are replaced by still newer plans and actions.

4. The people who become aggressive to the point of beginning to attack, by words or deeds, various groups and leaders, are a potential source for tremendous change in the organization of a society. As the number of such persons increases, the first effect is a widening and deepening of the lines of cleavage and conflict which normally exist between leaders and followers, among leaders, and between various inter-acting sub-groups in the society. This, of course, interferes with the capacity of the social machine to accommodate and adjust to the forces of stress. The power which the society has for aggressive expression, instead of being directed altogether outward at the common enemy, is thus in part turned inward on the society itself, to the detriment of production and fighting efficiency.

With further increase in the impulse to aggression as the stress remains unrelieved, explosions begin occurring which result in radical change in social organization. Some old groups disappear, while new and powerful ones arise and conflict with each other often with extremes

of violence. The social machine may come to spend much of its energy in tearing itself apart, because its different sub-groups develop into a number of autonomous machines which attack each other. In such a state of individual and social disorganization, habits, customs and traditional ways of behaving give way to far-reaching alterations. Numerous new patterns of leadership and new alignments in the society become represented by various slogans and formulas for remedying the situation, many of which are contradictory or mutually exclusive.

As the feeling of unity in the society as a whole fades, those people who are disposed to cooperation pin their loyalty to one or another sub-group and become divided from each other. Thus while the whole social machine grows weak, some of the sub-divisions (cliques, factions, social levels, families, and other groups) become more closely knit within themselves, and stronger.

However, if the force of stress continues unabated and if such groupings cannot meet the needs of the individual members, then these sub-groups go through the same cycle of disorganization as the larger society. Thus social chaos has many stages and degrees, and it is common to find one or more well integrated sub-groups in a society which is on the whole extensively disorganized.

5. To the above may be added the effects of emotional instability and general jitters. These lead to abrupt and repeated changes in the running of the social machine, which result in lack of coordination, misinformation, and rumors of disaster, betrayal, and atrocities. In consequence, reorganization and attempts at adjustment flounder.

Additional reorganizations are piled on top of them only to misfire and be overlaid with still others. Unsuccessful attempts at compensation bring new stresses and are followed by compensations for the compensations, in accelerated confusion.

6. The people who react to stress by cutting down on their activity and developing outward apathy retard the operation of the social machine and present a viscous resistance to the increased efforts, reorganizations and other compensatory actions that have just been described.

The apathetic reaction -- indifference and the desire to avoid initiative -- is at all times present in a society and is of great importance in the maintenance of stability.

During stress it continues to operate and thus, while it slows down or nullifies remedial changes, at the same time it equally inhibits all tendency to radical action, to widespread disorganization of the group relationships in the society or to alterations in the leadership patterns.

As the trend becomes more widespread there is likely to be an increase in the seeking of solace in fantasy life. Religious bodies find their membership and influence increased, while new sects and cults appear, often primarily concerned with forecasting bright prospects in this or in a future life and with communication to and from the dead. Leaders who are able to use mystical appeals for whatever aims they may have, gain in popular support.

All of these reactions discussed will be found going on simultaneously; the critical question is: which will achieve dominance? In the USSBS survey, I. L. Janis points out*, the Medical Division's introductory remarks about the Hiroshima disaster state:

". . . There was no organized activity. The people seemed stunned by the catastrophe and rushed about as jungle animals suddenly released from a cage. Some few apparently attempted to help others from the wreckage, particularly members of their family or friends. Others assisted those who were unable to walk alone. However, many injured were left trapped beneath collapsed buildings as people fled by them in the streets. Pandemonium reigned as the uninjured and slightly injured fled the city in fearful panic . . . there were physically intact teams on the outskirts of the city which did not function. Panic drove these people from the city just as it did the injured who could walk or be helped along."

Furthermore, Chapter 1 of the USSBS, Morale Division, Summary of Findings stated in part:

"The importance of the air attacks in depressing morale is indicated by the fact that Japanese said they were:

The most important single factor in causing them to have doubts of victory.

The most important single factor in causing them to feel certain of defeat.

The most important single factor in making them unwilling to continue the war.

* - Air War And Emotional Stress, Page 29.

Their greatest worry during the war, and the thing which made most of them happy that the war was over.

"Supporting morale were a number of factors from which the Japanese drew strength to continue, namely:

Fear of the consequences of defeat.

Faith in the "spiritual" strength and invincibility of the Nation.

Obedience to and faith in the Emperor.

"Despite these, however, morale did fall and deterioration of the social fabric became general. People became critical of their leaders and lost confidence in one another. Even though the unity of the nation was falling apart, people were not able to organize for revolt; they simply became more and more obsessed with finding individual solutions to their own severe and urgent personal problems."

In Japan under atomic attack there were indications of a feeling of utter helplessness evoked by the impact of the violent physical concussion. And then, after emotional recovery began to occur there took place a second emotional shock, produced by the inescapable sight of multilated human beings.

According to the U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey and other published works, the presence of large numbers of dead, dying, and injured; the uniform obliteration of buildings; and the outbreak of local fires gradually developing into a general conflagration were the salient stimuli in the disaster situation. However, the sight of the dead and maimed may have had a more powerful emotional impact than the other aspects of the disaster.

Among those who were at the periphery of the target cities and who escaped the full physical violence of the explosion the primary emotional

stimulus seems to have been the human devastation. Many people located in towns several miles away from the target cities were acutely disturbed by the casualties inflicted by the atomic weapon. Apparently, it was not simply the large numbers of casualties that had a powerful effect upon those who witnessed them, but also the specific character of the injuries, particularly the grossly altered physical appearance of persons who suffered severe burns.

All available sources of information consistently indicate that a dominant reaction to the bombing was acute anxiety. In some cases the acute emotional disturbance took the form of profound apathy and depression. In others, feelings of deep hopelessness and pessimism prevailed.

Fear reactions persisted among a sizeable proportion of the population for many days and possibly weeks after the atomic bombings. Anxiety-laden rumors circulated among the survivors during the post-disaster period. In both target cities there were rumors which exaggerated the lingering dangers of contamination.

In the book, Propaganda In War And Crisis, edited by Daniel Lerner, a chapter entitled Psychological Warfare Reconsidered by Hans Speier contains the statement:

> "Today war can no longer be sustained from arsenals or loans with which to buy foreign manpower and available weapons. The physical resources of the country must be exploited and the human resources of the whole nation be mobilized in order to insure survival in large-scale war. A large part of the non-combatant population must be put to work to equip and re-equip, arm and re-arm the fighting forces of the nation . . . The will to fight is essentially a <u>will to work</u> on the part of the civilians in a nation at war."

It is significant also to note that the National Industrial Conference Board has reported:

" 'PROTECT YOUR PEOPLE FIRST' is the recommendation of European industrialists and civil defense authorities. Unless workers and the civilian population are protected against the terrors of mass air raids, morale cannot be maintained, and the collapse of morale would undermine the entire war effort."*

"Wars are won or lost as much on the home front as in the trenches--they are won when the will to survive and to make sacrifices for that survival is maintained. They are lost when that will collapses, either at home or on the battlefield."**

B. Defense Against Psychological Warfare.

Psychological warfare may be divided roughly into two categories: strategic and tactical. Strategic psychological is the long-range, general, morale-sapping variety, and tactical, the immediate subversive, disruptive fearand doubt-inducing, confusion-creating variety employed in connection with a specific military action such as a grand-slam attack upon this Country.

The U. S. Government has recognized the importance of strategic psychological warfare as a weapon against the Communists in the "cold war". It created the Psychological Strategy Board and the Psychological Operations Committee to guide and coordinate the several Government agencies' operations

* - Studies In Business Policy No. 55, Protecting Personnel In Wartime, NICB, Inc., January 1952, Highlights for the Executive.

** - op. cit., page 9

in this field. There is now a new sub-Cabinet group. But nowhere has specific provision been made for building defenses for our own people against tactical psychological warfare in time of attack except as enjoined upon the Federal Civil Defense Administrator by Public Law 920.

That we may expect psychological warfare to be used against us in time of military attack is clearly indicated by recent events, (the continuing "peace" offensive and the campaign alleging the use of germ warfare in Korea). Nor can we ignore Russia's recognized proficiency in all forms of propaganda techniques.

From the earliest days of Red rule in Russia, the masters of the Kremlin have employed psychological warfare as a major weapon. Indeed, Nicolai Lenin, the "Father of the Revolution" believed so strongly in its efficacy, he told his party:

> "In fifty years' time there will be no great reason for the existence of armies. We shall have undermined our enemies sufficiently before hostilities begin, so that the military organization they possess will be incapable of being used in the hour of need."

It is not with strategic psychological warfare, however, that the Federal Civil Defense Administration is principally concerned. Defense against tactical psychological warfare, particularly the "black" variety, which may be expected to be used against us in time of war, is the big problem. This can include "intruder radio" -- broadcasts on our frequencies purporting to come from recognized commentators or civil defense sources -- leaflets from the air, rumor-mongering and any other device calculated:

(a) to spread fear, confusion and panic,

(b) to disrupt civil defense activities,

(c) to increase the effectiveness of their military effort, and

(d) to delay our recovery.

Civil defense personnel, the public media and the public itself, must be prepared to combat this comparatively cheap and effective weapon. Loosed upon us in conjunction with an all-out atomic bomb attack, or in advance of one, the serious potentialities of panic, demoralization and national paralysis may suddenly be converted into actualities.

C. What Do We Face?

Because of increased personal preparedness today many more thousand American people would survive an enemy attack than would have survived a year ago. In the target cities and rural areas, there is valid evidence that the American people generally have increased their personal preparedness and participation in civil defense.

Scientific evidence comes from the most recent of three personal interview studies of public opinion in regard to civil defense, conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. This latest national study polled an accurate cross-section of some 97 million people--- approximately the adult population of the nation.

Here are some of the highlights of the Michigan study:

1. Some 84 percent of our people in critical target areas now have some knowledge of civil defense measures for personal protection under attack conditions.

2. Half of our people have a generally accurate knowledge of civil defense purposes and operations.
3. Four-fifths of our people do not agree that civil defense is unnecessary because there is no real danger.
4. Nearly four-fifths of our people living in rural areas are willing to help stricken cities, either by taking care of homeless evacuees, or by going to the cities to assist in mutual aid or mobile support activities.
5. More than half of our people believe there is real danger of war and realize that this country might be attacked.
6. Seven-tenths of our people disagree with the idea that atomic bombs are so destructive that civil defense could do little to protect lives and property.

Opposed to these favorable developments, however, are strong indications that our people are ill prepared to meet the psychological impact of attacks or to ward off their depressing effect on morale. From the University of Michigan reports alluded to previously, it is evident that:

1. Nearly 2/3 of our people believe that, even in a surprise attack, only a few planes would get through.
2. Nearly 1/2 of our people wrongly believe the Armed Forces could protect our cities from heavy damage.
3. More than 2/3 of the people in critical target areas do not know the warning signal.
4. Only 1/5 of our people have done anything to make their own homes safer in the event of attack.

5. More than 1/2 of our people in critical target areas have not learned what to do after an attack.

6. More than 4/5 of our people are unaware of specific things that civil defense is doing in their communities.

The psychological consequences of attack, especially in light of the foregoing indications of non-preparedness, can be critically important to our national survival, possibly as important as the physical injury resulting from attack. Why? Because they concern the survivors, the living, the people who may either give up or fight back. "If war comes, people -- the millions who jam our great cities -- will be the chief target for Russian A-bombs."* Even if one refuses to accept the view that the main cities will be the chief target certainly they will be high priority targets. Should an enemy succeed with terror warfare using any means, or combination of means, because of our lack of adequate defense against it, then the nation will find it more difficult to survive.

Mass panic, if not quickly quelled, can in itself be a lethal weapon. Beyond the additional deaths that mass panic could cause, we face the prospect of domestic civil strife; emotional instability among the population affected by an attack; and apathy which may manifest itself in a prolonged mass paralysis and disorganization of civil defense operations, or industrial complex, or both. Should these consequences occur, the nation would become even more vulnerable to succeeding attacks.

* - National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., Studies In Business Policy No. 55, Protecting Personnel In Wartime, Page 5.

The cumulative effect could be expected to result in the accomplishment of an enemy's two primary objectives, --

1. the destruction of our national will to fight, plus
2. the crippling of our physical capabilities to carry the war to a successful conclusion.

D. What Can Be Done To Meet The Problem?

There are two distinct phases to dealing with mass public reactions:

1. Pre-attack psychological conditioning and other measures.
2. Attack and post-attack measures.

Pre-attack:

Prior to attack we must accomplish, if possible, psychological and emotional conditioning of the public through intensive, practical, widespread education on the modern weapons of war, their effects and their limitations. It should be possible to develop methods of personal protection and realistic thought and behavior patterns which will aid materially in saving lives at the time of attack. To do this we will have to get facts and ideas about civil defense to every individual American with sufficient emphasis and repetition to build a fund of knowledge in our population. People in the critical target areas need it because they will be required to act promptly; those in non-attack areas need it because they will have to respond quickly to bring support to those attacked.

The task of giving the necessary facts to 156 million Americans is the biggest single educational program ever undertaken. Most mass communications activities with which we are familiar are essentially selective. Campaigns

to "Get out the vote" are aimed at American citizens of voting age. "Buy Defense Bonds" campaigns are aimed at people who have enough money to buy bonds. Commercial firms advertise their products or services to particular audiences because experience demonstrates that the response of a portion of the audience is profitable to the company. The essential fact about these mass communications programs is that they aim at a segment of the population with the expectation of reaching a special group within it or in the hope of achieving a partial response. Civil defense has to aim at the total population in the hope of reaching it in its entirety.

A common misunderstanding about mass communications has to do with both the coverage and influence of our newspapers, magazines, television, radio and motion pictures. The fantastic abundance and variety of the media of communications in the United States suggests that:

1. All people are reached by them.
2. All people are influenced by them.

Neither is true despite the fact that these media are essential to the dissemination of information on a mass basis. Economic obstacles rule out a considerable portion of the public so far as being regularly reached by existing media is concerned. In addition, the reader or viewer chooses the article or program of interest to him. This diminishes the size of the audience. Consequently, civil defense can not place sole reliance upon the public media as an idea distributing agency. The Federal Civil Defense Administration has an obligation to deliver appropriate civil defense information to all Americans. In the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, the

Congress stipulated that the Federal Civil Defense Administration is to "publicly disseminate civil defense information by all appropriate means"*.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration, within the limits set by available appropriations is disseminating information pertaining to self-protection and survival that is generally the same no matter where a person may be. Action on information concerning situations or conditions peculiar to a locality or other limited area is left to the States and to local civil defense organizations.

To give every American family equal access to the basic civil defense knowledge to which it is entitled would require the distribution of some 50 million copies of selected FCDA publications now available in smaller quantities. For each such publication this would cost approximately 6 million dollars, -- just about the annual cost of the Montgomery Ward mail order catalog.

The Department of Commerce Current Population Reports state that in April, 1952, there were 45½ million families in the United States. This probably increased by more than a million in the past 12 months to April 1953. One instruction card, costing 0.3¢ each for the basic printed material, would involve an investment of $141,000 to reach every one of 47 million families. Money in such quantities has not been available.

As an alternative, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has of necessity followed a "seeding" technique. Whatever success has been achieved has been due to the support of newspapers, magazines, television, radio, motion pictures and other private enterprise, the public service activities of which have multiplied the distribution of the information disseminated by FCDA.

* - Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, 201 (f).

However, as previously noted this does not reach all the people. An even broader distribution of basic information probably is required with enough repetition to bring it home to the public generally. An example of what has happened is the FCDA publication, "What You Should Know About Biological Warfare". The text represents the latest scientific information on the subject. FCDA was able to print 225,000 copies. Life magazine prepared a rather complete picture and text discussion which in effect added a distribution of 5 million copies. Other magazines and newspapers, and other public media printed and talked on the subject. Yet less than 10% of the American people have any knowledge of protection against Biological Warfare.

This is not to contend that printing and mailing FCDA pamphlets to every American family will get such information to 100% of the people in a form that will be retained in their minds. It is to illustrate that necessary lessons in self-protection have not been learned by the public, and to point out that one thing which has not yet been tried is a saturation coverage of all American families. Greater recognition is needed of the problems of mass communications aimed at every one of our 156 million Americans.

To give direction to any program of mass communication and to determine the emphasis required as to any part of such a program, there needs to be conducted a comprehensive and continuing program of fact-finding. We need to be aware of what people know and what they believe. We need to know what they have learned from what we have done, and what they fail to learn.

Logically there ought to be on a national scale a scientific sampling of public knowledge and belief, particularly with regard to those things common to all people living in the United States. This should be supplemented by regional and state surveys to meet the needs of state and local civil defense authorities and to sharpen the focus on specific issues brought to light by the national surveys. To the limit of funds available survey work of this nature has been done.

Useful information could be derived also through research devoted to a thorough study of situations in relation to natural disasters which have occurred or may occur in this country, especially those of major proportions. There might also profitably be conducted a more detailed analysis of a larger number of recorded panics.

Project East River points out that:

> "Even if the individual is untrained in reactions to emergency, his behavior may be directed effectively by external guidance, if this is <u>immediately</u> and <u>impressively</u> available to him. In fact, if he lacks the training to assess and usefully react to the threat, his need for authoritative assessment and direction from others is exeedingly urgent."*

This means that prior to an attack we must develop trained leaders in the civil defense corps down to the block or family level. Such leaders would exert control and help prevent panic where it starts -- in the individual or in small groups. They can be helpful as well in stimulating individuals and groups to constructive action.

* - Appendix IX B, Project East River Report IX, Information And Training for Civil Defense, Page 59.

Attack And Post-Attack.

From clinical observations in the European war, it appears that experiencing a narrow escape from danger often has the effect of temporarily shattering the individual's psychological defenses, -- defenses which had formerly prevented the outbreak of anxiety in the face of environmental threats by maintaining feelings of personal invulnerability. Furthermore, prior training is often forgotten when people are actually confronted by danger.

The Project East River Report states:

"To direct useful activity and to avert panic or disorganization from the moment of warning of a possible attack, civil defense organizations should furnish the public with a full flow of facts and directions."*

I. L. Janis points out that:

"Even if the vast majority of people acquire the necessary information in advance, they may fail to use it at the very time when it is most needed. Prior training is often forgotten, at least temporarily, when people are actually confronted by danger. Prompt authoritative communications may prove to be essential in order to reduce emotional excitement so that people can make use of the preparation they have been given.

"Perhaps the most effective device would be a calm, familiar, authoritative voice giving reassurance and directions as to what should be done. Such a device might be readily available if there were an intact public-address system in every major target area." **

* - Project East River Report, September 1952, Part IX, Page 29.
** - Air War And Emotional Stress, Page 185.

It is essential that detailed plans be made and necessary arrangements be made at all levels of civil defense, such that at the time of attack and for as long as required thereafter, official civil defense information can be disseminated to the public. Civil defense will need to lend support to the public media for the purpose of moving information from the points where it is available, to the public, in addition to originating official information.

The total problem, of course, goes beyond the capabilities of information operations alone to alleviate or control the situation. If, for example, aid and relief measures are not well planned, or if they cannot be put into operation because of multiple attacks, an extremely critical situation is to be expected. Following the emergency evacuation of an attacked city, homeless survivors would be widely scattered over a large region; thousands of half-starved people would be wandering about for a long period, seeking their lost families or friends; there would be frantic competition for the scarce quantities of food, water, and medical supplies available. Many groups of survivors who received no help from people in outlying communities might become extremely hostile and attempt to obtain shelter or supplies by force and violence.

Obviously, if this type of social disorganization occurs following an atomic disaster, a prolonged period of demoralization is to be expected. On the other hand, if the essential needs of the survivors are well provided for and if there is sound community leadership, there is every reason to expect that within a short period of time the vast majority will willingly participate in reconstruction work and make a fairly adequate adjustment to the deprivational situation.

If survivors cannot be permitted to return to the target city for a prolonged period because of the presence of lingering radioactivity or other reasons, there are likely to be serious problems of social reorganization which may have an unfavorable effect upon behavioral morale. Deprived of the opportunity to return to their own community and to engage in its reconstruction, they are likely to become depressed, apathetic, and deeply pessimistic about their future. To meet this contingency, special plans are required to provide for either prompt relocation of the community on a new site or the rapid absorption of survivors into other existing communities.

To assist in accomplishing the foregoing it will be essential that a full flow of information be maintained to bolster morale, to aid in stimulating desired actions and in minimizing undesirable reactions. Plans and arrangements to accomplish this are essential.and such planning and arrangements are needed down to and including the local level of civil defense.

III. FCDA Activities In This Field

FCDA is required by law to carry out a comprehensive public education program in civil defense. The Agency establishes the basic objectives of the information programs; assigns priority and emphasis to the necessary information activities; prepares information materials for all media; and devises ways of getting this information to the American people -- either directly or through privately sponsored information channels.

Through 1952, the Federal funds available for FCDA's lifesaving public education program have amounted to less than the cost of mailing a single postcard to each of the 156 million people of our country.

FCDA's over-all public education program has been planned to carry out a balanced program in four areas:

(1) The development of scientifically accurate survival and self-protection information for the American people, primarily in terms of defense against specific weapons and kinds of attack with which our people may be confronted.

(2) Development of technical civil defense information in cooperation with other operating divisions of the Agency. This technical

information provides continuing guidance for developing sound, uniform civil defense procedures on a nationwide basis.

(3) Service to mass media of public information. To meet continued requests for civil defense information from all kinds of publishing and broadcasting sources, at both national and local levels, FCDA continues to produce specialized material based on media needs.

(4) Special campaigns for all media. A growing number of such programs are being worked out in cooperation with other government agencies and public service groups. Generally, these programs have immediate objectives geared to long-range goals of the national civil defense program.

In another sense, they fall into two other vital categories:

(A) The preemergency period during which the public is instructed in protection against modern weapons, in what can happen if we are attacked, and what to do about it in practical terms;

(B) the attack or post-attack period during which public safety instructions and directions must be given.

A. Pre-Attack Psychological Conditioning.

Throughout the life of the Federal Civil Defense Administration there has been a continuing campaign to alert all Americans to the dangers of enemy attack and to provide adequate survival information to the more than 45 million American families. All branches of civil defense, -- Federal, State, and local, -- helped supply the drive and energy necessary to cope with this public information problem. In addition there has been a remarkable cooperation on the part of the nation's mass information media -- newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and motion pictures. With their help three major activities were headlined during 1952 to prepare our people to meet a mass assault:

1. The Alert America convoys.
2. The continuing all-media programs for supplying survival information to the public.
3. The grass roots "Pledge for Home Defense" campaign which began in November, 1952.

Alert America Convoys

More than one million Americans in 82 cities had the civil defense story brought forcefully to them during 1952 by three identical, motorized Alert America Convoys, carrying comprehensive civil defense exhibits.

Designed and operated by the Valley Forge Foundation, a non-profit organization, the basic material in each exhibit covered an area of 120 by 160 feet. This exhibit served as a spearhead to carry civil defense information directly to the public in critical target areas, also stimulating civil defense education and recruiting drives.

Information Media Activities.

1. Newspapers.

Newspapers were the principal channels of public information on civil defense activities during 1952. A survey indicated some 680,000 press items on civil defense were published during the year. This includes news stories, features, editorials, and many special sections.

On April 22, 1952, and again on March 17, 1953, many members of the press witnessed an atomic explosion at the Nevada Proving Grounds.

Studies of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan show that 51% of the people got their civil defense information from newspapers.

2. Magazines.

More than 250 articles on civil defense appeared in magazines during 1952. This compares with 75 in 1951. Aggregate circulation of the magazines carrying civil defense material exceeded 200 million. The publications cooperating include scientific, business, trade, fraternal, youth, technical and professional periodicals, as well as general interest magazines.

Some 19% of our people received their civil defense information from magazines.

A national magazine advisory committee, composed of 13 prominent editors, publishers and authors was formed during the

year to develop even greater magazine participation in the survival information program.

3. Radio.

During 1952 civil defense material was distributed through 2900 radio stations throughout the country. The NBC radio network of 168 stations carried a series of 13 fifteen-minute radio shows, devoted to personal protection and how the services of civil defense function in an emergency. The CBS network carried a series of 5 fifteen-minute shows on new civil defense developments. FCDA officials and technical specialists appeared on some 30 nationwide programs over the NBC, MBS, CBS, ABC, LBS and regional networks.

During 1952 approximately 26% of our people got their civil defense information by radio.

4. Television.

During 1952 each television station in the country has provided many public service showings of one 4-minute film, "Take Cover", and five related 1-minute films giving public instructions on the air-raid warning signals and where to take shelter. Three-minute and 1-minute versions of TV public service films on the following subjects have been widely used:

(1) Emergency Action To Save Lives.

(2) What You Should Know About Biological Warfare.

(3) This Is Civil Defense.

Closed-circuit theater television was employed as an educational medium by transmitting civil defense information from

Washington to 11,000 municipal police and civil defense auxiliaries in 10 major cities: Boston, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee and Toledo.

5. Motion Pictures.

FCDA released during 1952 four 10-minute public education films as part of its continuing series of civil defense motion pictures. These films were "Duck and Cover", "Our Cities Must Fight", "This Is Civil Defense", and "Emergency Action To Save Lives". "Schools For Survival", a 20-minute color film, designed for local use in developing local civil defense training facilities, primarily fire fighting and rescue, was released in October. A black and white version of this film was released to television stations. Filmed civil defense survival information was presented to a public in excess of 10 million annually.

B. FCDA Planning And Preparations For Attack And Post-Attack Activities.

FCDA emergency information operations planning and preparations are intended to utilize to a maximum, at the time of an emergency, the facilities of the public media industries and to provide such assistance as may be necessary or desirable to permit the public media to continue operating as fully as physical circumstances and national security will permit. These plans and preparations are coordinated with the other key security agencies.

All public information media are being encouraged to make plans now in cooperation with their local civil defense directors to cope with the complex operational problems that would result from enemy attack.

An example of the results being accomplished is the civil defense press and radio agreement for joint emergency operation which last August became operative in the Niagara Falls target area. This compact states: "The end result of the agreement will be that the normal functions of newspaper and radio stations-that of supplying essential news to the people in the area they serve, regardless of adverse circumstances -- can be maintained in the event of an enemy attack. Thus Civil Defense will be assured of powerful weapons in allaying fear, panic, rioting, and other disturbances which so quickly arise from lack of authentic information or the distribution of misleading information."

Plans have been made for the conduct of FCDA Public Affairs work at emergency headquarters Arrangements are being made to gain the cooperation of the national news wire services and the national radio and television networks. Installation of studio type equipment for the originating of radio broadcasts will soon be installed at FCDA emergency headquarters. Until that is completed, temporary remote radio broadcast equipment is available for that purpose. The radio networks have agreed to cooperate fully if an emergency occurs. Television broadcasting arrangements have not yet been completed for immediate action in the event of an emergency, due to a variety of reasons including budgetary problems.

The Conelrad plan of operation which will permit standard (AM) radio stations to remain on the air during an attack has been perfected and will be in effect officially by the middle of May, it is expected. Actually, although it can not be officially announced, this method of operation could be placed in effect almost at once if an emergency occurred. The delay in the

effective date is occasioned by legal technicalities not by operational difficulties.

Conelrad will permit three separate types of emergency radio programming:

1. Local civil defense director's broadcasts direct to the public.
2. State and regional radio broadcasts.
3. Nationwide radio network broadcasts which will make it possible to bring Federal information direct to the listening public.

FCDA is now working with government experts and the radio manufacturing industry to develop a small, low-cost, mass-produced radio which will receive the Conelrad frequencies of 640 and 1240 kilocycles. Such a set may be independently powered by batteries. Alternatively, it may be a development of the crystal set familiar to the older generation of radio listeners.

In the event of a Civil Defense Emergency, especially one resulting from a large-scale attack upon the United States, one of the urgent problems the FCDA will face is that of how to get Civil Defense information to the public in a manner to evoke acceptance of the information; to stimulate action of a particular nature if action is needed; or, alternatively, to cause inaction if the situation warrants that. It is of paramount importance that from the beginning people believe what they are being told in official civil defense releases.

It is a fact well known to the social psychologist, the advertiser and the propagandist, that an idea has a better chance of being accepted if it can be endorsed by, or if it emanates from, some well-known person whose character,

ability, or status is highly valued. The effect of this so-called "prestige suggestion" is especially great when an individual himself has no standard of judgment by means of which he can interpret or give meaning to a particular situation that confronts him, and when he needs or is interested in making a judgment or in finding a meaning. This, generally speaking, can be expected to be the circumstance prevailing when a large-scale attack takes place.

FCDA has arranged or is arranging to enlist the aid of nationally known and respected personalities to broadcast Civil Defense messages, in addition to government authorities. Such personalities will be recruited from a variety of fields including at least radio, television, religious, scientific and educational.

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FCDA DC 10403

PRESS INFORMATION

Federal Civil Defense Administration

Washington 25, D.C. HUdson 5500

HUDson 3-5500, Ext. 340

FUTURE RELEASE
FOR TUESDAY, JAN. 13, 1953

No. 302

EMERGENCY RADIO RECEIVER
PLANNED FOR CIVIL DEFENSE

The Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) said today it is working with government experts and the radio manufacturing industry to develop a small, low-cost, mass-produced radio which will receive civil defense and other emergency information under air-raid alert or bombing attack if the regular power supply fails.

The emergency radio receiver may be independently powered by batteries, or it may be a development of the crystal set familiar to an older generation of radio listeners.

Electric power failure would not appreciably disrupt transmission by radio stations, FCDA said, because most of them have an alternate power supply.

While the emergency set is being developed, the public can rely for emergency information in case of home power failure on the 27-1/2 million auto radio receivers and the 10 million portable battery sets now operating in the U.S., the FCDA said.

The proposed new radio receiver is the latest in a series of steps the FCDA is taking to insure that the public will get an immediate and continuous flow of survival information under air-raid alert or bombing attack.

The recently-announced CONELRAD Plan (Plan for the CONtrol of ELectromagnetic RADiation) permits standard (AM) radio stations to remain on the air in civil defense emergency — while preventing enemy bombers or guided missiles from "homing" on the broadcast radiation. It is expected to go into effect March 1.

As yet no engineering method has been devised to enable FM and TV stations to remain safely on the air just prior to and during attack.

Under CONELRAD, more than 1,000 standard broadcast stations participating in the plan will switch immediately from their assigned channel to either 640 or 1240 kilocycles. The identity of any individual station is wiped out by CONELRAD.

-30-

(Background Information on the CONELRAD Plan is Attached.)

CONELRAD

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION
Office of Public Affairs
Washington 25, D. C.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

"CONELRAD"

A SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EMERGENCY RADIO BROADCASTING

The Plan For

CONtrol of ELectromagnetic RADiation

1. NORMAL BROADCASTING METHODS ARE A MILITARY RISK, JUST BEFORE AND DURING A HOSTILE AIR ATTACK.

The aircraft navigational instruments now in standard use enable the pilot of an airplane to use broadcasting stations as navigational aids. During World War II, each side used the beams from major enemy broadcasting stations to guide invading bombers to their targets. Similar navigation means is now possible for enemy guided missiles. The missile's homing instruments can be adjusted to guide it down the path of a broadcast, if the beam is strong enough, directly to a radio transmitter in or near a target city. So far the only decisive counter-action by military authority has been to silence all broadcasting as soon as an attack Alert is given, and to keep the broadcast silence until the All-Clear.

2. CIVIL DEFENSE MUST HAVE MEANS OF BROADCASTING EMERGENCY INFORMATION.

To silence broadcasting under enemy attack is to lose the quickest and most direct contact from Civil Defense to the civilian population, at the moment when it is most needed. The difference between public fortitude and panic under enemy attack, especially under atomic attack, may well depend on a rapid continuous flow of civil defense survival information and official news broadcast direct to the general public. Therefore, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has pressed for development of some means of emergency broadcasting throughout the nation.

3. THE CONELRAD PLAN ELIMINATES THE MILITARY RISK AND PROVIDES FOR BROADCASTING TO THE PUBLIC UNDER ATTACK CONDITIONS.

Officially entitled "Plan for the CONtrol of ELectromagnetic RADiation" the underlined initials are merged into the short title, CONELRAD. This word now becomes part of the official defense language of the United States. Before World War II, the word "radar" was similarly devised from the initials of its long title "Radio Detecting and Ranging."

The Air Defense Command, U.S. Air Force, will order the attack warning which will activate the CONELRAD system. This means that all broadcasting stations will be silenced on their normal frequencies or dial settings. AM radio stations will switch, in a matter of minutes, to the emergency broadcasting system on the two officially designated CD frequencies -- 640 and 1240 kc.

Only AM (amplitude modulation) or regular broadcasting stations will participate in the emergency broadcasting system. As yet no engineering method has been devised to enable FM and TV stations to remain safely on the air just prior to and during an enemy attack.

The radio audience need only to switch to 640 or 1240 on the dial of any standard receiver. Which of these two frequencies (640 or 1240) will be used in various cities will be determined by local authorities to meet local broadcasting needs.

Navigators of hostile planes in the air can also listen to CONELRAD broadcasts, but the engineering system devised for CONELRAD will make it difficult if not impossible to use the broadcast beams or station locations for accurate navigational purposes.

4. CONELRAD ENGINEERING FOR DEFEATING HOSTILE AIR NAVIGATION.

CONELRAD is relatively simple in concept, but complex in its engineering applications.

The identity of any individual broadcasting station is wiped out by CONELRAD in several ways, all applied to each station. There is no self-identification by station announcement, or by any program reference on the air which might locate the transmitter. The normally assigned dial frequency, which is characteristic of the individual station and locality, is replaced during the alert by a civil defense frequency which is common to the entire nation (either 640 or 1240). The effective radiated power of each station is adjusted so that no station stands out in the common braodcast pattern.

Further, the general power level of all broadcasting is lowered so that the radiation of any station will be limited to the locality which it serves. The radiated power for any individual station will in no case be permitted to exceed 10 kilowatts. Usually it will not be permitted to exceed 5 kilowatts and it may be required to be less. Consequently, a hostile bomber can fly into range of one unknown broadcasting station and out of it, into range of another unknown station broadcasting from a different direction without getting an accurate "fix" on their locations.

To further confuse an enemy pilot on the location of the CONELRAD stations, they may be hooked up in groups or clusters in limited areas, in any one of four styles or methods of broadcasting.

(A) The "Sequential or Cluster Method" is expected to be the most usual CONELRAD operation of a group or cluster of two or more broadcast stations.

The stations of the cluster will all be hooked together on a ground line carrying the same program to all. The stations will take the air, one at a time, with the program as it comes over the ground line at that moment. As soon as one station goes off, the other goes on. They take turns and stay on the air for periods varying from five to forty seconds.

Since they are all airing a common program, on a common frequency, and with power mutually adjusted through the cluster, the random pieces of program fit together. For the listener, there is no appreciable gap or overlap in the program as one station follows in the sequential pattern.

In the air, however, as the stations in the sequence pass the program from one to another, the enemy navigator gets such fleeting and such fluctuating indications of direction out of the cluster of stations that he can not get a usable "fix" or line on any one of them.

(B) The "On-Off Method" will be used for CONELRAD in areas where there are few stations and where broadcasting clusters can not be readily hooked up. The individual stations will operate by themselves. A station broadcasting alone will use one or both of the official civil defense frequencies, 640 or 1240 kilocycles. It will take the air for a short message from ten to thirty seconds. Then it will go off the air for a silence of usually three to six minutes. During the on the-air time, an enemy navigator can fix the direction of the station only approximately at best. Then the off-the-air interval is relatively so long for a high speed bomber that the previous approximate "fix" loses its significance for navigation.

(C) The "Pulsating Method" may also be used for individual stations operating by themselves. The effective power radiated by a station is varied over a range of 10 decibels, in an irregular pulse lasting from ten to 45 seconds. In the listener's receiver the 10 decibel sound range produced by the varying power pulse is substantially equalized. But in the navigator's direction finder the result is similar to that described under the sequential method.

(D) The "Synchronous Method", the fourth of the broadcasting styles, may be applied to a cluster of stations by putting them on the air all at the same time instead of in sequence. The program reaches the listener continuously. The result for the enemy navigator is an interlaced pattern of radiations having no significant direction.

The operating choice among the four methods of CONELRAD broadcasting will depend on local engineering conditions. The methods may be used in combination to make the effect on navigation even more confusing.

The initial purpose of the CONELRAD plan is officially stated as "to minimize" the use of broadcast radiation as an aid to enemy navigation. The radio engineers who devised and tested CONELRAD, however, are satisfied that the aid which it gives to navigation is not only "minimized" but approaches zero.

5. AUTHORIZATION AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONELRAD.

Soon after the Korean incident, practical tests for operation of broadcast stations without giving navigational aid to an enemy were undertaken by a group of private stations in the New York area, in cooperation with the Continental Air Command, which was then at Mitchell Field, N. Y.

By March 1951, the Federal Communications Commission as regulator and licenser of radio, had developed a plan which was submitted to the broadcasting industry of the nation at a general meeting in Washington, and again in Chicago. Since then, area and regional meetings between the FCC and the broadcast industry have been continual.

Meanwhile, the Department of Defense moved to have Congress broaden the Presidential authority to suspend or control electromagnetic radiation beyond the definitions of the Communications Act of 1934. In view of the many new devices, including television, the President's authority was extended in October, 1951 by amendment to Sec. 606 (c) of the Communications Act, to include "any device capable of emitting electromagnetic radiations between 10 kilocycles and 100,000 megacycles, which is suitable for use as a navigational aid beyond five miles."

Part of this statutory authority was delegated by the President in Executive Order 10312 of December 10, 1951, to the Federal Communications Commission. FCC was to prepare and put into effect a plan for all radio stations defined in the amended Communications Act, which are non-government owned. The plan was either to silence them or to operate them during hostile air action or threat of such action in such a way as to "minimize the use of their radiation as an aid to navigation of hostile aircraft, guided missiles, and such devices."

Under the President's Executive Order, the plan prepared for non-government radio stations by FCC was required to have the concurrence of the Secretary of Defense as to military security, and the concurrence of the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board for the adjustment of military and civilian requirements.

The government-owned-or-operated radio stations were to make their own control plans and secure concurrence directly from the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board.

The planning authority delegated to the Federal Communications Commission by the Executive Order was limited, specifically, in Sec. 1(a) -- "The Commission shall exercise no authority with respect to the content

of station programs"; and in Sec. 1(b) -- "The Commission shall have no authority to take over and use any radio station or to remove the apparatus and equipment of any radio station."

Industry Cooperation

The present CONELRAD plan to substitute emergency broadcasting for broadcast silence under hostile air attack, has been made possible by the sustained and voluntary cooperation of the private broadcast industry with the government. The working party organized by FCC included its own experts, industry experts, and representatives of the White House, the Department of Defense, the Air Force, the National Security Resources Board and the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

Following the necessary concurrences, CONELRAD was approved by the Federal Communications Commission on November 19, 1952.

The responsibility for initial attack warning alert which will silence all normal broadcasting and substitute CONELRAD broadcasting rests with the Air Defense Command of the U.S. Air Force. The alert will be issued under the authority of the commander of each Air Division, for his own divisional area, through his divisional Air Defense Control Center. This Air Defense Control Center will phone the alert directly to the designated Basic Key Broadcast Stations. In turn the Basic Key stations will relay the alert to the Relay Key Stations, which will further relay it to all stations for which it has been made responsible.

Under CONELRAD, the shut-down of all normal broadcasting (AM, FM and TV), under an alert, is mandatory. The switch of standard AM stations to the official CONELRAD frequencies for further operation under attack, is voluntary. Station participation is arranged in advance with the FCC, and the commitment to CONELRAD broadcasting is binding on the participant unless a thirty-day notice of withdrawal is served on the Commission.

The Federal Communications Commission promulgates rules and regulations to make CONELRAD legally effective and fits each participating station into the plan. It groups the stations, according to location, in relation to the particular Air Defense Control Center from which they are to get their alert and all-clear. FCC designates the stations which are to be the basic key stations, as well as the relay key stations. The FCC designates the CONELRAD frequency which each station will use and the mode of broadcasting for each cluster, as well as the participants in each cluster. FCC is also responsible for readiness of the CONELRAD stations.

6. PROGRAMMING UNDER EMERGENCY BROADCASTING CONDITIONS.

The CONELRAD clusters of broadcast stations have been instructed by the FCC to give priority to official announcements of attack warnings and to "official Civil Defense programs requested by Federal, State and local Civil Defense authorities."

When these obligations are carried out, the FCC says, "These stations may, on their own responsibility, broadcast such other programs as they may desire."

A suggested CONELRAD Program Guide for emergency radio broadcasting has been developed by the Federal Civil Defense Administration, with the help of State Civil Defense Directors, with members of the broadcasting industry and National Association of Radio-Television Broadcasters, FCC's CONELRAD staff and others.

This initial Programming Guide contains suggested procedures and program material to aid local Civil Defense authorities and broadcasters in developing local emergency broadcasting plans.

Under CONELRAD emergency broadcasting system, the radio listeners will be able to receive radio programs from three different sources -- local, State and National. Programs originating locally will be broadcast direct. Line connections are arranged for programs originating on a State or regional basis. By using the existing network structures and line connections between stations, defense officials can originate programs which will reach the entire country.

7. THE EFFECT OF CONELRAD ON THE BROADCASTING INDUSTRY.

Under CONELRAD, the commercial broadcasting industry will enable each transmitter to receive the air defense attack warnings which both silence and restore normal broadcasting. According to current figures, the number of stations involved are: Standard AM stations, 2358; FM stations, 622; TV stations, 115.

Among the standard AM stations which alone are eligible for CONELRAD operation, about 1000 stations have volunteered to participate. These stations have spent $1,500,000 of their own funds to make equipment changes which are necessary for the operation.

The AM stations in each CONELRAD broadcasting cluster will be connected by a telephone line provided by the Air Force, for sequential operation.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration will provide a telephone line from the main municipal civil defense control center in each area to the key control station in each CONELRAD cluster, as well as other necessary program circuits, so that civil defense survival information from all sources can be put on the air to the public.

After the commercial broadcast industry is ready for operation under CONELRAD, the next phase for the Federal Communications Commission will be to devise a control system for the 79,000 transmitters used by the land transportation industry; the 87,000 transmitters used by the public safety services, and about 100,000 transmitters used by amateurs.

As part of the present CONELRAD plan, the Federal Communications Commission announces that it will attempt, "so far as funds and personnel are made available", to establish a monitoring system capable of scanning the entire broadcasting spectrum during the alerts when this plan is in operation.

In addition to clearing the air, FCC attempts to keep enemy clandestine operators from using the silenced frequencies, to set up radio navigational aids for the enemy or for broadcasting false information to the public.

Under the Communications Act, the penalty for wilful violation is a fine up to $10,000 or imprisonment of not more than two years, or both.

8. THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF CONELRAD.

Until March 1, 1953, when the CONELRAD plan is expected to become operative, the first official alert of impending air attack will continue, as it has up to the present, to have the immediate effect of silencing all radio broadcasting after an offical announcement, and keeping all stations silent until the all-clear.

When CONELRAD becomes operative, the silencing of all broadcasting will be followed within five minutes by a resumption of broadcasts over many of the standard AM stations, on the official CONELRAD frequencies, for the duration of the attack, or threat of attack.

9. EMERGENCY RADIO RECEIVERS

The Federal Civil Defense Administration is encouraging the development of a small, inexpensive portable Standard "CD Alert" receiver, capable of receiving the CD CONELRAD Programs on 640 or 1240 kc. This set, independently powered by batteries or other means, would enable families to receive emergency radio broadcasts if the regular power supply fails. In case of power failures, the public can also use the 27½ million auto radio receivers and 10 million portable battery sets now operating in the United States. 70% of all cars in the United States are now radio equipped, while receivers currently are factory installed in 92% of new cars. 98% of the homes in this country are now radio equipped. This, despite TV, shows an increase from 95% of radio homes in 1950.

Federal Civil Defense Administration

Washington 25, D.C.

ADVISORY BULLETIN

NO. 132
December 8, 1952

TO: STATE CIVIL DEFENSE DIRECTORS AND LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE DIRECTORS

SUBJECT: THE CONELRAD PLAN - INITIAL AM RADIO PROGRAMMING GUIDE FOR PUBLIC EMERGENCY BROADCASTING, AND RELATED MATTERS

I. Purpose

The purpose of this Advisory Bulletin is to provide a suggested initial guide to State and local civil defense directors with respect to radio broadcast programming and other aspects of the CONELRAD Plan. The guide has been prepared with the assistance of State civil defense directors, members of the broadcasting industry, the National Association of Radio-Television Broadcasters, the Federal Communications Commission Conelrad staff, and others.

II. Authority

The following is quoted from the CONELRAD Plan. (See Annex E)

"PROGRAMMING OF AM RADIO STATIONS DURING CONELRAD OPERATION

During periods of radio alert, stations participating in CONELRAD operation under this plan (Plan No. 2) must, unless temporarily inoperative for reasons beyond the control of the station licensee, be kept in a state of constant and instant readiness to broadcast, and shall broadcast at the time specified by the requesting party, (1) messages requested by proper authorities in connection with CONELRAD alert or all-clear notifications and (2) official civil defense programs requested by civil defense authorities (Federal, State or local). During these periods, when not broadcasting civil defense programs or alert or all-clear notification messages, these stations may, on their own responsibility, broadcast such other programs as they may desire.

"In broadcasting any message or program pursuant to the terms of the preceding paragraph, these stations shall comply with the applicable mode-of-operation requirements provided in this plan (Plan No. 2), and shall refrain from any "on-air" identification, direct or indirect, unless such identification is expressly authorized by the FCC.

"These stations shall, in coordination with the civil defense authorities concerned, prepare and place in effect appropriate plans and procedures for meeting the requirements of the preceding two paragraphs with respect to civil defense programming. They shall also prepare and place in effect appropriate plans and procedures with respect to other programming."

III. Introduction

A. Before a definite date is set for the CONELRAD Plan to go into effect, the Federal Communications Commission will issue to all radio and TV licensees a detailed memorandum on the procedures to be followed in the several phases of the Plan.

B. On receipt of a radio alert:

1. Those AM stations which will not participate in the CONELRAD operating plan will leave the air after interrupting the normal program and voicing a brief explanatory message advising the listener to tune his AM receiver to 640 or 1240 kc to receive the civil defense broadcast.

2. All FM and TV stations will follow the above pattern.

3. Each AM station which is authorized to participate in the CONELRAD operating plan will interrupt the normal program, voice a brief explanatory message advising the listener to tune his AM receiver to 640 or 1240 kc to receive the civil defense broadcast, and then follow the CONELRAD course of action planned for its particular station.

C. This guide concerns this latter group of AM stations only once they are in the CONELRAD operation.

D. The problems of programming a radio station in this situation are many and varied. However, for the most part these problems can be solved by the State and local civil defense directors working in close cooperation with the broadcasters of their area. The word "cooperation" is the keynote in the CONELRAD operation on the part of both the civil defense directors and the broadcasters. As proof of their desire to make CONELRAD operative, some 1000 radio station licensees have voluntarily spent to date some $1,500,000 in making necessary equipment changes. Civil defense directors will find the broadcasters of the Nation most cooperative and competent. From many years of experience in handling news and information during emergencies, radio station operators are keenly conscious that good judgment and special effort must be exercised at such times in the content, timing, and presentation of material used on the air during an emergency.

IV. Procedure

A. The FCDA recommends that at the State and local level a Broadcasters Advisory Committee be set up as soon as practicable to consult with the civil defense authorities on the problems of programming stations in an emergency. In most States there now exists a State Broadcasters Association which will be most willing to work with the State directors. In the local communities it is recommended that the civil defense director establish a committee with the representative of each AM, FM and TV station in the area invited to join. The local civil defense director will find it helpful to appoint, where feasible, each station representative a Public Information official of the local civil defense organization.

B. FCDA recommends that the local civil defense director, after consultation with the industry representatives, select an experienced broadcasting executive and alternates, who will become members of his official staff responsible to him for organizational and operational management of the cluster for civil defense in an emergency. This official usually, but not necessarily, will be the general manager of the key station in the cluster.

C. The staffs of each CONELRAD operating station must understand thoroughly their duties once the radio alert is called:

1. Each must know exactly where he goes and what he does.

2. Engineers, producers, announcers and newsmen should study FCC directives on the alerting phase and the switch-over to the operations phase.

3. Definite assignments should be made for liaison with the civil defense director, control of technical facilities, monitoring network lines, placing necessary toll phone calls to other stations, guarding against subversive elements taking over control of studio or transmitter facilities, etc.

4. Arrangements should be made whereby the key station personnel is augmented by members of other stations' staffs.

5. Prepared material to be aired in the initial stages of CONELRAD must be readily available and its location known to those concerned.

6. At least one suitable music transcription should be kept available at all times near the turntables. The location of previously selected music transcriptions to be used as fill should be known by all the staff so that the music can be brought to the turntables quickly.

7. If possible, plans should be made for an alternate station to take over feeding the cluster in case the key station should become inoperative for any reason.

8. Provision should be made for alerting staffs of stations off-the-air at the time of a radio alert. This may be done by the Civil Defense Office, Police Headquarters, or other unit maintaining a 24-hour operation.

9. If remote equipment and an operating crew are to be sent to the Municipal Control Center on receipt of an alert, details should be known by all concerned. Regular tests of this operation should be held.

V. What is to be Said to the Public?

A. During the initial phases of a radio alert, with CONELRAD in operation, the material voiced would be chiefly that prepared in advance with the local civil defense officials based on the degree of alert or the status of attack.

B. Working together, the broadcasters and the civil defense directors should prepare such material, keeping in mind a number of factors. There are geographical and language problems to be considered, and the vulnerability of the community to attack by all types of weapons, its size and relation to others in its own State, and beyond the State borders. The material voiced in a large target city obviously will differ from that used in a very small community far from an important target. However, a number of elements will be common to all areas of the country — possibility of sabotage, biological, radiological and chemical attack, psychological warfare, and disturbances of all kinds. It is only reasonable to assume that every effort would be made by an enemy preceding, during, and following an attack to confuse and panic the people of the nation by every available means.

C. Obviously what is said on the air is best determined by the immediate situation both locally and nationally. Attached to this Advisory Bulletin are sample scripts applicable under certain conditions. Additional copy applicable under different conditions will be forthcoming in the near future. This copy is intended to be used only as a guide by the local committees in preparing their material.

VI. How Should the Material be Presented?

A. The responsible official in the key station feeding program to the cluster must be certain that, at all times, there is available a competent person ready to go on the air.

B. This person must have the ability to speak slowly and calmly, but with authority. No fear or anxiety should be reflected by him in what he says or in the manner in which he says it.

C. This person should be experienced, have good judgment, and be able to think quickly under stress. He must realize that what he says may cause or stop panic in his area. It would be well to select a well known local radio personality whose voice is readily identifiable.

D. Obviously the CONELRAD Plan is part of the deception practice used to help confuse an attacking enemy air force. This should be kept in mind by the broadcaster on the air, and those on the staff preparing script material.

E. It is well to remember that an enemy can easily intercept radio communications in seeking information for military operational purposes and that public broadcasts are a customary source for such information.

VII. News

A. Some of the material to be voiced from the key station feeding the cluster during this operation will be that taken from the regular wire service news tickers and from other normal news gathering facilities. Great care and judgment should be shown in the selection of news, especially if there is any indication that such news is not from official sources or is not based on actual facts, because it might start or increase rumors or cause panic.

B. Locally the civil defense director must maintain close liaison with his centers for news collecting. Facilities to serve all local media should be tied into the Municipal Control Center so that they may get all information available rapidly and accurately. A professional radio news editor, with assistants, appointed to the civil defense staff and stationed at the Municipal Control Center would be of great value in evaluating such information properly, and preparing it for broadcasting.

VIII. Music

FCDA recommends that broadcasters use the transcription library they now have. Careful selection should be made of music that is suitable for local use under radio alert conditions.

IX. "On-Off" Operation

Although what has been said to this point applies primarily to those communities having station clusters, it is readily adaptable to those

areas with stations using the "on-of" type of operation. This method is explained in the attached CONELRAD Plan (Annex E). Since such stations will be on the air for a period of seconds and off for a number of minutes, the material used must be concise and to the point. It is unlikely that music will be needed during this kind of operation but all other phases of planning and preparation will apply.

X. Facility Protection

Plans should be worked out with civil defense officials and police authorities for physical security measures under CONELRAD conditions. Station personnel should be properly sheltered and protected by regular civil defense measures. The station and its property should be guarded against sabotage or attempted control by subversive elements. Measures should be taken to allow only approved personnel in or near broadcasting facilities in times of emergency.

XI. Distribution

Distribution of this Advisory Bulletin will be made in accordance with standard procedure to State and city civil defense directors of over 40,000 population. In addition State civil defense directors will be sent sufficient copies to enable them to forward one to each community of less than 40,000 population having a radio station.

J. J. Wadsworth
Acting Administrator

Distribution B

Annex A

Sample Script

This sample material is intended to be used only as a guide presenting some of the information that should be covered. The over-all problem of effectively presenting official information and public safety instructions in an emergency is being studied continually and will be discussed in future Advisory Bulletins.

The situation will determine what is said on the air.

Possible Situation A:

The community is a large target city -- a Red Alert has been called -- public warning devices have been sounded -- the CONELRAD operating plan is in effect -- no word has been received of any actual attack -- no other information is available.

VOICE: Your attention please. Your attention please. This is your official civil defense broadcaster with a special message. Your military authorities have ordered a Red Alert Warning called in this area. Please go to your nearest shelter area immediately. Our civil defense director has just issued the following instructions:

Please remain calm. Every precaution possible is being taken for your protection. Keep your radio tuned to this place on the dial throughout the period of the alert. This station will continue on the air throughout the whole time of the alert to bring you authentic news and official information and assistance. Be sure you keep your radio tuned to this frequency. Check against these official broadcasts any rumor or information you get from any unofficial or other sources. We will bring you the latest official news as fast as it becomes available.

Obey all instructions issued by the police and your civil defense authorities.

Do not attempt to join your family or children if you are now separated. They are being well cared for where they are. Obey your civil defense wardens and go to the nearest shelter. Stay there until the all clear is sounded.

Do not use your telephone unless you have an extremely serious personal emergency. We repeat, do not use your telephone unless you have an extremely serious personal emergency. Leave the lines open for vital civil defense calls.

If you are at home, be sure to shut the doors and windows and pull down the shades. Close all windows, turn off your appliances. Do not turn off the pilot light on your gas range. We repeat. Do not turn off the pilot light on your gas range. However, do turn off all your electrical appliances except your radio. That includes the switch on your oil burner. Shut off the switch on your oil burner. If you have a coal-burning furnace or wood stove, be sure to close all its fuel and draft doors. Take shelter in your basement or the nearest shelter area. If you have a battery-operated radio receiver, take it with you to your shelter. Otherwise, open wide the volume on your regular radio receiver so you can hear it if you go to the basement. Remember this. Remain calm. Don't lose your head.

The enemy will try to cause panic. Don't help the enemy. Remain calm.

If you are at work, obey your wardens. Go quickly and calmly to your designated shelter.

If you are in school, obey your teachers.

Go quickly and quietly to your shelters, and do what your teachers and wardens tell you. They are trained and know what to do.

If you are in the open, obey the civil defense wardens. Go to the nearest shelter that they designate.

If you are in your automobile, pull over to the curb. Then go to the nearest shelter area. Remain in your shelters until the all clear has sounded.

Please remain calm. Don't lose your head.

And we remind you again to keep tuned to this station for information and assistance.

This station will continue to stay on the air throughout the duration of the alert to bring you authentic news and information and official instructions and assistance.

We repeat -- there is only one (or two) place on your dial where you can receive official civil defense programs -- 640 (and/or 1240) kilocycles. Any other programs on your dial during the radio alert are not official. Beware of them - they may be enemy broadcasts trying to frighten or confuse you. Always remember that the enemy or his agents will try to start rumors in order to cause panic. Pay no attention to such rumors.

This station -- the station you are now listening to -- will continue to give you all authentic news, information and instructions. This is your official civil defense broadcaster.

Annex B

Sample Script

This sample material is intended to be used only as a guide presenting some of the information that should be covered. The over-all problem of effectively presenting official information and public safety instructions in an emergency is being studied continually and will be discussed in future Advisory Bulletins.

The situation will determine what is said on the air.

Possible Situation B:

The community is a large target city -- the city has been A-bombed without warning. The Red Alert has been called -- Civil Defense office has verified the attack to key station -- no public warning devices have been sounded -- the CONELRAD plan is in effect -- no other information is available.

ANNOUNCER: Your attention please. Your attention please. This is your official civil defense broadcaster with a special message. Our civil defense director has just issued the following official announcement:

This area is now under enemy attack. Your military and civil defense authorities have ordered a Red Alert called in this area. Full civil defense emergency measures are now in effect. You may not hear the warning sirens, but the city has been hit by an A-bomb. The Red Alert has been called and is now in effect. Please remain calm. Take shelter immediately and await further instructions. Everything possible is being done for your protection.

All of you outside the damaged area should remain where you are. I repeat. All of you who are not in the damaged area, remain where you are. Keep your radios turned on and tuned to this frequency. We will give you authentic news and information and official instructions and assistance. This station will continue to operate throughout the whole period of the emergency. There will be no interruptions of broadcasts. I repeat. This station will remain on the air continuously.

All civil defense workers report to your emergency stations immediately. All police, firemen, doctors, nurses, hospital and first-aid workers report to your stations at once. If you have no emergency assignment listen to this broadcast for instructions. We will tell you where you are needed as soon as an estimate of the situation can be made.

I repeat. This city is now under enemy attack. Everything possible is being done for your safety. If you are a trained civil defense worker, report to your duty post. If not, do not attempt to enter the damaged areas. Keep your radios tuned to this frequency for further authentic news and instructions. Do not attempt to make telephone calls unless there is a serious and immediate personal emergency. Leave the lines open for vital civil defense messages.

Remember, do not eat or drink any food or water in open containers until further notice. Only bottled water and canned foods are safe to drink and eat until you are told otherwise by your civil defense authorities.

Do not attempt to join your families if you are now separated. If you are in school, stay where you are and do what your teachers tell you. If you are separated from your children, do not attempt to join them at this time. They are being well taken care of where they are. If you are asked to volunteer for any civil defense duties, please do so at once. You may be asked to shelter people in your home if it is undamaged. Please do so. Outside civil defense help is on its way. Do not attempt to drive your automobile. Leave the streets clear for official traffic.

Please remain calm. Do not listen to or pass on or start rumors. This station will bring you all official news and authentic information as it becomes available.

Remember this -- while the Red Alert is on, there is only one (or two) frequency where you can receive official civil defense radio programs -- at 640 (and/or 1240) kilocycles. We repeat - there is only one (or two) place on your dial where you can receive authentic official civil defense programs -- 640 (and/or 1240) kilocycles. Any other programs on your dial at this time are not official.

Beware of such broadcasts. They probably are being done by enemy agents to frighten or confuse you. Keep in mind that the enemy will do everything he can to start rumors and cause panic. Don't pass on any rumors or you will be helping the enemy.

This station - the station you are now listening to - will continue to give you all authentic news, information and instructions. This is your official civil defense broadcaster.

Annex C

Sample Script

This sample material is intended to be used only as a guide presenting some of the information that should be covered. The over-all problem of effectively presenting official information and public safety instructions in an emergency is being studied continually and will be discussed in future Advisory Bulletins.

The situation will determine what is said on the air.

Possible Situation C:

A small community far from a target city -- a Red Alert has been called -- the public warning devices have sounded -- the CONELRAD Plan is in effect -- no other information is available.

VOICE: Your attention please. Your attention please. This is your official civil defense broadcaster with a special message. Your military authorities have ordered a Red Alert called in this area.

Our civil defense director has just issued the following official instructions:

Please remain calm. Everything possible is being done for your protection. Keep your radio tuned to this place on the dial throughout the alert. This station will continue on the air throughout the whole time of the alert to bring you authentic news and information and official instructions and assistance, keep your radio tuned to this frequency.

Be sure and obey all instructions promptly issued by the police and civil defense authorities. Do not use your telephone unless you have an extremely serious personal emergency. I repeat. Do not use your telephone unless you have an extremely serious personal emergency. Leave the lines open for vital Civil Defense calls. Don't worry now about other members of your family who may be at school or at work. They are being properly cared for where they are.

Here is a message for the doctors, rescue workers, and others in our organized and trained Civil Defense mobile support teams. Report at once to your rendezvous point and take with you any special equipment or clothing needed in your job.

We have no further information for you at the moment other than a Red Alert has been called in this area. Let me again remind you to please remain calm. Do not lose your head. We will keep you informed of every development.

Remember this -- while the alert is on, there is only one (or two) frequency where you can receive official Civil Defense radio programs -- at 640 (and/or 1240) kilocycles. We repeat -- there is only one (and/or two) place on your dial where you can receive official Civil Defense programs -- 640 (and/or 1240) kilocycles. Any other programs on your dial during the alert are not official. Beware of such broadcasts. They are probably being done by enemy agents to frighten or confuse you. Remember that the enemy will do everything he can to start rumors and cause panic. Don't pass on rumors - or you'll be doing the enemy's work for him.

This station -- the station you are now listening to -- will continue to give you all authentic news, information and instructions. This is your official civil defense broadcaster.

Annex D

NIAGARA FALLS, NEW YORK, RADIO - NEWSPAPER -

CD AGREEMENT FOR EMERGENCY OPERATIONS

Editor & Publisher magazine, on August 9, 1952, published this detailed article on the first international newspaper-radio-CD agreement:

"Niagara Frontier Papers Sign CD Mutual Aid Pact -- Entire Plants and Personnel Placed in 'Emergency' Operation.

"The first international newspaper-radio-civil defense agreement, between cities and counties in the U.S. and Canada along the vital Niagara Frontier, was signed and went into effect on July 31, it was announced this week by Lt. Gen. C. R. Huebner, New York State Director of Civil Defense.

"Under the terms of a five-page 'contract', signed by the owners of the newspapers in Lockport, Niagara Falls and North Tonawanda in New York and Niagara Falls, Ontario, and the radio stations in each city, their complete plants and staffs of operating personnel automatically become working parts of the civil defense organization in Niagara Falls, N.Y. in time of attack.

"The agreement was handed to Gen. Huebner during the conferences held in Niagara Falls last week, covering the joint U.S.-Canadian participation in exercises there August 22 and 23.

"The agreement, in the form of a regular contract, was developed by M. Bradley Norton, Civil Defense Director of Niagara Falls, N. Y.

"The newspapers involved are: the Niagara Falls Gazette, Lockport Union Sun and Journal, Evening News of the Tonawandas, and the Niagara Falls (Ont.) Evening Review. The radio stations are: WHLD and WHLD-FM, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; WUSI and WUSI-FM, Lockport, and WJJL, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

"Signatories of the mutual assistance pact, affirming their belief in the power of the press and the necessity of insuring its continuous operation included Thomas J. Berrigan, for the Niagara Falls Gazette; Peter Corson, for the Lockport Union Sun; Frank Leslie, for the Niagara Falls Evening Review; Harry Hough, for the Evening News of the Tonawandas.

"Signing for radio stations were Peter Corson, Earl C. Hull, Thomas Talbot; for Civil Defense were M. Bradley Norton, J. Ralson Rawlings, Stephen C. Sarkovice, William S. Orr, R. Gordon Whitehead, and Oren C. Steele.

"The agreement will remain in full force 'until the end of the present national emergency or until 31 December 1954, whichever shall come first.' The agreement can, at any time during its life, be extended to cover any other newspapers and radio stations in the Niagara Falls area and its support counties.

"Under the arrangement, the civil defense central public information bureau will embrace all of the editorial staffs of newspapers and radio stations and will operate as a unit. Facilities and personnel of 'any surviving newspaper will be placed at the disposal of newspapers that had been destroyed in an attack.'

"The agreement states that the first and chief duty of a newspaper or broadcasting station in event of enemy attack will be to alleviate panic and fear and to disseminate news and vital statistics from the control center, and the various medical, welfare and refugee centers and other official civil defense installations, for swift distribution via both emergency type newspapers and radio broadcasts to the general public, both in and outside of the stricken area.

"Newspaper and radio station personnel will be sworn in as active civil defense workers, and issued the proper credentials enabling them to carry out their duties in the emergency. Methods of publishing an 'emergency edition' of a newspaper, representing all member papers in the compact, have been worked out, as well as the distribution system to be employed to cover the area and the various homeless assembly and welfare centers caring for the victims of the disaster."

Commenting upon the compact, Gen. Huebner said:

"This Niagara Agreement represents probably the most unusual move ever made by combined press and radio installations, on an international basis, to help their reading and listening public in time of enemy attack, and to aid in dispelling panic. Both press and radio, particularly in New York State, have made great contributions in civil defense ever since they were called upon two years ago.

The tremendous morale factor of a published newspaper, regardless of size or format, during an emergency, and the vital part played by radio in giving information and public directions for safety, cannot be over-emphasized. I congratulate Director M. Bradley Norton and his associates, as well as the newspapers and radio signers of this unusual agreement, for their foresightedness.

"The agreement provides as follows:

"The Office of Civil Defense in the target city of Niagara Falls will maintain a Public Information Division, made up of industrial editors, reporters, writers, speakers, etc., who will be assigned to emergency posts at the Bureau and all Sector, Medical and Welfare installations of Civil Defense as well as to the front line coverage. This Bureau will have and operate either directly or through City Control Communications Center telephone, telegraph, teletype and radio lines insuring constant contact with all portions of the affected area as well as with the outer world.

"In event of attack, this system will be the only communications in operation for an indefinite period of time. This Bureau is in charge of a Chief Public Information Officer, operating under authority of the Director of Civil Defense and each Civil Defense jurisdiction in the entire area will have its counterpart on a smaller scale, operating in an emergency under the direction of the Niagara Falls Bureau (assuming Niagara Falls is the locality hit).

"Radio stations in the area will operate under the FCC and NYSCD regulations, at the direction of the Bureau which acts as the deputy of the Director.

"In gathering news and pictures, the Bureau's prime function is to secure casualty lists, details of damage, conditions at various centers and to disseminate such news, bulletins, orders, etc., as may be available and/or which are of such character as may allay panic and fear.

"Under this agreement members of the staffs of signator newspapers and/or radio stations are to become members of this Public Information Division in the area in which they either live or are employed. On the signing of the Loyalty Oath and filling out of a compensation insurance card (the latter in New York State only), the signer will

be provided with an official Civil Defense identification card, a brassard or arm band which will identify him in restricted areas and, when necessity demands, an emergency vehicle card.

"The authorized signator for each newspaper will urge all employees of his editorial staff to sign the loyalty oath, fill out (in New York State) the compensation insurance card and thus become a duly enrolled member of Civil Defense, Public Information Service. He will also put into effect orders covering the mutual assistance operation of his newspaper and make the necessary assignments of his editorial personnel.

"Newspaper editorial personnel coming into Civil Defense will be assigned at once to the Public Information Division and placed on the list to receive all information issued to members of this service. They will be given definite assignments in the Bureau consistent with their newspaper duties.

"As the actions of radio stations are definitely and completely set forth in FCC and NYSCD regulations, each station knows what it is expected to do in case of enemy attack. However, it will be distinctly advantageous to both Civil Defense and the radio station to have its personnel who cover the news, the programing director and the personnel who act as announcers, etc., become members of Civil Defense and be assigned to the Public Information Bureau. Undoubtedly, in event of attack, it would fall upon many of this personnel to handle Civil Defense broadcasts either from studio, transmitter or the Central Public Information Bureau. For that reason, employees of the radio stations will sign the loyalty oath, fill out the compensation insurance card and be given a brassard or arm band and an identification card.

"Each newspaper will, at once, issue the necessary instructions to its editorial and operating personnel as may be necessary to insure continuous operation in event of enemy attack which might seriously damage or destroy one or more newspapers.

"To accomplish this, each newspaper agrees to make its facilities and personnel available to any newspaper which has been damaged in the enemy attack.

"The editorial personnel with the CPI Bureau service all newspapers in the agreement-- the aim of the newspapers being to transmit as near complete details of casualties, damage, regulations, orders, etc., as is possible under existing conditions. As conservation of men and material probably would be paramount on such an occasion, it might well be that a surviving newspaper would publish an edition for the three or more papers in the target and support area.

"In the event of the destruction of a newspaper, preplanned steps would be taken to insure there would be no interruption of newspaper service. Plans are to be made now as there will be no time to do this after the bomb is down. Editorial personnel should report at once, in the Target City, to the Central PI Bureau, where they would be assigned to tasks in line with their usual positions on the paper. The managing editor will be the CPI Bureau and work closely with the CPI officer.

"The OCD will provide communications contact between the CPI Bureau and the operating newspaper for the transmittal of information. It will make available to the newspapers all verified news, lists, etc., which come into its possession. It will provide food and lodging for personnel at the CPI Bureau during the time of emergency.

"No type of censorship will be imposed by the OCD or CPI Bureau on any news matter, lists, etc., excepting that any such news matter, lists, etc., must be verified before release as required by the New York State Emergency Act. There will not be any type of restriction or censorship imposed on editorial comment on either the events or the OCD.

"In case of attack, the publishing newspaper or broadcaster outside of the attack area will keep a telephone line open between the CPI Bureau and its editorial rooms for the passage of information.

"The end result of this agreement will be that the normal functions of newspapers and radio stations--that of supplying essential news to the people in the area they serve, regardless of adverse circumstances--can be maintained in event of enemy attack. And that Civil Defense will be assured of powerful weapons in allaying fear, panic, rioting, and other disturbances which so quickly arise from lack of authentic information or the distribution of misleading misinformation."

The article also included a column devoted to "How Editors View Unique Compact," as follows:

> "The agreement is a realistic solution to an important civil defense problem. It is absolutely essential to get the printed word to residents of a bombed city to allay panic and fear. There is no reason the pact cannot operate if disaster such as fire or flood should strike a member paper. Harvey Hough, Managing Editor, Evening News of the Tonawandas .... There is nothing objectionable in it from a newspaper's viewpoint...The agreement preserves the autonomy of each subscribing newspaper and surrenders none of its rights to secure and publish the news and editorialize thereon...I can see nothing in it that would hamper a newspaper. Maybe it would be a help, but I hope we never have to find out. Thomas J. Berrigan, Editor, Niagara Falls (NY) Gazette.... As facts are less dangerous than rumors, we believe that a true story of a disaster will help allay panic. With this in view the Evening Review is willing to place its plant and staff at the disposal of the area in case of necessity. Frank H. Leslie, Publisher, Niagara Falls, (Ont.) Review....Dissemination of news to a devastated area after an enemy attack is necessary for many reasons, most important of all to let the people know what happened to them, their families and friends. We are 100 percent behind the agreement. Although there are minor details to be ironed out, we have a basic plan which will keep the public informed. After all, that is what we are supposed to do... and we have pledged ourselves to do just that in case of any enemy attack. Peter Corson, Assistant Publisher, Lockport Union Sun and Journal."

Annex E

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
Washington 25, D. C.

APPROVED PLAN FOR THE
CONTROL OF ELECTROMAGNETIC RADIATION
(CONELRAD)
PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 10312

OPERATING AND ALERTING
PLAN FOR
STANDARD, FM, AND TV
BROADCAST STATIONS

November 19, 1952

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
Washington 25, D. C.

EMERGENCY CONTROL OF ELECTROMAGNETIC RADIATION PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 10312, DATED DECEMBER 10, 1951

Plan No. 1

PRIMARY ALERTING PLAN FOR STANDARD, FM, AND TV BROADCAST STATIONS LICENSED BY THE FCC, LOCATED WITHIN THE CONTINENTAL U. S.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
Washington 25, D. C.

EMERGENCY CONTROL OF ELECTROMAGNETIC RADIATION
PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 10312
DATED DECEMBER 10, 1951

Plan No. 1

PRIMARY ALERTING PLAN FOR STANDARD, FM, AND TV
BROADCAST STATIONS LICENSED BY THE FCC,
LOCATED WITHIN THE CONTINENTAL U. S.

SCOPE AND APPLICATION

This plan applies to all Standard, FM, and TV broadcast stations licensed by[1] the FCC, located within the continental U. S.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this plan is to provide for a system whereby, in the event of hostile action or imminent threat thereof, broadcast stations subject to this plan may be notified of alerts and all clears in connection with a predetermined plan of controlled operation.[2]

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF PLAN

From a command standpoint and for purposes of air defense, the continental U. S. is divided by the Air Defense Command (ADC) of the

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1/ As used herein, "licensed by" includes every form of authority issued by the FCC pursuant to which a station may be operated including, for example, construction permit, station license, temporary authority, etc.

2/ As used herein, "controlled operation" includes both operation in a definitely prescribed manner, and cessation of operation producing radio silence.

U. S. Air Force into three large separate areas known, respectively, as Eastern, Central, and Western Air Defense Forces, and each such Force is subdivided into a number of separate smaller areas known as Air Divisions. Each Air Division has, as its operational staff section, an Air Defense Control Center known as an ADCC.

This plan is built around the various ADCC's.

Broadcast stations are generally grouped, primarily depending upon their respective locations, in relation to particular ADCC's.

Certain broadcast stations of each general group are specially designated as Basic Key Stations and Relay Key Stations. The remaining stations are not given special designations. The stations having special designations may change from time to time.

For the purpose of this plan, all notifications of alerts and all clears shall be issued by the ADCC's, under the authority of the Air Division Commander or his duly authorized representative, to all Basic Key Stations. All relay stations will, in turn, be notified by the Basic Key Stations or by other Relay Stations. The remaining stations will then be notified by other Relay Stations. These notifications will be accomplished either by telephone messages or, in certain instances, by radio broadcasts. In situations where telephone is to be used, facilities must be available at all times on a top priority basis.

Notifications of alerts and all clears should be received directly at the transmitter locations of the stations concerned.

Thus, telephone facilities should terminate at transmitter locations, and radio receiving and alarm equipment should be located at transmitter locations.

All broadcast stations subject to this plan, including those with special designations, must install the necessary equipment to receive notifications of alerts and all clears by means of reception of radio broadcast messages, and must maintain this equipment in a state of readiness for reception including arrangements for human listening watches or automatic alarm devices or both.

Notifications of alerts and all clears will normally consist of predetermined messages accompanied by appropriate warning signals and authenticators. Broadcast notification messages will normally be prepared and on hand in advance in the form of approved recordings (e.g., disc or tape, etc.).

When conditions exist which justify the announcement of Warning YELLOW or Warning RED, the CONELRAD Plan, as a whole, may be executed. In no case will CONELRAD be put into effect before a Warning YELLOW or Warning RED. Within that limitation, CONELRAD may be placed in effect at the discretion of the Air Defense Command.

DETAILED IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN

The Federal Communications Commission will determine the specific manner in which each station subject to the plan may be most effectively fitted into the plan, including, for example, whether Key Stations should receive or give notifications by means of telephone, and whether, in borderline cases, stations of any category should be grouped in relation to one or the other of several possible ADCC's.

The detailed implementation of the plan will provide a specific course of action for every station subject to the plan. From time to time, changes affecting individual stations may be made by the FCC. However, at any given time after detailed implementation is once completed, the FCC will have a record of the detailed arrangements affecting any stations, and each station will have detailed information affecting its own situation.

The FCC, at the earliest practicable date after the plan has been approved, will promulgate appropriate rules and regulations to make the plan legally effective.

So far as practicable, appropriate tests and practice operations will be conducted at appropriate intervals to provide evidence of the actual state of effectiveness of the plan and of the detailed arrangements implementing it.

Within the limits of funds and personnel available to it, the FCC, through its field forces, will maintain suitable surveillance of stations on an individual station basis to provide some assurance that the stations are in a state of readiness to discharge their obligations under the plan whenever called upon to do so.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
Washington 25, D. C.

EMERGENCY CONTROL OF ELECTROMAGNETIC RADIATION

PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 10312,

DATED DECEMBER 10, 1951

Plan No. 2

CONTROLLED OPERATION PLAN FOR STANDARD, FM, AND TV
BROADCAST STATIONS LICENSED BY THE FCC,
LOCATED WITHIN THE CONTINENTAL U. S.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
Washington 25, D. C.

EMERGENCY CONTROL OF ELECTROMAGNETIC RADIATION
PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 10312,
DATED DECEMBER 10, 1951

Plan No. 2

CONTROLLED OPERATION PLAN FOR STANDARD, FM, AND TV,
BROADCAST STATIONS LICENSED BY THE FCC,
LOCATED WITHIN THE CONTINENTAL U. S.

SCOPE AND APPLICATION

This plan applies to all Standard, FM, and TV broadcast stations licensed by the FCC, located within the Continental U. S.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this plan is to provide for a system which will minimize, in the event of hostile action or imminent threat thereof, the use of radio signals of broadcast stations subject to this plan as a navigational aid to hostile forces and, at the same time, will permit these stations to be operated.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF PLAN

This plan is built to function in conjunction with a separate notification plan providing for a system whereby, in the event of hostile action or imminent threat thereof, broadcast stations may be notified of alerts and all clears. The particular notification plan to which reference should be made in this connection is entitled Plan No. 1, Primary Alerting Plan for Standard, FM, and TV Broadcast Stations Licensed by the FCC, Located Within the Continental U. S.

Under the operational plan herein described, broadcast stations notified of an alert will be required, during the period of the alert, either to observe radio silence or to follow permitted operational procedures prescribed in accordance with this plan.

Under this plan in its present form, all FM and TV broadcast stations notified of an alert will be required, during the period of the alert, to observe radio silence.

> Whether Standard broadcast stations notified of an alert will be required, during the period of the alert, to observe radio silence or will be permitted to be operated in accordance with procedures prescribed herein, will initially depend primarily upon the wishes of the respective station licensees. These licensees will be required to decide which course of action they would prefer to follow. Insofar as possible and practicable, the Commission will give effect to these decisions.
>
> Decisions thus made and given effect by the Commission will be binding upon the stations concerned. In cases in which the Commission is unable to give effect to the decision of the station licensee, the station will be required, during the period of the alert, to observe radio silence unless the station licensee will agree with the Commission upon a plan of operation which is in accordance with the procedures prescribed herein and will observe the terms of the agreement.
>
> Stations participating in CONELRAD operation under this plan (Plan No. 2) may withdraw from such participation upon 30 days' advance notice to the Commission.
>
> Equipment or other failures beyond the control of the station licensee will not be considered by the FCC as a violation of the licensee's obligation or responsibility under this plan (Plan No. 2), but the licensee must take immediate steps to correct such failure.

Each broadcast station (Standard (AM), FM, and TV) which will be required to observe radio silence during the period of an alert, will be required, before leaving the air, to complete any course of action prescribed for it by the FCC in connection with broadcasting, on its regular assigned frequency, an approved alert notification message. If no such course of action is prescribed for it, it will be required to leave the air immediately after it is notified of the alert, except that before leaving the air it may broadcast

> "such 'sign-off' and other official civil defense messages as civil defense authorities (Federal, State or local) may request subject, however, to complying with such requirements as the FCC, by rule or regulation, may provide for the purpose of securing the CONELRAD objective of minimizing navigational aid to a potential enemy."

Each Standard broadcast station which will be permitted to be operated in accordance with this plan during the period of an alert, will be required, before ceasing operation on its regular assigned frequency, to complete any course of action prescribed for it by the FCC in connection with broadcasting, on its regular assigned frequency, an approved alert notification message. If no such course of action is prescribed for it, it will be required to cease operation on its regular assigned frequency immediately after it is notified of the alert, except that before ceasing operation on its regular assigned frequency it may broadcast

> "such 'sign-off' and other official civil defense messages as civil defense authorities (Federal, State or local) may request subject, however, to complying with such requirements as the FCC, by rule or regulation, may provide for the purpose of securing the CONELRAD objective of minimizing navigational aid to a potential enemy."

Switching of a Standard broadcast station, as necessary for operation on system frequencies in accordance with this plan during an alert, will preferably be instantaneous, and shall in any case be within five minutes after the time when such station is required to cease operation on its regular assigned frequency.

Operational procedures which may be prescribed under this plan are as set forth below.

General

After notification of an alert and until the period of the alert is ended, no on-air identification will be permitted to be broadcast by any broadcast station (Standard, FM, or TV) unless expressly authorized by the FCC.

All permitted operation under this plan during an alert will be on either one or both of two system frequencies, 640 kc and 1240 kc, as determined by the Commission in the light of pertinent engineering considerations.

The power[1/] of any Standard broadcast station being operated under this plan during an alert will not in any case be permitted to exceed 10 kw. Usually, it will not be permitted to exceed 5 kw. It may be required to be less than 5 kw.

1/ As used herein, the word "power" means "effective radiated power".

This plan provides for four different types, or modes, of system operation of individual stations, namely, sequential operation, on-off operation, pulsating operation, and synchronous operation. It also provides for pulsating operation of entire groups or clusters of stations the individual stations of which are engaged in sequential operation.

That particular mode of operation will be prescribed for individual stations permitted to be operated under this plan during an alert which, in the judgment of the Commission, best suits the needs and purposes of the CONELRAD program within the limits of pertinent engineering considerations. The particular mode of operation of individual stations may be changed by the Commission from time to time.

Sequential Mode

In the sequential mode of operation, the stations are arranged by the Commission into groups, or clusters, consisting of two or more stations, located in one or more municipalities, counties, or states. All stations of a particular cluster use the same system frequency, i.e., 640 kc or 1240 kc, or both of these frequencies, and all have power which is properly adjusted throughout the cluster. Each station of the cluster, one at a time, in a non-cyclical sequence, goes on the air for a random period varying generally from 5 to 40 seconds. As one station goes off the air and another goes on, there is no appreciable "lost-air" time or carrier overlap. All stations

of a given cluster carry the same program. There is no appreciable interruption of program as one station follows another on the air in sequence. Program lines, and sequential control lines (in some cases a single line may serve both purposes), are provided to each one of all the stations of the cluster. The specific means (manual, mechanical, electronic, etc.) for controlling sequential switching of one station to another may vary among clusters. The particular means used by a given cluster will be mutually agreed upon between the member stations of that cluster and the Commission. Through similar agreement, each cluster will be provided with a suitable means for accomplishing responsible self-supervision and self-coordination of effort.

On-Off Mode

The on-off mode of operation may be applied to individual stations being operated by themselves or to full clusters of stations being operated in the sequential mode. Each station which operates individually is assigned one or both of the system frequencies, 640 kc and 1240 kc, by the Commission, and its power is properly adjusted by the Commission to achieve CONELRAD objectives. The on-air time of each station which operates individually is of the order of 10 seconds, and the intervening time is of the order of 30 minutes. When applied to clusters of stations, this mode will permit the cluster on-air time to be of the order of 1 to 30 minutes, and the off-air time to be of the order of 1 to 30 minutes.

Pulsating Operations

The pulsating mode of operation may be applied to individual stations being operated by themselves, or to full clusters of stations being operated in the sequential mode. In either case, the power of the transmitter of the station which is on the air is varied over a range of the order of 10 db, at a non-cyclical rate generally of about 10 seconds to 45 seconds. In a given area, such as a single city, if there are several stations being operated individually rather than in one or more clusters, all of these stations should normally carry the same program; in such cases, all of these stations will be provided with program lines from the common source of programs.

Synchronous Mode

In the synchronous mode, two or more stations in a given area are on the air at the same time. They are all assigned the same system frequency, or frequencies, by the Commission, and their power is adjusted by the Commission so that none of the stations individually will stand out from the whole group. A single station may be operated synchronously with a cluster of other stations, in which case it is provided with a program line from the same source as the stations of the cluster and carries the same program as those stations.

In setting up the detailed arrangements required for implementing this plan and administering it, authority will be centralized in the FCC except as otherwise specifically provided in this plan or in an approved supplement thereto.

PROGRAMMING OF STATIONS DURING CONELRAD OPERATION

During periods of radio alert, stations participating in CONELRAD operation under this plan (Plan No. 2) must, unless temporarily inoperative for reasons beyond the control of the station licensee, be kept in a state of constant and instant readiness to broadcast, and shall broadcast at the time specified by the requesting party, (1) messages requested by proper authorities in connection with CONELRAD alert or all-clear notifications and (2) official civil defense programs requested by civil defense authorities (Federal, State or local). During these periods, when not broadcasting civil defense programs or alert or all-clear notification messages, these stations may, on their own responsibility, broadcast such other programs as they may desire.

In broadcasting any messages or program pursuant to the terms of the preceding paragraph, these stations shall comply with the applicable mode-of-operation requirements provided in this plan (Plan No. 2), and shall refrain from any "on-air" identification, direct or indirect, unless such identification is expressly authorized by the FCC.

These stations shall, in coordination with the civil defense authorities concerned, prepare and place in effect appropriate plans and procedures for meeting the requirements of the preceding two paragraphs with respect to civil defense programming. They shall also prepare and place in effect appropriate plans and procedures with respect to other programming.

The Commission will issue detailed instruction to participating stations concerning the course of action which they are to follow in the event of an alert. These instructions will indicate whether each station is to remain silent or to participate in the system operation. If the station is to remain silent, it will be advised whether it is required to broadcast an approved alert message and whether it is to be permitted to broadcast special civil defense messages before

observing silence. In the event the station is to continue on the air, the station will be instructed as to the broadcasting of alert notices and civil defense messages before switching to system operation. It will also be advised of the type of system to be followed and the power at which the station will operate.

At the earliest practicable date after the plan has been approved the FCC will promulgate appropriate rules and regulations to make the plan legally effective.

So far as practicable, appropriate tests and practice operations will be conducted at intervals to provide evidence of the actual state of effectiveness of the plan and the detailed arrangements implementing it.

The FCC will maintain surveillance and monitoring of the individual stations to provide assurance that they are in a state of readiness and are actually discharging their responsibilities under the plan, in so far as it is able to do so with the funds and personnel available to it. Moreover, the Commission, in so far as funds and personnel are made available to it, will endeavor to establish a monitoring system capable of scanning the entire spectrum during the periods when this plan is in operation, to ascertain whether or not any clandestine operation is being utilized as a navigational aid by enemy forces.

Annex F

C O P Y

CITY OF NIAGARA FALLS

State of New York

OFFICE OF CIVIL DEFENSE

Sixth Street and Walnut Avenue

M. BRADLEY NORTON
Director

PUBLIC INFORMATION

OFFICES OF CIVIL DEFENSE - NEWSPAPERS - BROADCASTERS

The following plan of operation in event of an enemy attack is approved by the signers of this agreement, including authorized representatives of the Niagara Falls (N.Y.) Gazette, the Lockport (N.Y.) Union Sun and Journal, the Niagara Falls (Ontario) Evening Review, other affected Newspapers and Radio Broadcasters, and the Directors of Civil Defense (U.S.) and Co-Ordinators of Civil Defense (Canada) in the Niagara Falls and Target Support Area.

This agreement is to become effective on 31 July 1952 and will remain in full effect and force until the end of the present national emergency or until 31 December 1954, whichever shall come first.

This agreement can, at any time during its life, be extended to cover any newspapers and/or radio stations in the Niagara Falls Target and Support Area consisting of all Niagara, Genesee and Orleans Counties in the United States and Welland and Lincoln Counties in the Province of Ontario. In case this agreement is extended as mentioned above, the only necessary procedure will be to affix the signatures of the authorized representative of such newspaper and/or radio station and the signature of the Director or Co-Ordinator of Civil Defense in the affected area, thus signifying the acceptance of the terms of agreement.

CENTRAL PUBLIC INFORMATION BUREAU

The Office of Civil Defense in the target city of Niagara Falls will maintain a Public Information Division, made up of industrial editors, reporters, writers, speakers, etc., who will be assigned to emergency posts at the Bureau and all Sector, Medical

and Welfare installations of Civil Defense as well as to the front line coverage. This Bureau will have and operate either directly or through City Control Communications Center telephone, telegraph, teletype and radio lines insuring constant contact with all portions of the affected area as well as with the outer world. In event of attack, this system will be the only communications in operation for an indefinite period of time. This Bureau is in charge of a Chief Public Information Officer, operating under authority of the Director of Civil Defense and each Civil Defense jurisdiction in the entire area will have its counterpart on a smaller scale, operating in an emergency under the direction of the Niagara Falls Bureau (assuming Niagara Falls is the locality hit).

Radio stations in the area will operate, under the FCC and NYSCD regulations, at the direction of the Bureau which acts as the deputy of the Director.

In gathering news and pictures, the Bureau's prime function is to secure casualty lists, details of damage, conditions at various centers and to disseminate such news, bulletins, orders, etc., as may be available and/or which are of such character as may allay panic and fear.

Under this agreement, members of the staffs of signator newspapers and/or radio stations are to become members of this Public Information Division in the area in which they either live or are employed. On the signing of the Loyalty Oath and filling out of a compensation insurance card (the latter in New York State only), the signer will be provided with an official Civil Defense identification card, a brassard or arm band which will identify him in restricted areas and, when necessity demands, an emergency vehicle card.

THE NEWSPAPER PERSONNEL ETC. The authorized signator for each newspaper will urge all employees of his editorial staff to sign the loyalty oath, fill out (in New York State) the compensation insurance card and thus become a duly enrolled member of Civil Defense, Public Information Service. He will also put into effect orders covering the mutual assistance operation of his newspaper and make the necessary assignments of his editorial personnel.

Newspaper editorial personnel coming into Civil Defense will be assigned at once to the Public Information Division and placed on the list to receive all information issued to members of this service. They will be given definite assignments in the Bureau consistent with their newspaper duties.

THE RADIO PERSONNEL As the actions of radio stations are definitely and completely set forth in FCC and NYCD regulations, each station knows what it is expected to do in case of enemy attack. However, it will be distinctly advantageous to both Civil Defense and the radio

station to have its personnel who cover the news, the programming director and the personnel who act as announcers, etc., become members of Civil Defense and be assigned to the Public Information Bureau. Undoubtedly, in event of attack, it would fall upon many of this personnel to handle Civil Defense broadcasts either from studio, transmitter or the Central Public Information Bureau. For that reason, employees of the radio stations will sign the Loyalty oath, fill out the compensation insurance card and be given a brassard or arm band and an identification card.

MUTUAL ASSISTANCE PLANS: NEWSPAPERS

Each newspaper will, at once, issue the necessary instructions to its editorial and operating personnel as may be necessary to insure continuous operation in event of enemy attack which might seriously damage or destroy one or more newspapers.

To accomplish this, each newspaper agrees to make its facilities and personnel available to any newspaper which has been damaged in the enemy attack.

The editorial personnel with the CPI Bureau service all newspapers in the agreement--the aim of the newspapers being to transmit as near complete details of casualties, damage, regulations, orders, etc., as is possible under existing conditions. As conservation of men and material probably would be paramount on such an occasion, it might well be that a surviving newspaper would publish an edition for the three or more papers in the target and support area.

In the event of the destruction of a newspaper, preplanned steps would be taken to insure there would be no interruption of newspaper service. Plans are to be made now as there will be no time to do this after the bomb is down. Editorial personnel should report at once, in the Target City, to the Central PI Bureau, where they would be assigned to tasks in line with their usual positions on the paper. The managing editor will be at the CPI Bureau and work closely with the CPI officer.

The OCD will provide communications contact between the CPI Bureau and the operating newspaper for the transmittal of information. It will make available to the newspapers all verified news, lists, etc., which come into its possession. It will provide food and lodging for personnel at the CPI Bureau during the emergency.

No type of censorship will be imposed by the OCD or CPI Bureau on any news matter, lists, etc., excepting that any such news matter, lists, etc., must be verified before release as required by the New York State Emergency Act. There will not be any type of restriction or censorship imposed on editorial comment on either the events or the OCD.

In case of attack, the publishing newspaper or broadcaster outside of the attack area will keep a telephone line open between the CPI Bureau and its editorial rooms for the passage of information.

END RESULT OF AGREEMENT

The end result of this agreement will be that the normal functions of newspapers and radio stations --- that of supplying essential news to the people in the area they serve, regardless of adverse circumstances --- can be maintained in event of an enemy attack. And that Civil Defense will be assured of powerful weapons in allaying fear, panic, rioting, and other disturbances which so quickly arise from lack of authentic information or the distribution of misleading misinformation.

Because we all believe in the power of the press and the necessity of insuring its continuous operation, we do hereby agree to this mutual assistance pact.

s/Thos. J. Berrigan	for the Niagara Falls, N. Y. Gazette
s/Peter Corson	for the Lockport (N.Y.) Union Sun
s/Frank Leslie	for the Niagara Falls (Ont.) Evening Review
s/Earl C. Hull	for Radio Stations WHLD and WHLD-FM Niagara Falls, New York
s/Peter Corson	for Radio Stations WUSJ and WUSJ-FM Lockport, New York
s/Thomas Talbot	for Radio Station WJJL Niagara Falls, N.Y.
s/M. Bradley Norton	Director, C.D., Niagara Falls, N.Y.
s/J. Ralson Rawlings	Director, C.D., Lockport, N.Y.
s/Stephen C. Sarkovics	Director, C.D., North Tonawanda, N.Y.
s/William S. Orr	Co-Ordinator Civil Defense, Niagara Falls, Ontario
s/R. Gordon Whitehead	Co-Ordinator Civil Defense, Lincoln County Ontario
s/Harvey Howe	For the Evening News of the Tonowandas-North Tonawanda
s/Oren C. Steele	Director, Orleans County

☆GPO - O - FCDA 12

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Public Affairs
P.A. #41

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

January 7, 1953

EMERGENCY NEWSPAPERS

CIVIL DEFENSE EMERGENCY TEST EDITIONS OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Prompt dissemination of accurate, official civil defense information to the public in case of attack on the United States will be vital in helping prevent panic, saving lives and keeping the public informed of what is being done to cope with the situation.

FCDA believes that one of the major civil defense developments of 1952 has been the voluntary cooperation of certain publishers in New York State who have published emergency editions of their newspapers as a part of official New York State civil defense exercises. Civil Defense authorities throughout the Nation will recognize the value of this major development in civil defense preparedness on a voluntary basis by the press.

In order to encourage similar activities throughout the Nation, FCDA is forwarding this current data on civil defense emergency editions of daily newspapers. Particular attention is called to the importance and scope of the "Niagara Agreement." This compact was developed with local daily newspaper publishers and radio station owners in the Niagara New York area and in adjacent provinces in Canada.

In an official informational bulletin dated December 8, 1952, Milton V. O'Connell, Deputy Director, of the New York State Civil Defense Commission,

summarized the following reasons for this kind of newspaper participation in civil defense exercises:

1. In time of actual disaster, the newspaper will be counted upon to play an important part in (a) helping allay local panic; (b) providing a permanent, tangible message and instruction bulletin to homeless and other parts of the area population in the form of such an "emergency edition."

2. In order to prepare the newspapers and their staffs, both editorial and mechanical, for such an emergency, the preparation and distribution of such "emergency editions" for Training Exercises, in conjunction with the local CD Director and his Public Information Officer, provides actual training for the professional newspaper personnel.

3. Each subsequent "emergency edition" developed in various cities, provides a model for future reference, as to the (a) type of news, bulletins and instructions comprising the editorial content of an actual emergency paper, and (b) brings a better understanding of the various activities of Civil Defense in an actual emergency operation to the local newspaper personnel.

4. Provides a local promotional element of value, as such special editions (regardless of page size, etc.) bring home to the general reading public, in the pre-emergency period, what their local Civil Defense organization is doing, and the importance attached thereto by the local newspapers.

5. In event a major city newspaper, or all its papers, were destroyed by an attack, other newspapers in adjacent areas would be called upon to undertake such publication of an emergency edition, in cooperation with the staff of the newspapers so destroyed. Therefore, exploration of the facilities of available plants in the adjacent area, provides the major city

newspaper publisher with reserve information as to how he may be able to continue publication during the actual emergency period.

6. It develops closer cooperation between the local press and the CD PIO, as they work together in getting out the paper and deciding upon the editorial content, methods of local distribution, etc.

7. It gives the local editors, reporters, etc., a better understanding of the many phases of Civil Defense, through the collection and handling of the information, instructions, etc. emanating from the various CD service chiefs and the Director, via the CD Public Information Officer.

8. It provides training for the local PIO's staff personnel, in what will be required in getting out such an emergency edition in an actual disaster, and where and how the printed copies of the edition can be most effectively distributed during and following an actual emergency.

9. It impresses upon each individual Section Chief in the local CD organization, the need for and value of utilizing this emergency edition for their own service information and advice to the general public in event of actual disaster.

Attachments - 3

* * * * *

Details of The Niagara Agreement

The Niagara Agreement provides that:

The Office of Civil Defense in the target city of Niagara Falls will maintain a Public Information Division, made up of industrial editors, reporters, writers, speakers, etc., who will be assigned to emergency posts at the Bureau and all Sector, Medical and Welfare installations of Civil Defense as well as to the front line coverage. This Bureau will have and operate either directly or through City Control Communications Center telephone, telegraph, teletype and radio lines insuring constant contact with all portions of the affected area as well as with the outer world.

In event of attack, this system will be the only communications in operation for an indefinite period of time. This Bureau is in charge of a Chief Public Information Officer, operating under authority of the Director of Civil Defense and each Civil Defense jurisdiction in the entire area will have its counterpart on a smaller scale, operating in an emergency under the direction of the Niagara Falls Bureau (assuming Niagara Falls is the locality hit).

Radio stations in the area will operate under the FCC and NYSCD regulations, at the direction of the Bureau which acts as the deputy of the Director.

In gathering news and pictures, the Bureau's prime function is to secure casualty lists, details of damage, conditions at various centers and to disseminate such news, bulletins, orders, etc., as may be available and/or which are of such character as may allay panic and fear.

Under this agreement members of the staffs of signator newspapers and/or radio stations are to become members of this Public Information Division in the area in which they either live or are employed. On the signing of the Loyalty Oath and filling out of a compensation insurance card (the latter in New York State only), the signer will be provided with an official Civil Defense identification card, a brassard or arm band which will identify him in restricted areas and, when necessity demands, an emergency vehicle card.

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In the event of the destruction of a newspaper, preplanned steps would be taken to insure there would be no interruption of newspaper service. Plans are to be made now as there will be no time to do this after the bomb is down. Editorial personnel should report at once, in the Target City, to the Central PI Bureau, where they would be assigned to tasks in line with their usual positions on the paper. The managing editor will be at the CPI Bureau and work closely with the CPI officer.

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Warning: This Is Only a Civil-Defense Test Issue

Emergency Edition

BUFFALO EVENING NEWS

Emergency Edition

SATURDAY, SEPT. 27, 1952

A-BOMB DESTROYS DOWNTOWN BUFFALO 40,000 KILLED

Third of City Demolished

(This is the first eye-witness account of the devastation caused by today's sneak atomic attack on Buffalo. A Buffalo Evening News reporter was a passenger in the first aircraft to fly over the stricken area, minutes after the "All Clear." The craft, a Bell helicopter, the official "eyes" of Civil Defense forces at work, landed several times on the perimeter of the severe blast area, despite an ever-present radiation danger. The account was brought to the emergency newsroom of The Buffalo Evening News, established when The News building became a casualty.

Thousands of Buffalonians are dead. Thousands of frightened men, women and children are injured. Much of the city is in flames. Downtown Buffalo, which this morning bore the brunt of an explosion of a single enemy atom bomb, is a jungle of twisted steel and rubble.

It couldn't happen here. But it did—a few minutes after 9 o'clock this morning.

Buffalo needs help. Buffalo needs doctors, nurses, drugs, food and transportation. And help is on the way.

Gov. Dewey and President Truman have pledged the full resources of the state and federal governments to aid the stricken city. National guardsmen and Civil Defense workers are on the job.

The bomb—dropped by a single hostile aircraft streaking in over Lake Erie—fell in the Michigan Ave.—Perry St. area minutes after a red alert sounded. A tremendous flash of light ripping across the sky signaled the blast. It shook the entire city. It was brighter than sunlight.

For a radius of a mile from the center of the explosion the devastation is complete. This portion of Buffalo as its citizens knew it has vanished, pounded into nothingness by a white-hot sledge-hammer. And damage is severe up to a radius of 1½-miles from the explosion's center.

This I saw:

The Marine Trust Company building is an empty, twisted shell. Police Headquarters is a mass of rubble. The steeple of St. Joseph's Old Cathedral, like a pointed spear, rests squarely on what remains of the police nerve center.

The Buffalo Evening News Building is a casualty. The McKinley Monument is gone. City Hall is standing but the top of the structure has toppled. Buffalo Harbor itself seems to be ablaze, with flames from burning oil reaching skyward from the water. A giant Great Lakes ship rests in the smoldering pile that once was the General Mills waterfront plant.

Virtually all of the city's vast milling industry has vanished. Waterfront grain elevators, once the city's pride, are shapeless heaps of rubble.

The Republic Steel Corporation plant—the Ford Motor Company assembly plant—the piers and loading docks are no more. Near the Ford plant, a huge Great Lakes ship rests on land—driven nearly 1000 yards from its mooring by the blast.

Elsewhere in the city, miles from the blast, fallen wires writhe in the streets. Trees, including Delaware Avenue's massive elms, are uprooted by the hundreds.

Thousands of injured are sprawled in untidy rows in Delaware Park. Some already are beyond help.

The city is mortally stricken. Its agony is mass agony.

The fire—fed by explosions due to broken gas mains and rivers of oil, much of it from the blasted Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Inc. refinery on Elk St.—is rapidly spreading, fanned by a westerly wind.

The wind has carried a massive smoke pall laden with radio-active materials three miles to East Buffalo in nine minutes.

And now, a light rain is falling. It, too, is laden with radio-active materials.

Civil Defense forces and troops, operating from a mobile command post at Elmwood Ave. and Virginia St., are advancing into the stricken area. Bulldozers and trucks are carrying firefighters into action.

The Civil Defense forces at work emphasize this warning:

"Unless you are engaged in the Civil Defense effort, STAY AWAY FROM THE DISASTER AREA. Radiation can kill. It has been determined that dangerous 'pockets' of radiation exist."

Equipped with scientific devices, radiological experts are at work in contaminated areas.

First reports place the known blast dead at approximately 40,000 persons. An equal number, it seems certain, have been injured.

The city is fighting back.

There is small consolation in the report that the enemy plane which dropped the bomb was shot down in flames near Niagara Falls by an Air Force fighter-interceptor.

Saturday, September 27! If you have survived you'll never forget this day!

This Issue Published at Gen. Huebner's Request as a Civil Defense Exercise

This special, public service edition of The Buffalo Evening News was prepared at the request of the State Civil Defense Commission. It was requested and authorized by Lieut. Gen. Clarence R. Huebner, commission director, in the following letter:

Mr. Edward H. Butler
Editor and Publisher
Buffalo Evening News
Buffalo 5, New York

Dear Mr. Butler:

In connection with the Civil Defense demonstration and exercises scheduled for Buffalo on September 26-27, I should like to request the cooperation of the Buffalo Evening News in issuing a special edition such as you might publish in the event that bombs actually were dropped on Buffalo by an invading airplane or force of planes.

In the event of such a grave emergency, it would be of the utmost importance to Civil Defense and public morale through the printed word and a medium enjoying the responsibility of your newspaper to furnish to the public the most accurate information possible under the circumstances.

Another purpose of such an exercise on the part of the Buffalo Evening News would be to train your organization for such an eventuality which we hope will not come but for which we in New York State, through the State Civil Defense Commission, must prepare.

This is not a matter of terror or sensationalism, but an urgent and important contribution of preparedness so all segments of our population will know how to deal with a grave emergency should the need for it arise.

Knowing of the long-standing contributions which your newspaper had made toward Civil Defense, I hope that you will be able to see your way clear to cooperate through the issuance of such a special edition and this is authority to do so.

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,
/s/ C. R. Huebner
LT. GEN. CLARENCE R. HUEBNER
Director
New York State Civil Defense Commission

Ziegler Approves Emergency Edition

Maj. Gen. Edwin G. Ziegler, director of the county Civil Defense program, approved this special, public service edition of The Buffalo Evening News in the following communication:

I have just returned from a conference with Lt. General C. R. Huebner, Director of the New York State Civil Defense Commission.

He told me about his request that the BUFFALO EVENING NEWS publish a special "emergency" edition on the day of the Training Exercise being conducted by Civil Defense in Buffalo on September 27, 1952—such as you might publish in the event that bombs actually were dropped on Buffalo.

Of course, I concur heartily with the idea, for it would have a tremendously stimulating influence in awakening the public to the need for its all-out support of Civil Defense.

The State Civil Defense Commission intends to circulate copies among Civil Defense organizations throughout the United States and would also like to publicize it in such trade journals as Editor & Publisher and Printers' Ink

Let's strengthen our Civil Defense.

This has not happened but might—unless we are prepared. Citizens must enroll and assume the responsibility for training to meet with such a disaster. It may never happen—but it could.

How This Edition Was Published

Buffalo Evening News employes reported for work this morning as usual—a few hours later all were killed or wounded.

The News building is a casualty.

A good percentage of The News employes, on a five-day week, were off today. Many were in their homes beyond the bombed-out area.

These employes—by a pre-arranged plan—quickly assembled in a Kensington area printing plant. This edition is the result.

Had the bombing occurred near Kensington, this edition would have been printed in one of several other plants ready for just such an emergency edition.

The News will continue to publish a daily emergency edition until arrangements can be made to resume regular publication.

Volunteer aides are needed.

Stretcher-bearers wanted.

Many blood donors.

Bandages.

Details to be published in the next issue and broadcast over WBEN.

Reasons for This Edition

This excerpt is from "Fire and Air War," compiled by the National Fire Protection Association, which includes an account of the atom-bombing of Hiroshima: "To prevent the spread of rumors and brace morale, 210,000 copies of out-of-town newspapers were brought in daily to replace the destroyed local paper . . ."

GPO 83-41680

THIS IS A CIVIL DEFENSE TEST ISSUE

EMERGENCY EDITION

SYRACUSE
HERALD-JOURNAL

EMERGENCY EDITION

C.D. Emergency Issue | SYRACUSE, NEW YORK | Saturday, Nov. 22, 1952

35,000 KILLED AS A-BOMB HITS CLINTON SQ.

A BILLOWY CLOUD OF SMOKE — the aftermath of a single atomic bomb that wreaked havoc on Syracuse this morning. Fred Heyman, Herald-Journal staff artist, depicts his conception of the blast in this illustration showing the area to the north of the intersection of S. Salina and S. Warren Sts.

(This is the first eye-witness account of the destruction caused by today's enemy A-Bomb attack on Syracuse. A Herald-Journal reporter participated in a reconnaisance of the stricken area, a few minutes after the "All-Clear." Several areas of the severe blast area were scrutinized as was the Civil Defense Recovery operations. The account was brought to the C.D. Press Headquarters and printed by The Manlius Publishing Corp. in Fayetteville, when this newspaper became a casualty)

They said it couldn't happen here. But it did! Much of the city is in ruins. Thousands of Syracusans are dead. A like number are casualties. The survivors remember only the living hell.

A hell which includes a jungle of twisted steel and rubble, all from a single enemy atom bomb, dropped in the downtown area at 9 o'clock this morning.

Early morning shoppers, businessmen and children were victims of the searing-heat blast which leveled the downtown area. Only small brick fragments remained of the Columbus monument, scene of devastating bomb.

Doctors, nurses, drugs, food and transportation are being channeled into the city through emergency distribution points. Thousands of volunteer Civil Defense workers are pouring into the city to aid the stricken city.

The blast, brighter than sunlight, was dropped on the city from a single enemy aircraft sneaking in over Onondaga Lake. The red alert sounded minutes before a tremendous flash of light swept across the sky signalling the blast.

First reports place the known blast dead at approximately 35,000. At least the same number are believed to be casualties, and more than 75,000 Syracusans are homeless.

Devastation is complete for a radius of three-fourths mile from the center of the explosion. This portion of Syracuse as its citizens knew it has vanished into destruction by a white-hot sledge-hammer. Damage is severe up to a radius of two miles from the explosion's center.

The once proud city of Syracuse, mecca for business and industrial trade in Central New York, stands powerless and afraid, but still it is beginning to fight back.

The streets were littered with bodies—persons who just a few hours ago were going about their normal business—and other grim remnants of the terrible tragedy.

Frantic relatives searched everywhere for survivors, many in vain.

One father, who said his wife and three small children were in the downtown area, wept bitterly and prayed for strength and courage. Others wandered aimlessly about the stricken area calling for friends and relaives.

Chaplains were seen administering the last rites to thousands of victims felled by the unprecedented holocaust.

The human misery cannot be measured. The agony is severe—too severe to conceive by the human mind.

Destruction to property is incredible. No one really knows at this early hour. But everything in the three-quarter mile target area is demolished. Only a few brick walls from the city's most prominent buildings remain standing.

The Postoffice has been leveled. Police Headquarters is a mass of rubble. Only a portion of a rear wall of the State Tower Building remains standing.

The Herald-Journal building is a complete loss. City Hall and the County Courthouse have fallen. The War Memorial has toppled.

The city's fashionable shopping district stretching a quarter mile north and south on Salina St. from Erie Blvd., is no more. Only a twisted mass of steel and brick remain in that area.

The fire was fed by explosions touched off in broken gas mains and rivers of oil from nearby utility and oil companies.

A westerly wind has carried a massive smoke pall three miles to DeWitt.

Industrial plants heavily damaged within the three-quarter to two-mile radius include Carrier Corporation and Continental Can. Both report heavy damage.

Brown, Lipe & Chapin was hit hardest by the blast as the walls and roof crumbled after the earth-shattering blow.

Other factories that received heavy damage were R. E. Dietz, Easy Washer, Rollway Bearing and Straight Line Foundry.

The impact of the explosion was felt considerably in the two and three-miles zones as plaster and glass were shattered in outlying homes in this sector.

Civil Defense forces and troops, operating from a mobile command post, are working in the stricken area. Bulldozers and trucks are carrying firefighters into atcion.

Further details will be published in later editions.

Today, Saturday, November 22, 1952, this story is fiction.

But tomorrow, Sunday, November 23, 1952, or any day thereafter, it may become a story of reality.

We may never have to suffer the consequences of an A-Bomb attack. God spare us that we never will.

But the gamble of unpreparedness is too costly. Don't take Civil Defense lightly.

IT CAN HAPPEN!

C. D. DIRECTOR T. R. BALLANTYNE ISSUES PROCLAMATION; ASKS PUBLIC COOPERATION

"The disaster which struck our city this morning was the result of one enemy atomic bomb exploded directly over Clinton Square in the heart of Syracuse.

Our Reconnaissance teams report that a three-quarter mile area surrounding Clinton Square is completely destroyed. Heavy damage exists within two miles from the center of the blast.

However, we must cope with this situation and restore our city as rapidly as possible.

Civil Defense forces went into action immediately after the strike, working to provide medical care for the injured, rescue trapped survivors, shelter the homeless, extinguish the fires and maintain order, in an effort to recover Syracuse to operating as normally as possible under these conditions.

Automatic Aid from our support area has already started flowing in to supplement our own C.D. workers and equipment and replenish our supplies. State Aid, too, will be forthcoming.

For the next few days and possibly weeks stringent rationing regulations must prevail. It will be necessary to conscript every possible person to not only save what remains of our city, but to start the work of rehabilitation.

This calls for strength of character, high morale, and a will to fight on and bring success to our efforts to save all we can of Syracuse and its citizens.

It is a job for all of us. Let's get it done!"

Thomas R. Ballantyne,
Director

THE POST-STANDARD

C.D. Emergency Issue | SYRACUSE, NEW YORK | Saturday, Nov. 22, 1952

Aid Arrives From Support Areas

Don't Worry About Food; Supplies Expected Soon

Syracusans have no cause to worry about shortage of food supplies and other necessities, according to information released today by Robert Sollinger, chief of the supply division.

Class A food supplies, including canned milk, bread, meats, etc. are expected to begin arriving from points within Onondaga County's support area about 2 p.m. today. Shipments will continue until all needs are fulfilled.

Also, it was announced, that there is plenty of food in two major warehouses which will be kept in reserve. Neither of these food warehouses were affected by the strike.

It is expected that many of the normal food outlets, which were not damaged in this morning's attack, will be reopened very shortly for distribution of food.

However, it was stressed by Sollinger that under emergency supply rulings not more than $2.00 worth of food will be issued to any family head for use by his entire family during a 24-hour period.

He also urged any family that feels it has sufficient food supplies on hand to share them with their less fortunate neighbors.

Clothing will begin flowing into Welfare Centers by nightfall and will be distributed to those in need of these supplies.

Gen. Huebner Requests Edition

NEW YORK STATE CIVIL DEFENSE COMMISSION
124 East 28th Street, New York 16, N. Y.
17 November 1952

To the Publishers
SYRACUSE POST-STANDARD and HERALD-JOURNAL
Syracuse, New York

On behalf of this Commission I wish to extend to you and to the staffs of both your fine newspapers, our sincere appreciation of your public-spirited action in arranging to publish a sample "Emergency Edition" in connection with the annual State-ordered Civil Defense Training Exercise in Syracuse and Onondaga County on November 21 and 22, 1952.

From intimate wartime experience I can tell you that nothing can contribute more toward reducing public panic in a mass bombing or other disaster, or contribute more to the public morale, than for the stricken areas to be able to read the facts and necessary instructions on a printed page immediately following an attack.

The Fourth Estate always has rallied to public disaster and no small contribution in its long history of public service is more valuable than the preparation and distribution of such "Emergency Editions" as your papers contemplate. Incidentally, this is the first instance in journalistic history where two papers have joined forces and facilities to publish such an edition in the interest of public welfare.

C. R. HUEBNER, Director

Relief Due For Local C.D. Workers

The help Syracuse so badly needs has already begun to flow in from the counties and cities in Onondaga County's support area.

Streams of vehicles loaded with trained Civil Defense workers and various types of emergency equipment are rolling along the primary and secondary Civil Defense highways which are under police protection.

This aid, earmarked as replacements for the overworked and exhausted C.D. forces who have been on the job since early this morning, is being dispatched by the Aid Check Points to places in the disaster area.

State Aid Requested

Just before noon today County C.D. Director Thomas R. Ballantyne called upon the New York State Civil Defense director for all possible medical, fire, police, rescue, and radiological units available to aid in combatting the results of this morning's atom-bomb blast.

Supplies and equipment of all types are badly needed, according to latest reports from the county control center.

Aid which is currently flowing into Syracuse includes fire, police, medical, welfare, public works, transportation, rescue, radiological, communications and utilities personnel and equipment.

It is being sent from all points in the Onondaga County support area which covers the counties of Madison, Oswego, Cortland, Seneca, Cayuga and Jefferson and the cities of Auburn, Oneida, Cortland, Oswego and Fulton.

Arrangements for this automatic aid were drawn up by the Civil Defense organizations concerned several months ago.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

Several thousand volunteers of various types are requested by Civil Defense to assist in medical, rescue and general recovery operations.

MEDICAL AIDS — able-bodied men and women who are able to lift at least 50 pounds for stretcher-bearers; first aid experience helpful, but not necessary.

LABORERS — for light rescue work; unloading supplies.

DRIVERS — for trucks and ambulances.

OWNERS of light delivery trucks, station wagons, and automobiles for transporting injured.

STAFF PERSONNEL — clerks, typists, telephone operators.

BLANKETS—Those with extra blankets, please turn them over to the nearest welfare, medical or supply installation.

BLOOD DONORS—especially from the towns and villages and the support area.

MESSENGERS — COOKS

Volunteers should report to the nearest Zone Pool, located at one of the following Zone Headquarters:

ZONE 1: Cherry Road School Cherry Road.
ZONE 2: Taft School, 3020 James Street.
ZONE 3: Tecumseh School, Warners Road.
ZONE 4: Elmwood Presbyterian Church, 1640 South Avenue.

Radio Stations Broadcast News Around-the-Clock

For official Civil Defense announcements and to keep you informed on recovery operations in Syracuse, four radio stations are operating on an around-the-clock basis.

According to Albert W. Spindler, head of the public information division, the following radio stations are broadcasting Civil Defense news as soon as it is available:

Station	Frequency
WSYR	570
WAGE	620
WNDR	1260
WFBL	1390

Spindler emphasized, however, that in areas of the city where electric power has not yet been restored, only portable, battery-operated radio sets can be used.

The above stations are broadcasting direct from their transmitters since the studios—all located in downtown Syracuse—were demolished by the atomic burst.

Radio Station WOLF is not expected to resume operations for a considerable length of time because the transmitter, located at the intersecion of Van Rensselaer and Kirpatrick Streets, was completely destroyed in the disaster.

Radio-Activity Hazards Slight; Officials Announce Precautions

There is relatively little danger from radiation caused by this morning's atomic blast, Dr. Benjamin Burtt, radiological division chief, reported at noon today.

He said that as a result of the low air burst over Clinton Square, radioactivity is for the most part confined within a mile-and-a-quarter radius of "ground zero."

However, Burtt said that a thorough check of the area within three miles of Clinton Square is now in progress to determine the extent of radiation, if any, that may prevail.

The radiological division chief cautioned persons living within three miles of Clinton Square against eating anything not in sealed containers because of the possibility of radioactive dusts settling on unpackaged foods.

Then, before opening, be sure to wash the outside of the containers thoroughly. All cooking utensils and tableware should be scrubbed clean to remove any invisible, radioactive dusts.

Water in pipes may be assumed to be safe for drinking purposes.

Where to Obtain Medical Assistance

The Civil Defense Medical Service, under the direction of Dr. Walter Levy, lists the following emergency hospitals where persons with injuries should report.

Before entering the hospitals, injured must report to buffer aid stations set up outside each installation to screen those requiring hospital attention from those who merely need minor treatment.

ZONE 1
State Fair Coliseum
Bellevue Country Club
Split Rock H. S.
Fairmount School
St. Charles' School

ZONE 2
Pitcher Hill School
Electronics Park
Liverpool High School
E. Syracuse Park Hill
N. Syracuse H. S.

ZONE 3
Manlius School
Pebble Hill School
Jamesville School
Onondaga Country Club
Drumlins Country Club
Fayetteville H. S.

ZONE 4
Quonseteria, Collendale
LaFayette Country Club
Onondaga County Home
Onondaga Sanatorium
Meachem School

Welfare Center Locations Listed

The following places have been established as Civil Defense Welfare Centers, Leon H. Abbott, chief of the welfare service, announced:

Zone 1: New York State Fair grounds.
Zone 2: Blessed Sacrament School, 3131 James Street.
Zone 3. LeMoyne College, Salt Springs Rd. and Springfield Avenue.
Zone 4: Valley High School, 3740 Midland Avenue.

Persons who are homeless and in need of food and clothing should report to the nearest Welfare Center.

Also, registration and inquiry teams have been set up at these centers to record the whereabouts of evacuees and assist in reuniting families separated as a result of the disaster.

If in doubt as to the location of these Welfare Centers, ask any warden or auxiliary policeman for assistance in directing you to the center in your zone.

Information Phone Service Available

As a special service to Onondaga County's residents, Civil Defense is providing an information telephone.

By dialing Syracuse 4-3181 from points where phone service is available, you can obtain information about the locations of various types of C.D. installations where to volunteer for C.D. work, how to find your family, and answers to other questions which may be difficult to find out.

Explanation of this Emergency Edition; Plans Made for Printing in Disasters

If this morning's enemy attack on Syracuse had been a reality, both city newspaper plants — the Herald-Journal and the Post-Standard—would have been completely destroyed because of their nearness to Clinton Square.

However, by prearranged plan, those newspapermen not killed or injured would report to Civil Defense press headquarters in the John Van Duyn School where news bulletins of the disaster will flow in from the C.D. public information division.

Meanwhile, employees of the Manlius Publishing Corporation in Fayetteville are assigned to report to their printing plant to publish an emergency edition similar to this one.

As soon as news of the disaster is prepared by the reporters of both newspapers, it would be sent by special couriers to Fayetteville where the printers are waiting to set the type and run the presses to bring forth a Civil Defense emergency edition.

Such papers would be published daily, with the cooperation of the Herald-Journal, Post Standard, and the Manlius Publishing Corporation, until such time as normal operations could be resumed by the individual newspapers.

In the event that the Manlius Publishing Corporation was destroyed or disabled any one of several printing plants in Onondaga County, outside of the City of Syacuse, would be used for the publication of such an edition to keep the public informed.

In a real emergency, special editions like this would be distributed to Welfare Centers, Medical installations, and through the Warden Service to the public.

Rumors Being Spread

The following rumors are being circulated throughout the city, according to reports received at Civil Defense headquarters.

Thomas R. Ballantyne, county C.D. director, has emphatically denied these rumors by revealing the facts.

RUMOR: "Everyone is contaminated with radioactivity."

FACT: Checks by radiological experts have shown that no sgnificant radioactivity exists outside the mile-and-a-quarter radius of "ground zero."

RUMOR: "Civil Defense has given up."

FACT: This rumor is absolutely untrue as you can see from the reports in this paper or by observing the action of C.D. forces in recovery operations.

THIS IS A CIVIL DEFENSE TEST ISSUE

GPO 83-45490

OUTLINE

CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFING JANUARY 14, 1953

1. General Discussion Emergency Operations Civil Defense System

   (a) Highpoint (b) Lowpoint (c) Regions

2. Explanation of Map

   (a) Warnings - Yellow - Red - All-Clear

   (b) Key Point Warning Centers

   (c) Air Defense Division - Including Key Center Triggering Warning

   (d) Movement of Aggressor Aircraft

   (e) Air Attack on Nine Cities

   (f) Submarine Attack on Three Cities

3. Assumptions

   (a) One Bomb Each City - 2½ X

   (b) Warnings Issued

   (c) SCAT and CONELRAD in Effect With Warning Yellow

   (d) CONELRAD Lifted and SCAT Modified With All-Clear

   (e) Aggressor Aircraft Refueled in Air Enroute and None Carrying Bomb Destroyed Prior to Reaching Target.

4. Flash Report of Damage - From All Regions Except 3 and 7

   (a) Location of City (b) Time Attacked (c) Size of Bomb

   (d) Air Burst - How Delivered

5. Sabotage

   (a) St. Louis (b) Wichita (c) Forest Fires Northwest

   (d) AEC Reactor

6. Intruder Radio

7. Charts and Photos

(a) Boston Chart, with Templet Showing Damage Rings

(b) Birds-eye Photo of Each City

(c) Total Casualty Chart

(d) First Region Damage Report Chart - (Yellow)

(e) Remark on Emergency Restoration as it Affects Other Agencies on Maintaining Production

8. General Explanation of Resources and Movement

9. Requirements Chart

(a) Blood/Blood Derivative (Plasma - Dextran - P.V.P.)

(b) Casualty Packs

(c) Mass Welfare Care

10. National Control Mechanism

(a) General Statement on Use of Federal Agencies

11. Summation

(a) Example - Use of Doctors - System of pickup and delivery to major rendezvous areas and transportation

(b) Coordination Across State Lines

(1) State Directors in Northeast Recognize Need of Coordination to Prevent Choking Off Supplies to Remote Regions.

12. Tie-in Film and Dr. Starnes Presentation.

HYPOTHETICAL ATTACKS

TWELVE CITY ATTACK SITUATION

Initial Attack Assumptions

I am now going to present an enemy attack situation involving twelve of our cities. We will consider this to be the initial attack on our country, although actually we expect the initial attack will be by about 400 bombers, carrying enough atomic and conventional bombs to hit all major metropolitan and industrial areas. This initial attack will be an attempted knock-out blow; at least 70% of the aggressor bombers will get through our military defenses and such an attack is within the accepted capability of the Enemy.

Initial Alerting

While the ~~possibility~~ PROBABILITY of complete surprise is diminishing, the possibility will never disappear and a surprise attack on one target area at this time would warn the rest of the country. Therefore, when the initial attack becomes

probable, the entire United States will be placed under Warning YELLOW or Warning RED, as appropriate, almost simultaneously. However, the warning pattern for any subsequent attack is expected to be progressive, with only that portion of the country where an attack is probable or imminent being alerted.

Alerting after first attack

Pre-attack warning is an important factor in civil defense, as it will reduce the casualty potential by an estimated fifty percent, when coupled with an organized civil defense. We now have in place a key point air raid warning system, serving some 176 key point air raid warning centers, staffed entirely by State and local people. This warning system is controlled for a divisional area from an Air Defense Control Center by an FCDA attack warning controller

Warning system

assigned to each Air Division responsible for carrying out the operational decisions of the Commanding Officer insofar as the alert warnings are concerned. Volunteer Civil Defense Ground Observors serve these Air Defense Control Centers by forwarding observational reports on aircraft which supplements data obtained from the radar net and other sources, and fills in the gap where we do not now have radar coverage.

Civil Defense Ground Observors

For this attack we have made certain assumptions:

12-city attack assumptions

1. That each city will be hit with one 2½ X, a 50 kilo-ton atomic bomb.

2. That the appropriate air defense divisions will issue an alert, through the key point air raid warning system, to place the entire country under Warning Yellow and

Warning Red as necessary.

3. That the Aggressor aircraft will attack in small groups from out over the Atlantic for the East Coast cities and down over the Hudson Bay Region for the Middle-West cities, from take-off bases near Murmansk; from over Point Barrow and Great Slave Lake for the Northwest cities from take-off bases on the New Siberian Islands.

12-city attack assumptions

4. That SCAT (which means security control of air traffic) and CONELRAD will be placed into effect with the Warning Yellow. (Explain CONELRAD)

5. That CONELRAD will be lifted with the all-clear, while SCAT will be modified to permit the movement of aircraft complying with SCAT regulations.

6. That Aggressor aircraft will have re-fueled in the air enroute and will make every effort to return to their home base since the number of aircraft involved equals 1/10 of their total aircraft.

12-city attack assumptions

7. That, while some Aggressor bombers will be destroyed, no aircraft carrying the atomic weapon will be shot down prior to the attack on the target city.

8. That most of the basic civil defense services will go into action immediately after the attack and prior to the all-clear.

First attack situation

The first indication of aggressor action comes at 0920 EST when the Eastern Canadian ADC reports through established channels that a large formation of aircraft have been detected in the vicinity of Charlton Island at the south end

of St. James Bay. Heavy cloud cover interferred with intercept action due to the lack of all-weather fighters, therefore the aircraft have not been identified. The formation is proceeding on a southerly heading, very high.

Aggressor aircraft identified

At 1038 EST Eastern Canadian ADC reports that the formation has now been identified as aggressor aircraft and that they are now in the vicinity of the North shore of Georgian Bay in three groups, proceeding on a southerly heading towards Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland.

Warning Yellow

At 1041 EST the 30th U.S. Air Defense Division invokes Warning Yellow, SCAT and CONELRAD within its area. The 32nd, 26th, 35th, 33rd, 31st, 29th, 34th, 27th, 28th, and 25th also progressively invoke Warning Yellow, SCAT and CONELRAD and by 1050 EST the entire nation has been alerted.

At 1043 EST the USS Pickaway reports by radio that a large formation of aircraft, identified as aggressor aircraft, have been detected approximately 400 miles East/Southeast of New York, breaking into four groups. One group is heading approximately 345 degrees towards Boston, another approximately 280 degrees towards New York, another 275 degrees towards Philadelphia, and the other approximately 260 degrees towards Washington.

Aggressor aircraft identified

At 1045 EST the Western Canadian ADC reports a formation of aircraft in the vicinity of Slocan, Canada, proceeding on a heading of approximately 260 degrees, towards Seattle.

At 1049 EST standard operating procedures for the movement of FCDA personnel to Highpoint and Lowpoint, the FCDA alternate operating sites, are placed into effect. Communication is established with the FCDA Regional Offices over the

National personnel move to operating sites

civil defense emergency communications system. Designated personnel of Federal agencies start the move to their alternate operating sites.

At 1115 EST reports from the interceptor force engaging the aggressor aircraft off the east coast of the United States indicates the progress of the aggressor force is such as to make an attack on East Coast cities imminent, and the 26th and 32nd U.S. Air Defense Divisions invoke the Warning Red within their areas. The 35th, 30th, 33rd, 31st, 29th, 34th, 27th, 28th, and 25th progressively place the Warning Red into effect within their areas and by 1120 EST the entire Nation is operating under this alert.

Warning Red

At 1138 EST both New York and Boston are hit with atomic bombs delivered by aircraft.

New York and Boston hit

Detroit, Cleveland, and Philadelphia hit

At 1143 EST Detroit, Cleveland and Philadelphia are also hit with atomic bombs delivered by aircraft.

Seattle, Washington and Chicago hit

Seattle is hit at 1145 EST and at 1200 Chicago and Washington suffer an atomic attack, all delivered by aircraft.

Norfolk hit by guided missile

At 1205 EST Norfolk is hit with an atomic bomb, launched from a submarine as a guided missile.

All-clear East Coast

By 1210 EST the Aggressor aircraft attacking Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington have proceeded out over the Atlantic, with a total of thirty-one out of the forty reported as being shot down. The 26th, 32nd, and 35th U.S. Air Defense Divisions give the all-clear.

At 1215 EST the 7th FCDA Region reports that the bridge between St. Louis and East St. Louis was severely damaged by

St. Louis Boeing Plant sabotage

an act of sabotage, and is closed to all traffic, also that heavy fires of unknown origin are raging in the Boeing Aircraft plant at Wichita, Kansas.

Forest fire by sabotage

At 1220 EST the 9th Region reports forest fires in the vicinity of Onley, Montana, believed started by saboteurs using an unidentified single-engine plane dropping a string of small incendiary bombs. Highway 93 is blocked. The Great Northern Mainline Bridge at Depew, southeast of Onley, is burned out.

Attack on Reactor Plant

At 1225 EST the 9th Region reported a concerted attack on the AEC Reactor Plant by 50 to 60 aggressor sympathizers. Elements of the 116th Cavalry are enroute to aid the Sheriff's forces.

All-clear Middle West

At 1245 EST the 30th, 33rd, and 31st U.S. Air Defense Divisions place the all-clear into effect, and it is reported that of the thirty aggressor aircraft attacking Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland, only one escaped into Canada.

All-clear West and West Coast

At 1245 EST the 25th and 29th U.S. Air Defense Divisions give the all-clear and it is reported that of the ten aircraft attacking Seattle, seven were shot down, with three proceeding out over the Pacific where intercept forces are continuing to engage. The 27th, 28th, and 34th U.S. Air Defense Divisions also give the all-clear.

Attack without warning

At 1310 EST without warning, the Los Angeles downtown area and San Diego are both hit with guided atomic missiles, launched by submarine. Houston is hit at 1315 by a guided atomic missile, apparently from a submarine - - -

"Black radio"
next page

(NOTE - A few words here to explain that we would normally expect another warning alert at this point but we must move on.)

CHAMBERS: With the all-clear in effect - broadcasting stations once more resume normal operations. Then on the West Coast - this happened!

PROGRAM: IN...UP...HOLD 10 Seconds CUT UNDER

SOUND: JAMMING...STATIC

KROSNOFF:: This is Commander Dmitri Krosnoff of the victorious Soviet Navy! I am speaking to you from one of the many submarines at this very moment lying off your shores. By now you know that many of your cities have been wiped out. We are now ready to launch guided missiles with an atomic warhead against many of the west coast cities. You know what will happen! You are given this warning so that you will have time to flee your doomed city and seek safety for yourselves and your children. Our quarrel is not with you - enslaved workers of America. We know you did not want this war forced upon you by the lying warmongers of Wall Street - just as we did not want it. We want only to live in peace - but the way of the greedy capitalists is the way of war. These same men will try to prevent you from leaving your city. Do not listen. They do not care what will happen to you. They want only to save themselves. But we of the glorious Soviet Navy have come to liberate you. You no longer are slaves (START FADE) to the greed of your decadent leaders...We urge you for your own sake to leave your city at once.

CUE WORDS: Decadent leaders...

CHAMBERS: That was an example of one kind of Psychological Warfare which would be used by an enemy using Intruder radio. An effort to create chaos and panic. He has the facilities and the Soviet is a master at this kind of warfare. It's insidious - it's effective!

For the sake of moving on we will assume this attack is over. Now, let's look at what we would reasonably expect to have been going on in civil defense during the interim.

Attack is over

Between 1100 and 1200 EST all FCDA Regional Emergency Operations Centers have reported as being fully activated.

Regional EO Centers operative

A Presidential Proclamation declaring a state of civil defense emergency was issued at 11:30 EST, after a meeting between the President and Congressional leaders. Press releases based on information supplied by FCDA and DOD have been issued by the White House giving the public, via radio, a running report on the situation.

Presidential Proclamation

Press Releases

At 1238 EST the first report on damage is received from the 1st Region covering New York City and Boston. A report is also received from the 2d Region covering Washington,

Damage Report, 1st and 2d Regions

HIGHPOINT activated

Philadelphia, and Norfolk. HIGHPOINT is reported in full operation at 12:45 EST and a skeleton staff is operating at Lowpoint (here at this location).

Damage report, 4th & 5th Regions

First reports on damage are received from the 4th Region covering Detroit and Cleveland, and from the 5th Region covering Chicago.

Summary to other agencies

A summary of all information gathered to this time is consolidated and transmitted to the other National Federal Security Agencies, and to the FCDA Regions.

Damage report, 6th, 8th, and 9th Regions

Between 1400 EST and 1500 EST the first report on damage is received from the FCDA 8th Region covering San Diego and Los Angeles, from the 9th Region covering Seattle, and from the 6th Region on Houston.

Summary to other agencies

A summary of additional information received to this time is consolidated and transmitted to the other National Federal Security Agencies and to the FCDA Regions. This summary is also transmitted to other Federal Agencies requiring the information. At 1445 EST all the Federal Security Agencies have reported as being in full operation at their alternate sites, and the FCDA LOWPOINT staff is in full operation at that location.

All National Agencies relocated

We now have all of these initial damage reports from the cities in this attack.

All initial damage reports in

In our pre-attack planning, we have asked the States to furnish, through the FCDA Regional Emergency Operations Centers, a minimum amount of damage information as soon as possible after the attack. This information consists of ---

Information requested from States

Name of city and time attacked --- type of weapon used --- size of bomb --- how delivered --- height of burst if delivered by aircraft --- ground zero or area of general damage.

Example of damage report- Show Chart #1

This chart shows the example of the initial damage report for the cities of Boston and New York, as forwarded by the FCDA First Regional Center. (Read chart)

Sh[illegible] Charts #2 and #3

Photo of Chicago and Washington

This is a birds-eye view of the area of severe damage for the city of Chicago, which could be received by facsimile transmission --- the inner ring is the area of almost complete destruction --- the next ring is the area of major damage, severe enough to require demolition of most of the buildings --- and here is the same view for the city of Washington. (I won't take any more time now, but similar views of the other cities are available if you care to look at them later.)

National emergency operations development requirements and resources

Using the minimum information contained in the initial report, the FCDA staffs at HIGHPOINT and LOWPOINT have been busy assessing the damage; --- in developing the requirements based on criteria prepared during the pre-attack period and in applying these requirements against the known resources which are available in the form of rough city/State/Regional inventories, stockpiles, and other data compiled pre-attack. As an example, maps of the critical target areas will be available and templets, to scale, can be centered on the known ground zero as indicated on this map of Boston. From available lists we can determine the number, location, and name of the essential facilities and the amount of damage to each within realistic limits --- the number of estimated casualties from a known ground zero can be determined by use of an isarithmic map prepared in advance and available to the

Show Chart #4

Boston map with damage rings

National Emergency Operations Center staff. -- From the number of casualties, we can readily determine the amount of blood/blood derivative that will be required for each city -- the probable number of welfare cases that will result from the attack, and many of the other major requirements.

Using these requirements as a base, tentative general plans for the furnishing of the assistance required and for transporting the equipment and supplies can then be arranged. As an example of this pre-planning, here is a chart showing the National Transportation (Air Lift) of Professional Personnel and Blood, as proposed for planning purposes.

Health & Specl. Weapons Chart

Explanation of Damages

Again referring to the Map of Boston, we could expect that damages in the "A" ring would be roughly as follows:

Ordinary buildings	-	Almost complete destruction.
Reinforced concrete	-	70% destruction.
Heavy Steel Frame buildings	-	Distortion - loss of roofs.
Fire	-	Extensive in non-fireproof buildings - secondary and flash fires.

Streets - overpasses	-	Destroyed and impassable.
Bridges	-	Partial destruction - closed. Shifted laterally.
Railroad tracks - yards stations	-	Unusable.
Auto, trolleys, trucks, buses and terminals	-	Destroyed.
Water supply facilities	-	Heavy leakage from broken services and plumbing.
Sewers - sanitary and storm	-	Probable major breaks at ground zero
Fuel supply facilities	-	Gas storage tanks ruptured - Pressure drop from leakage and fires; oil tanks damaged and on fire.
Electric power	-	Overhead distribution destroyed; poles, wires, transformers destroyed. Underground distribution O. K. except where they cross bridges or flooded from broken pipes.
Communications	-	Poles snapped at ground level. Cables above ground fused. Underground cables probably O. K.

In the "B" ring, would expect the following damage:

Ordinary buildings	-	Severe damage, requiring demolition.
Reinforced concrete buildings	-	Partial damage.
Heavy steel frame buildings	-	Mass distortion of frame.
Fire	-	Extensive in non-fireproof buildings. secondary and flash fires.
Streets - overpasses	-	Destroyed and impassable.
Bridges	-	Near inner radius major damage.approaches blocked by rubble and vehicles.
Railroad tracks, yards, stations	-	Unusable pending extensive repairs.

Autos, trolleys, trucks, buses and terminals	-	Destroyed
Water supply facilities	-	Heavy leakage from broken services and plumbing - no major breaks in mains. Some pumping stations out of commission where building destroyed.
Fuel supply facilities	-	Gas mains not affected by blast. Heavy leakage and fires - pressure drops - oil tanks damaged and some on fire.
Electric power	-	Overhead distribution destroyed; poles, wires, transformers destroyed; underground distribution generally O.K.
Communications	-	Poles damaged beyond repair, underground cables generally in operating condition.
Glass damage	-	Average of an estimated thirty-eight million square feet in repairable buildings.

In the "C" ring damage would be about as follows:

Ordinary buildings	-	Major damage, unusable until repaired.
Reinforced concrete buildings	-	Considerable damage - glass gone.
Heavy steel frame buildings	-	Severe structural damage.
Fire	-	Extensive damage in non-fireproof buildings.
Streets - overpasses	-	Overpasses destroyed, or heavy damage - streets filled with rubble and require clearance.
Bridges	-	Superficial damage and approaches clogged.
Railroad tracks, yards, stations	-	Overturned cars, considerable repair work.
Auto, trolleys, trucks, buses and terminals	-	Destroyed, damaged or rendered inoperable.

Water supply facilities	- Leakage from broken services and plumbing; no major breaks in mains.
Fuel supply facilities	- Gas mains not affected, but gas leaks and some fires.
Electric power	- Overhead distribution - poles - wires - transformers - almost completely destroyed; generating stations not generally affected; some sub-stations major damage from blast and fire.
Communications	- Some poles damaged; underground cables in operating condition.
Glass damage	- Average of an estimated 39 million feet destroyed.

In the "D" ring, damage would be as follows:

Ordinary buildings	- Heavy plaster and glass damage.
Reinforced concrete buildings	- Not too much damage - some glass damage.
Heavy steel frame buildings	- Not too much damage - glass damage.
Fire	- Some flash ignition of combustible material limit of severe fire damage generally.
Streets - overpasses	- Considerable rubble, require clearance.
Bridges	- Approaches blocked by rubble.
Railroad tracks, yards, stations	- Minor repairs required.
Autos, trolleys, buses and terminals	- 75% usable when streets cleared.
Water supply facilities	- Plumbing not seriously affected.
Fuel supply facilities	- Gas mains not affected. No interruption in service provided pressure and supply maintained.
Electric supply facilities	- Overhead distribution burned out due to fring fires near inner circle. Sub-stations minor damage and service temporarily interrupted.

Communications - Telephone poles charred. Underground cables in operating condition.

THIS TOTAL AREA, FROM GROUND ZERO TO THE OUTER LIMITS OF THE "D" RING COVERS APPROXIMATELY TEN SQUARE MILES.

Show Chart #5 New York map with damage rings.

Here is a map of New York with the "A", "B", "C" and "D" rings showing the area of damage.

Show Chart #6

Now let's look at what the HIGHPOINT-LOWPOINT staff has been able to determine from the information available. On this chart are the casualty figures for all 12 cities. With one relatively small A-bomb on each city -- as compared with potential capability -- we have an estimated total of three million, seven hundred fifty thousand casualties. Of this number, an estimated one million, five hundred ninety-four thousand will die within twenty-four hours, while another nine hundred fourteen thousand will die within the first five or six weeks; or a grand total of approximately two million, five hundred thousand deaths. The number of injured that eventually recover will total an estimated one million two hundred forty thousand. Multiply this by several times for an all-out attack and you can readily see the tremendous casualty

Development of total casualties

Number of deaths

Number injured

load alone. Casualty packs would have to be rushed to the attack areas; the number of hospital beds would have to be expanded on a large scale through establishment of emergency improvised hospitals, using pre-planned locations; doctors and nurses would have to be obtained from other areas and surgical mobile support units and affiliated hospital units from mutual aid communities would have to be transported to attacked areas immediately.

Casualty packs emergency improvised hospitals, doctors, nurses

Medical mobile support - mutual aid

S(Chart #7

Now for the major requirements: On this chart we find that for an attack on only 12 cities we will require six million, seven hundred eighty-seven thousand pints of blood/blood derivative the first three weeks, of which three million, one hundred eleven thousand will be required the first 72 hours. The total emergency reserve of blood/blood derivative available for civil defense at the present time is estimated to be three and one-half million pints, which is little more than enough to take care of the first seventy-two hours. Our National civil defense reserve

Blood requirements

Blood reserve

would then be exhausted. It is obvious that an adequate emergency reserve of blood and blood derivative is an absolute necessity in advance of attack.

Casualty packs required

A total of two thousand, one hundred fifteen casualty packs would be required. One casualty pack is designed to serve one thousand casualties. At the present time we have six warehouses in operation. Our strategic plan is for fifty warehouses, located within four hours delivery time of any critical target area, with a total casualty pack stockpile by the end of the fiscal year 1953 of six million, two hundred fifty-five complete packs. These warehouses will also stock such items as pipe, couplings, tees, valves, portable pumps, portable water purification units, power generators, and mobile chlorinators.

Warehousing plans

Welfare load

Our mass welfare load would be some three million, eight hundred eighty-five thousand persons. Remember, an area of some ten square miles in each city suffered complete to severe damage; normal sanitary conditions are non-existent; use of normal cooking

facilities is out of the question. Many cannot reach their homes for various reasons, so the number of people requiring care includes many besides the homeless. Feeding, sleeping, and sanitary facilities, financial assistance, and many other needs must be met.

Wardens

Under such an attack, a total of nine hundred eighty-two thousand wardens would be required as a minimum for the 12 cities. Figures are not available as to the exact number now trained, or in training in each city, but general figures indicate a serious deficiency, as they do in the Rescue Service, where we would need nine thousand, six hundred rescue teams of 8 men each, thoroughly trained in rescue operations such as you will see in the Rescue Street demonstration. FCDA is stressing the training of wardens and rescue civil defense workers.

Rescue teams

Other major requirements

These are some of the major requirements -- and we have not talked at all of the bulldozers, cranes, trailers, steam shovels, etc., that would be required for debris clearance -- of the miles

of pipe and other items required for the emergency restoration of services and facilities -- of the auxiliary policemen that would be required for handling vehicles and people -- of the number of ambulances that would be required -- of the first aid teams, the communications channels, and the numerous other requirements of an organized civil defense.

It is obvious, if we are to recover from an attack on even 12 of our cities -- if we are to minimize the number of casualties -- if we are going to expedite the emergency restoration of services and facilities required for defense production, we must have a trained, adequately equipped team at all levels of the civil defense organization. We must have a civil defense system that is ready to act on standard operating plans developed pre-attack, nationally and locally.

Civil Defense organization required

The capabilities of atomic and other weapons are so great that a successful attack will result in damage and casualties beyond the resources of any community. Assistance to the attacked

Mutual aid and available resources in civil defense system

community must come from outside and be organized in advance and all the available resources of the country must be geared into a civil defense system.

And that is where the Federal Civil Defense Administration plays its part:

FCDA responsibility

In providing pre-emergency leadership and advisory planning for the development of emergency operating plans, at the National, Regional, State levels and through State at the city levels.

In the pre-emergency development of coordinated plans for the stockpiling of required items at the Federal level, and at State and local levels, under a matching funds program.

In the pre-emergency development of plans for the use of Mobile Support and Mutual Aid, through inter-State compact agreements.

In the pre-emergency development of coordinated plans which will insure the most effective and expeditious use of Federal resources of equipment, supplies and manpower.

In marshalling the forces required for the post-attack emergency restoration of services and facilities, and in assisting the States in carrying the financial burden caused by such an attack.

And, finally, in providing post-attack civil defense assistance of any type, where and when required.

EXAMPLE OF INITIAL DAMAGE REPORT

TO: HIGHPOINT/LOWPOINT

FROM: FIRST REGION

DAMAGE REPORT. NEW YORK CITY ATOMIC BOMB 1138 EST. DELIVERED BY AIRCRAFT. GROUND ZERO TOMPKINS SQUARE MANHATTAN. AIR BURST ESTIMATED FIFTEEN HUNDRED FEET. ESTIMATED SIZE TWO AND ONE HALF X.

BOSTON ATOMIC BOMB 1138 EST. DELIVERED BY AIRCRAFT. GROUND ZERO VICINITY CHARDON AND GREEN STREETS. ESTIMATED TWO AND ONE HALF X WITH AIR BURST TWO THOUSAND FEET.

O'CONNOR

ESTIMATED CASUALTIES
12-CITY ATTACK SITUATION
ONE 2½ X BOMB

CITY	GROUND ZERO	TOTAL KILLED AND INJURED THIS GROUND ZERO	DEATHS: FIRST 24 HRS.	DEATHS: ADDITIONAL FIRST 5 OR 6 WEEKS	INJURED SURVIVING
New York	Tompkins Square, Manhattan	356,000	97,800	65,300	192,900
Philadelphia	8th and Arch Sts.	473,600	171,400	114,300	187,900
Washington	9th and G Sts.	202,100	89,600	59,800	52,700
Norfolk	Atlantic and Main Sts.	68,100	31,400	21,000	15,700
Boston	Chardon and Green Sts.	272,700	116,800	77,900	78,000
Detroit	Woodward Ave. and Brady St.	263,000	116,700	77,900	68,400
Chicago	Washington Blvd. and Ogden Ave.	545,900	226,200	150,900	168,800
* Houston	Austin and Texas Sts.	275,200	117,400	78,200	79,600
Seattle	Broadway and East John	114,700	39,300	27,800	47,600
* Los Angeles	Pico and Hill Sts.	709,400	347,400	148,200	213,800
* San Diego	State and Broadway Sts.	194,600	67,700	45,100	81,800
Cleveland	E. 9th St. & Broadway	172,600	71,600	47,800	53,200
	TOTALS	3,747,900	1,593,300	914,200	1,240,400

* No warning.

DWG X 15 BRO
SPIRALEDS CASUALTIES
1S-CITY ASPACE SIGNALTIES

CITY	GROUND DEAD	GROUND WOUNDED: BRIS SPIRALEDS	GROUND WOUNDED: DAY AND NIGHT TWO	SPIRALEDS: DEN 42 MIRES	SPIRALEDS: 6 SO 5 FIRST AGGRIEVERS	SPIRALEDS: DEMEANS
New York	Tompkins Square.	952,000	972,800	1,521,500	1,294,500	1,340,400
Philadelphia	Kensington 5th and Arch Sts.	472,600	171,400	117,300	52,300	197,900
Washington	9th and G Sts.	202,100	86,600	52,800	20,000	52,700
Boston	Charles and Green Sts.	221,700	116,800	77,800	27,100	75,000
Montgomery	Alabama and Main Sts.	68,100	34,400	21,000	12,100	12,700
Detroit	Woodward Ave. and Brady St.	251,000	147,700	150,000	48,300	188,800
Chicago	Washington Blvd. and Ogden Ave.	542,800	52,300	52,300	27,800	47,600
Bowston	Austin and Moses Sts.	222,300	40,400	29,300	76,200	29,600
Seattle	Broadway and West Lake	114,700	47,300	27,800	146,200	213,800
Los Angeles	Pico and Hill Sts.	700,400	42,400	47,100	24,100	81,800
San Diego	Sixth Ave. & Broadway Sts.	104,600	62,700	45,100	27,800	22,200
Cleveland	2. 9th St. & Broadway	1,515,000	1,300,600	1,521,300	1,294,500	1,340,400

Wardens

Cut off

Warden

No matter.

SOME OF THE
MAJOR REQUIREMENTS
12-CITY ATTACK SITUATION
ONE $2\frac{1}{2}$ X BOMB

CITY	PINTS BLOOD/BLOOD DERIVATIVE (3 WEEKS)	CASUALTY PACKS (PER THSD)	WELFARE MASS CARE	WARDENS	RESCUE TEAMS (4 DAYS)	FIRE PUMPERS
New York	774,600	258.2	1,229,300	311,400	928	420
Philadelphia	906,600	302.2	370,000	94,000	1,234	420
Washington	337,500	112.5	151,400	38,300	537	420
Norfolk	110,100	36.7	31,900	8,100	168	420
Boston	467,700	155.9	296,300	40,300	711	420
Detroit	438,900	146.3	333,500	84,800	685	420
Chicago	959,100	319.7	647,800	162,200	1,422	420
Houston	473,400	118.8	181,000	82,600	718	420
Seattle	223,200	74.4	41,200	10,500	299	420
Los Angeles	1,086,000	362.0	388,600	98,500	1,848	420
San Diego	380,700	126.9	50,100	12,700	507	420
Cleveland	303,300	101.0	162,900	38,400	562	420
Totals	6,787,200 of which 3,110,800 is required first 72 hours.	2,114.6	3,884,000	981,800	9,619	5,040

Magnets for Cleveland

Convert FCDA in Symington

Chuck - Blood or Blood Substitutes

SOME OF THE
MAJOR REQUIREMENTS
12-CITY ATTACK SIMULATION
ONE 25 X BOMB

	FIRE FIGHTERS	RESCUE TEAMS (4 DAYS)	WARDENS	MEDICAL MASS CARE	CASUALTY BEDS (ZERO WEEKS)	TUBES (BLOOD/PLASMA DERIVATIVE) (3 WEEKS)
New York	420	958	311,400	1,222,300	3,882	774,600
Philadelphia	420	1,245	94,000	320,000	302.5	306,600
Chicago	420	532	38,300	151,400	132.5	327,300
Detroit	420	168	8,100	31,000	36.7	170,100
Boston	420	111	40,200	296,300	155.9	487,700
Cleveland	420	685	84,800	333,500	146.3	438,800
Pittsburgh	420	1,422	162,200	642,800	329.7	959,100
Los Angeles	420	718	82,600	181,000	118.8	417,400
San Francisco	420	299	10,200	41,200	44.4	223,200
Seattle	420	1,848	98,500	388,600	252.0	1,066,000
Portland	420	507	12,700	50,100	182.9	380,700
Total	5,040	5,619	862,900	3,884,000	1,114.6	5,023,300

72 people
required first
aid in 3,110,800
of which
6,727,250
require
hospitalization

For Information of Regional and State
Civil Defense Directors

EXCERPTS FROM THE GENERAL REPORT

"Project East River"

(Associated Universities, Inc., of New York)

Including the:

1. Text of the transmittal letter from Otto L. Nelson, Jr., director, Project East River, to the Federal Civil Defense Administration, National Security Resources Board and the Department of Defense.

2. The Introduction to the General Report.

3. The Principles and Concepts of Civil Defense as formulated by Project East River.

Prepared by: The Federal Civil Defense Administration
Public Affairs Office
1930 Columbia Road, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

(1952-53)

EAST RIVER

October 1, 1952

The Honorable Millard Caldwell, Administrator,
Federal Civil Defense Administration
The Honorable Jack Gorrie, Chairman,
National Security Resources Board
The Honorable Robert A. Lovett, The Secretary of Defense

Dear Sirs:

Project East River was initiated by the Federal Civil Defense Administration, the National Security Resources Board, and the Department of Defense to evaluate and recommend the optimum combination of non-military measures which will assist (1) the FCDA in discharging its responsibilities for preparing to minimize the effects of attack by atomic, biological, chemical, or other weapons on the population and industry of the United States; (2) the NSRB in discharging its responsibilities of advising the President concerning the strategic location of industries, services, government, and economic activities, the continuous operation of which is essential to the Nation's security; and (3) the Department of Defense in collaborating with FCDA and NSRB in discharging their responsibilities. The details of the contractual arrangements and a historical summary of the organization and operations of the project are given in Appendix I-A.

Basically, all of the recommendations in the various parts of this report emerge from what is believed to be a thorough analysis of the threat. An attack with modern weapons would be much more damaging to our population, our property, our way of life, and to our democratic institutions generally than is realized by the public or even by many responsible government officials. Project East River believes, however, that the situation is far from hopeless. Effective and specific corrective measures can be taken. These are described in this report and require the following three-pronged program to be executed with the utmost vigor:

1. Development of a National Program for reduction of Target Vulnerability;

2. Continuing improvement in the effectiveness of our Air Defense to the point where not only is a "saturation attack" impossible but a "crippling attack" is highly unlikely;

3. Construction of a permanent civil defense system capable of minimizing the loss of life and the destruction of property.

The optimum combination of civil defense measures rests entirely on the extent to which the foundation programs of military measures and reduction of urban vulnerability are accepted and implemented. All of the various recommendations as to how each of the major programs can be accomplished are, in our opinion, well within our capabilities. However, the requirements of each must be sharply defined, and the contributing solutions must be carried out in the light of advanced technology. Each major program is essential to the others and no single one can do the task by itself.

EAST RIVER

The total report consists of ten major parts, each printed under separate cover. Part I is a general survey of principles and concepts, a statement of a philosophy of organization and operation, and a summary of the major recommendations which are developed in detail in the other parts of this final report. Parts II through IX are the reports of the various panels drafted under the able direction of panel chairmen. Part X is a selected bibliography.

All members of PROJECT EAST RIVER have been impressed by the magnitude and complexity of the problem of civil and miliary defense in an era both of pronounced international tensions and of devastating atomic, biological, chemical, and other weapons, potentially capable of highly effective use against civilians and the civilian economy. Our approach was to seek the knowledge and opinions of as many experts as possible, including those now working on some phase of the task in various Federal, State and local government agencies. Much of the substance of this report represents a distillation of ideas, criticisms, and suggestions developed at various briefings and conferences. Certain recommendations are now in the process of becoming officially accepted policy or procedure. It was not possible to list the exact status of various recommendations or the extent to which these have been, or are about to be, adopted. The limitations of time, funds, and expert personnel necessarily restricted the scope of our work. There are many areas which were not covered, but which should be the subject of investigation and study.

It has been gratifying to observe that the various conferences and briefings incident to our operations have proved to be an educational process for all concerned. Frequently conferences brought together people representing different agencies and, in the course of these meetings, certain gaps and contradictions in programs were uncovered. Healthy criticism and a valuable exchange of ideas were commonplace. Circulation of PROJECT EAST RIVER draft reports provoked further self-examination and discussion with resulting progress. Thus, much has already been done to eliminate inconsistencies and to put into practice many worthwhile suggestions. Liaison among the interested agencies has thus improved but is still far short of being completely effective.

This report does not attempt to single out all praiseworthy programs and progress. Our report is intentionally a critical analysis which, in our opinion, is what was wanted; however, the critical tenor should not be interpreted to mean that there is little to praise. On the contrary, an objective balance sheet would reveal much substantial accomplishment by all of the interested agencies. In view of the fact that no substantial organization existed two years ago, real progress has been made.

PROJECT EAST RIVER has taken in the main the long-range point of view on civil defense, as representing its most useful contribution. Practically all of the governmental efforts to date have necessarily been focussed on day-to-day problems and on the improvisation of an organization and procedures to cope with a possible immediate contingency. The meshing of the long-range program with existing short-term and expedient policies requires operational skill and a sense of timing. How this should best be done is not covered in this report.

Our thanks and appreciation go to the personnel of the Department of Defense, of the National Security Resources Board, and of the Federal Civil Defense Administration for their helpfulness and cooperation, and especially to the members of the Policy Committee and the liaison officers who formally represented their organizations to PROJECT EAST RIVER. Thanks are due also to many other government and private agencies and individuals, at Federal, state, and local levels who have generously given valuable assistance. For the facilities and services provided by Associated Universities, Inc., our thanks go to their President, Board of Trustees, and staff.

To all the members of the EAST RIVER PROJECT who, in many instances, worked at great personal inconvenience to make this report as good as conscientious study and effort could make it, I extend my very grateful thanks. They will all feel amply repaid if, at the proper policy level, careful but prompt consideration is given and early decisive action is taken either to accept or to reject the various PROJECT EAST RIVER recommendations.

Sincerely,

/s/ Otto L. Nelson, Jr.

Otto L. Nelson, Jr.
Director
PROJECT EAST RIVER

1 INTRODUCTION

The point of departure for this study of civil defense and related military measures can be summed up in these circumstances of overriding significance and importance.

(1) Pronounced and possibly prolonged international tensions.

(2) Rapid development and production of devastating new weapons and weapons carriers that can be most effectively used against concentrations of population and industry and against man, plants, and animals in our civilian economy.

(3) Loss by the United States of the atomic-bomb monopoly and decline in the relative atomic weapons advantage, with consequent diminution in the threat of retaliation as a deterrent to enemy attack.

(4) Exposure of the length and breadth of the United States to attacks of devastating weapons for the first time in history.

Some discussion of these dominating circumstances may be useful. Little need be said about existing international tensions; it is difficult to see how the situation could deteriorate much further, short of all-out war. With the invention of the atomic bomb, the world has entered into what may be called a perilous atomic era. New weapons of increasingly destructive capacity have been and are continuing to be developed. As if spurred on by the competition of the atomic bomb, the development of equally portentous, though less well known, chemical and biological agents has proceeded apace. The progress in achieving the means and methods of delivering these new and destructive weapons on far-distant targets has been, and promises to continue to be, phenomenal. The impact of these new weapons is revolutionary, because their most lucrative use is not so much against mobilized military forces as against industry, agriculture, and civilians; and because their destructive capacity is greater by a factor, somewhere between a thousand and a million, than that of previous weapons. As an example[1], the area of effectiveness of the air-burst atomic bomb against brick buildings at Nagasaki was 15,000 times as great as that for a 500-pound high explosive bomb, and yet it was chronologically but the third of such new bombs. Subsequent developments have further multiplied the power of atomic weapons. These new weapons may well have an effect upon the future of the world as great, if not greater, than that of the revolutionary weapons of the past which have so profoundly affected the course of world events.

1/ The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, "The Effect of Atomic Bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki", Chairman's Office, June 30, 1946, p. 33.

The enemy's stockpile of atomic bombs and other weapons, together with the means to deliver them on targets, will reach a total, at some not-too-distant date, which will permit the launching of what could be a knockout, saturation attack on the United States. At that time, the enemy will no longer be deterred from any action he may choose to take, even though the United States may possess a much greater number of atomic bombs for retaliatory use. The speed and range of weapon carriers have brought every section of the United States within attack range. It should be remembered that 100 aircraft can now carry a total destructive potential equivalent to the total bombing effort of the British and United States air forces throughout all of World War II. The threat is both immediate and long term. Progress in greater range and speed is accelerating and the following authoritative statement made in 1945 2/ was indeed prophetic:

> The air has become a highway which has brought within easy access every point in the earth's surface--a highway to be traveled in peace, and in war, over distances without limit at ever increasing speed . . . . Speed, range, and striking power of the air weapons of the future, as indicated by the signposts of the war in Europe must--specifically--be reckoned with in any plans for increased security and strength. The combination of the atomic bomb with remote control projectiles of ocean-spanning range stands as a possibility which is awesome and frightful to contemplate.

The situation described as the point of departure has been stressed because it seems clear that too frequently the consequences and implications are either not understood or, if understood, are so staggering to the imagination as to induce inaction and apathy. Such a reaction is perhaps comparable to the point in human endurance at which nature permits unconsciousness to intervene and give surcease to pain and shock. The first reaction of those who have participated in PROJECT EAST RIVER was not unlike the universal and typical reaction--a feeling of being overwhelmed by the sheer magnitude of a problem so large, so complex, and so seemingly impossible of adequate and practical solution. The apathetic attitude is highly dangerous, however, and must be changed, because it is typical of those individuals, institutions and nations that have perished in the past because of the inability or unwillingness to adjust to major environmental changes.

The crux of the problem, then, is the enormity of the task, which fosters an attitude of fatalistic inaction. PROJECT EAST RIVER believes that this problem can and must be solved. So far as we know there is but one effective and practical approach--the delimitation of the problem to

2/ The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, "Summary Report (European War)", Sept. 30, 1945, p. 18.

the maximum extent and the subdivision into manageable parts of that which remains. The will, as well as the ability, to do the task must be considered. Thus, the individual volunteer, or the local, state, or Federal official must not only be convinced that his assigned duty in civil defense is reasonably within his ability to perform, but also that in doing it he increases the chances of survival for himself, his family, his community, and his country. PROJECT EAST RIVER is convinced that civil defense can be made manageable in the broadest sense of the word. If, however, it is regarded merely as "a pick-up-the-pieces operation" instead of a positive program to increase chances of survival, civil defense is doomed to abysmal failure. The concept of manageability has been basic to the approach of PROJECT EAST RIVER and is reflected through-out the structure and content of the report.

In attempting to delimit the problem, PROJECT EAST RIVER concluded that, to a substantial degree, delimitation could be accomplished from two different directions--reduction of the effective intensity of attack through military measures and reduction of target vulnerability through spacing and construction standards. To the extent that the military forces can improve their performance in giving early warning and in reducing the intensity of the attack, the remaining civil defense job becomes more and more susceptible to better performance. To this end, there was submitted an interim report, also included in this Final Report as Part II-A, "Military Measures Precedent to a Manageable Civil Defense". Not only did this report aim to limit and reduce the effective scope and intensity of any possible attack, but it also sought to provide that essential prerequisite for the rest of the job--more precise dimensioning of the over-all task without which there could be no division into component and assignable parts. Delimiting the job from the other direction was the subject of a second interim report, also included in this Final Report as Part II-B, "Federal Leadership to Reduce Urban Vulnerability". This report had as its aim the long-range reduction of urban vulnerability which, over a period of years, would make our cities and industries such unprofitable targets that an enemy would have less incentive to attack them and, if he did attack, the resulting situation could be handled.

PROJECT EAST RIVER has concluded, then, that if specific and reasonable responsibilities were assumed by the Department of Defense for the initiation of military measures precedent to a manageable civil defense, and by the National Security Resources Board and other appropriate agencies for leadership and implementation of a program for reducing urban vulnerability, the task remaining to civil defense, for even the most adverse case, would be within the limits of size and complexity permitting effective operations. The point to be stressed is that specific measures must be taken by each responsible agency at each level of government to reduce the civil defense task to one that is feasible. These measures, it is believed, are technically sound and reasonable.

After the application of the principle of delimitation, the next step is the division of the over-all tasks into manageable parts. When civil defense is broken down into small parts, it is then possible to do something effective about each part within practical limits of time and economy. When each of the individual accomplishments has been added to the total picture,

the results are impressive. Breaking down the over-all job into relatively small tasks has the added virtues of revealing the precise nature of the parts of the problem, which may well have been concealed in the complex total.

Almost every phase and operation of civil defense affects and conditions, to a pronounced degree, every other phase and operation. This major factor, which complicates the day-to-day work of the Federal Civil Defense Administration, was extremely difficult to handle even in the relatively simple case of the work of PROJECT EAST RIVER. To facilitate the division of its own task into manageable parts, PROJECT EAST RIVER divided the over-all study of civil defense into the following technical or functional areas: The Destructive Threat of Atomic Weapons; Civil Defense Aspects of Biological, Chemical and Radiological Warfare; Reduction of Target Vulnerability; Disaster Services and Operations; Warning and Communication for Civil Defense; Civil Defense Health and Welfare; and Information and Training for Civil Defense. Each was then assigned to a panel composed of from six to fourteen experts whose reports are presented in the succeeding parts of this final report. The panels, in some cases, were further subdivided into appropriate committees and sub-committees.

Early in the study, agreement was reached by all members of PROJECT EAST RIVER upon a set of tentative principles and concepts that provided the essential coordination and common understanding which permitted the various technical aspects of civil defense to be grouped into functional areas for detailed study by panels. As the work progressed it became apparent that just as the concepts and principles provided the common base and main foundations for PROJECT EAST RIVER, so should they, in our opinion, be used in the complicated planning and operations required for an efficient civil defense system. PROJECT EAST RIVER has therefore formulated in Part I of its final report those principles and concepts and philosophy of organization that apply generally to the over-all problem of civil defense. These provide a common structure and guiding principles for each separate part of the problem. Such an approach permits details to be studied and then placed in proper perspective. Programming is facilitated and proper emphasis can be given to each phase of the program. The latter is especially important in cases where, because of the magnitude and complexity of the problem, a long-range program is required.

It is hoped that a statement of principles and concepts, together with a philosophy of organization, will provide the long-range essential foundation for a continually developing system of civil defense that will improve from time to time through constant analysis and through testing in the light of current developments.

This final report of PROJECT EAST RIVER does not purport to cover all phases and aspects of the problem. Much of importance had to be omitted from our studies because of limitations on time, money, and personnel. In certain instances, our information, experience, and knowledge were inadequate and it was necessary for us to suggest further study and research rather than detailed and definitive conclusions and recommendations.

A word of explanation as to the general manner in which PROJECT EAST RIVER has presented its analyses and recommendations: Where possible, recommendations have been couched in specific terms. In many instances, however,

precision was not always either appropriate or permissible. Day-to-day developments and improvements render too detailed recommendations of ephemeral value. Frequently some of the comments and recommendations have been broadly phrased intentionally so as to be applicable in varying situations and over the long term. This means that intelligent interpretation will be required in applying these to a specific condition or circumstance.

Undoubtedly, the criticism will be made that PROJECT EAST RIVER should have been more specific and detailed. The task of specific application, however, must be for those who have day-to-day responsibility for operations. PROJECT EAST RIVER has sought to recommend to these individuals, in general terms, what should be done and has intentionally left to them the working out of the exact details as to the how, when, and where.

In summary, the structure of PROJECT EAST RIVER'S final report has been built upon the following:

(1) The magnitude and complexity of the problem and the kind of a program that is required to overcome the natural and universal reaction of apathy.

(2) The manner in which the over-all task can be delimited by military measures to increase warning time and to lessen intensity of attack, and the means whereby Federal leadership can help to reduce urban vulnerability.

(3) The common principles, concepts, and organizational tenets that are coordinating guides.

(4) The analysis of major functional areas with recommendations for technical improvements therein.

PRINCIPLES AND CONCEPTS OF CIVIL DEFENSE

PROJECT EAST RIVER believes it is desirable and necessary to formulate a set of principles and concepts to serve as long-term guides and as a framework upon which an adequate civil defense system can be built. The Federal, state, and local organizations, which were given the task of producing a workable civil defense as rapidly as possible, with very limited resources of money and manpower, had to concentrate initially on solving the pressing day-to-day problems and details of organizing and operating. Frequently, there was no choice except to improvise hastily, very often on the basis of inadequate information and without time for careful study and consideration. Often it was expedient to postpone decisions for a variety of reasons. In certain instances there has been, in the absence of other guides, a copying, somewhat blindly, of our World War II civil defense experience or that of the other major countries involved in that war. In some cases, this following of past experience was justifiable and praiseworthy although, in general, caution is dictated because the present situation in the United States differs materially from that which obtained during World War II both here and abroad. The present situation is so different from that of World War II that it was prudent for the agencies concerned to refrain from a premature freezing on any set of principles or concepts. PROJECT EAST RIVER believes that the time has now come, however, when it is possible and appropriate to state the basic principles and concepts upon which the entire structure of civil defense rests. Many of these have already gained acceptance and are being followed. In fact, there is not much that is radically new or different in the principles which are formulated here.

A definition of civil defense and the context in which it is used in this report may be helpful at the outset:

DEFINITIONS OF CIVIL DEFENSE

The term "civil defense" has been officially defined in Public Law 920, 81st Congress, as:

> all those activities and measures designed or undertaken (1) to minimize the effects upon the civilian population caused, or which would be caused, by an attack upon the United States, (2) to deal with the immediate emergency conditions which would be created by any such attack, and (3) to effectuate emergency repairs to, or the emergency restoration of, vital utilities and facilities destroyed or damaged by any such attack.

The statement continues with some of the "measures to be designed or undertaken" (a) in preparation for anticipated attack, (b) during attack, and (c) following attack.

This definition is, of course, official for the agencies sponsoring PROJECT EAST RIVER, and hence is the one presumably underlying the Project's "terms of reference", although it was understood that the Project's work

should not be limited by statutory definition. However, after our investigation and deliberations of the past year, PROJECT EAST RIVER finds little reason to depart from this official statement, except possibly to simplify and extend it to cover all major disasters. PROJECT EAST RIVER uses the term "civil defense" to mean:

> all those actions, outside of the scope of direct military operations, necessary to minimize the emergency effects of enemy attack or other cause of disasters, on the home front of the United States.

Thus, civil defense, in our thinking, is synonymous with "home front disaster operations". This is not only a logical and economical concept but a necessary one if defense against disaster in wartime is to profit from the disaster experience of peacetime.

By "all those necessary actions" is meant the participation of all groups --military as well as civilian, private as well as public; there is included, also, the variety of tasks to be performed--planning, organizing, staffing, researching, training, operating--before, during and after a disaster has occurred.

By "minimize" is meant action designed to reduce our vulnerability to disaster as well as actions designed to repair the damage.

By "emergency" is meant the period, usually officially determined, between the occurrence of the disaster and either (1) the prompt return of the community to normal controls and living; or (2) the initiation of the long-term rehabilitation program. The emergency period is not apt to be the same for all activities or areas and hence will usually be the period from the occurrence of the disaster until its official termination.

By "effects on the home front" is meant casualties; panic and other forms of social disorganization; property damage and other forms of physical disruption.

By "other causes of disaster" is meant all the non-enemy causes, including industrial accidents, widespread plant and animal diseases, floods and tornadoes.

Civil defense does not include active military combat measures. It does not include the responsibility for the initiation of orders for "blackouts" nor for the imposition of the "Conelrad" system on communications. It does include assistance in enforcement of the former, and the control of the broadcast program in the latter. It does not include Federal police measures that are exclusively assigned to specific agencies charged with the responsibility for combating espionage or subversion. It does not include the supervision of any defense measures at regular military stations and atomic energy installations. However, these activities must be coordinated. Finally, civil defense does not include the long-term rehabilitation function.

The term "civil defense" as used in this report usually refers broadly to the over-all civil defense program--Federal, state, and local, and only rarely to the Federal Civil Defense Administration. The reader should note in which sense the term is used.

On the basis of the premises described in the Introduction and of the desirability of the short-range, improvised, present situation being fused as rapidly as possible into a logical and workable program, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that the following principles and concepts be accepted as the essential framework upon which an adequate civil defense system can be built:

1. Civil defense must be a permanent partner in national defense.

The development of atomic, chemical, biological, and other munitions with potentially great destructive power, capable of being directed against any part of the United States, has emphasized the urgent need for the recognition of civil defense as a coequal partner with the military in the nation's total defense planning. Like the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, civil defense must function as long as a national security program is required; it must be regarded not only as a protective element for the population and industry of the United States but also as a positive force supporting the retaliatory and counterattacking power of the armed forces. Civil defense must therefore maintain a flexibility that will enable it to function on varying scales of size and readiness in fashion similar to that of the armed forces, whose degree of readiness and mobilization attempts to anticipate the transition from peace to war and back to peace.

Whereas it is the function of the armed forces to develop and maintain the nation's defensive and offensive strength and to support civil defense, should this be necessary, it is the primary function of civil defense to inform and train the public in its civil defense tasks, reduce the vulnerability of potential targets, employ emergency measures when disaster strikes, and plan and operate any emergency program that becomes necessary.

The magnitude of the civil defense task promises to increase rather than to decrease, as destructive weapons, capable of use against concentrations of industry and population, increase in quantity and effectiveness. The war-making potential of the United States, based as it is on the nation's industrial plants, machines, and skilled workers, becomes increasingly liable to saturation attacks with the passage of time. Adequate planning and operational readiness must be attained in peacetime, because of the likelihood of a sudden full-scale first attack. Local civil defense plans must include priority measures for those plants that are critical to national security and military production.

With international tensions continuing, the problem of the development and maintenance of an alert defense over a long period becomes increasingly difficult. Historically, defensive countermeasures, including civil defense, have lagged behind the development of offensive weapons. This situation must be altered if this nation is to develop and maintain a strong and vital civil defense. Thus, it is imperative that civil defense be equipped now to serve as a permanent partner with the military in over-all national defense.

2. The civil defense program must emphasize, as a positive goal of first priority, those activities that will improve the individual citizen's chance of survival and minimize his property damage in the case of enemy attack.

The civil defense program must convince the people of the United States that because of its activities, the individual citizen's chance of survival is greatly increased and his property damage minimized. Much of the existing apathy derives not only from the magnitude of the problem but also from the mistaken impression that nothing much can be done about it. The prevailing philosophy seems to be that with loss of home, family, and friends, even should one survive oneself, there is not much sense in worrying or in doing anything now that would be directed eventually to a mere

picking up of the pieces. The average American citizen is not greatly concerned over the manner in which he is picked up after he has been killed, but he is much interested in increasing his chances for survival. This does not imply that an adequate civil defense organization would be required for what has been termed "the-pick-up-the-pieces" phase of disaster operations. This need can only be met, however, through the motivation stemming from the positive desire of the individual to increase his own chances of survival. If the positive aspects are successfully emphasized, efficiency in disaster operations will follow automatically.

3. A CIVILIAN civil defense must be developed to the maximum degree possible.

A CIVILIAN civil defense is needed because civilians are more familiar with civilian resources and their use, and because the armed forces should not be diverted from their offensive, interceptive, and defensive missions in order to undertake what is essentially a civilian responsibility. There is, indeed, an appropriate civil defense role for the Department of Defense in company with many other Federal agencies, but responsibility for both the planning and operations of civil defense should not be assigned to the Department of Defense. It would be wasteful and ineffectual for the military to attempt to duplicate the functions and capabilities of civil agencies for dealing with disaster, but military resources can and should be used to the extent that they are available. The desirable military role in civil defense is that of protection of the facilities and personnel of the armed forces and of the support of the over-all civil defense operations, but under the control and direction of civilian civil defense authorities. If civil defense were to be made the primary responsibility of the armed forces, the effects would be reflected now in larger troop requirements; and, in the event of war, in heavy pressures for the diversion of additional manpower into civil defense at the very time such manpower would be most needed to increase the Nation's offensive striking power.

Most important of all, the functions of leadership, planning, and operation of civil defense programs are so closely intermixed with the normal day-to-day functions of civil government, and affect so intimately the lives of our citizens that the extension of military direction and control in this area should be avoided.

4. Civil defense must be organized and operated on the principle that existing agencies and facilities should be used to the greatest extent possible.

Wherever possible, the functions of civil defense must be assigned to existing organizations whose normal peacetime operations include such

functions or are related to them. An organization that carries on in peacetime an activity that will be essential on an expanded basis in wartime must be assigned responsibility for that particular civil defense function. Such a policy eliminates the danger of personnel becoming inept through inaction and increases the public acceptance and confidence in the civil defense program.

On the local level, the Mayor must have the primary responsibility for civil defense, although it would be appropriate for him to name, as a deputy, a local director for civil defense to take charge of the detailed working out of the program. The police department, the fire department, the department of public works, the water supply and sanitation departments, the health department and the hospitals, the American Red Cross, and other appropriate agencies must be given the task of organizing and training themselves for their emergency role in civil defense as well as for their normal responsibilities. To them must be given the task of organizing the auxiliaries that they would need. Similarly, such public utilities as power and telephone companies must be brought into the civil defense planning and assigned responsibility for enlargement of their normal functions to meet an emergency situation.

A similar arrangement must exist at the State and Federal level. The governor, the superintendent of state police, the fire marshal, the commissioner of public works, the commissioner of agriculture, the health commissioner, and their organizations must form the nucleus of the State organization. At the national level, the Department of Agriculture, the Public Health Service, and other agencies, whose regular activities bear on civil defense, must be expected to accept their appropriate civil defense responsibilities and develop them in an integrated national program.

The divisions of local, State, and Federal governments that have been mentioned are only the more obvious examples. The complexity of the civil defense problem is such that many other agencies will be involved. For some technical services, such as fire and police services, operation areas not necessarily coterminous with political boundaries may prove desirable.

There will be, of course, some duties which cannot be assigned appropriately to any existing agency. Such functions must then become the responsibility of the civil defense organization at the appropriate level or levels of government. However, activities unique to civil defense, those that do not fall readily within the regular patterns of organization, should be absorbed to the greatest extent possible by existing offices in order that such activities may be brought within established administrative machinery and the creation of unwieldy organizational groups avoided. It must be remembered, too, that the varied elements of civil defense need not be organized on a standard or uniform basis, because of the diversity of local situations.

5. Civil defense must be accomplished, in the main, as an extension of the normal duties of various officials at all levels of government assisted by volunteers and volunteer organizations.

This statement is a reiteration of the preceding principle. It is set forth separately in order to emphasize the reliance which the civil program must place on those who are doing work on a day-to-day basis in local, State and Federal government, which is similar or comparable to that required in a civil defense emergency. Individuals and organizations doing comparable work must be used as the backbone of the civil defense effort; a duplicate, standby organization to be used only in the emergency is not only wasteful but actually impossible of achievement because of manpower limitations and the dictates of economy. Volunteers and volunteer organizations can be used most effectively as auxiliaries to strengthen going concerns.

6. The civil defense task must be delimited.

Delimitation of the civil defense task includes all measures that reduce the size, restrict the bounds, and diminish the over-all job. The principle of delimitation must be applied vigorously; otherwise the task may be so large and so unwieldy as to be hopelessly unmanageable. Three categories of measures appear to be essential: First, the Department of Defense, in its responsibility for the defense of the United States must set a high standard of performance that will assure a manageable, civilian civil defense. Second, the Federal Government must provide leadership in a long-range program that will decrease urban vulnerability and thus progressively reduce the civil defense task. And finally, in order to limit the civil defense task, all civil defense organizations must avoid unessential collateral duties.

7. The civil defense job must be accurately dimensioned as a pre-requisite to dividing it into its component parts.

After the civil defense task has been reduced in size to the extent possible, it must then be accurately dimensioned, first in whole and then in parts, in order to make possible the assignment or review of duties and responsibilities. Dimensioning is the measurement, description, and specification of the over-all civil defense task and includes a determination of the variations or tolerances in the measurement process. If the precision of measurement is poor or if the variations of the task are potentially very great, then in effect, there is no satisfactory dimensioning at all. Precise dimensioning is a necessary pre-requisite to the division of the civil defense task into fixed manageable parts, to the allocation of these tasks, and to the assignment of specific responsibilities.

8. Civil defense functions must be clearly defined and responsibility for each function precisely assigned.

The task of civil defense in an emergency is so complex and so dependent on many agencies of government that the proper assignment of responsibility for a stipulated standard of performance is of critical importance if effective performance and coordination are to be attained. These can be attained only if the total operation is subdivided into manageable and precisely described tasks, and explicit responsibility for a stipulated standard of performance assigned to particular persons and agencies.

9. Civil defense must conform to traditional and accepted methods, means, and organizations in carrying out its program.

Civil defense will not be successful if it attempts to change drastically traditional and accepted methods, means, and organization on the assumption that the circumstances of a civil defense emergency may require it. It is better for civil defense to adjust to existing ways than to attempt to force drastic changes even though these might easily be justified on the grounds of greater efficiency in emergency operations. Similarly, civil defense should not seek, on the grounds of civil defense necessity, to impose drastic changes in the customary and accepted role of government. It does not follow, of course, that desirable changes and improvements, dictated by normal peacetime needs, as well as by civil defense emergency, are thus precluded.

10. Dual use of equipment and facilities for civil defense should be encouraged to the maximum practical degree.

"Dual use" is the term applied to the utilization of equipment and facilities for both normal civilian requirements and civil defense needs. A civilian civil defense can best be carried out on a continuing, permanent basis if fullest use is made of every opportunity to obtain dual use of equipment, facilities and public improvements. If civil defense purposes can be achieved on an economical and effective basis through the use of a non-disaster facility, it should be subsidized in the amount necessary to cover the cost of necessary and desirable modification for civil defense usage. Further, a facility that can be justified solely on the grounds of civil de-

fense may be used for peacetime purposes, but such peacetime purposes should not be used to justify the project. The peacetime use must not jeopardize the availability of the facility for disaster purposes. The objections to dual use are recognized, and it is understood that this principle must be carefully and gradually applied.

11. All areas of the United States are not of equal vulnerability to the several elements of the threat and civil defense programs must be adjusted to the requirements of the individual area.

It is evident that metropolitan areas, and other areas containing critical industrial or military installations, are peculiarly susceptible to the threat of atomic destruction. Large concentrations of population offer special problems of health, medical services, shelter, and evacuation. On the other hand, rural areas may be peculiarly involved in biological warfare against crops and animal food supplies. Areas including smaller towns and population groups, not immediately contiguous to vulnerable urban districts and other vulnerable targets, provide a major source of mobile support and constitute reception areas. The particular nature of the threat in each area must be determined, and the civil defense effort therein should provide protection against this threat and give the necessary support to other areas. In particular, full recognition should be given to the fact that identical plans and programs are not justified in all areas and that the strongest civil defense effort arises from full recognition of the advantages and dangers in each area.

12. Civil defense must be effectively organized with priorities for the most critical target and immediate support areas and then extended to other areas.

Civil defense must be well organized first in the most critical target and nearby support areas on a priority basis. This does not mean that any individual or any community susceptible to attack should be discouraged from taking the initiative in improving the chances of survival, reducing the possible damage to facilities, and increasing the ability to repair damage. It does suggest that both the Federal and state governments give emphasis and assistance first to critical target and support areas. An effective civil defense administration should exercise the leadership necessary to make civil defense highly effective on a priority basis, beginning with the most critical areas first and then proceeding to achieve an effective program progressively throughout the country. The entire nation is affected, but under greatly varying circumstances. Programs inappropriate to a locality must be avoided, otherwise a few absurd incidents will be magnified and used as an indictment of the entire program.

13. Reduction of target vulnerability is an essential function of civil defense.

Reduction of urban-target vulnerability is as important a part of the over-all civil defense program as is disaster control. Positive action looking toward the dispersal of new urban development and toward rendering existing cities less vulnerable to attack is essential if we are to keep pace with the rate of new weapon development. Such action can be made practicable if undertaken on both a short-term and a long-term basis. The people and productive capacity that represent the greatest single source of our defense production and of our ability to mount a counterattack are concentrated in the nation's metropolitan areas. These relatively few urban areas will probably always be targets and cannot be rendered invulnerable, but they can be made relatively less attractive targets and their physical structure can be improved so as to make them better able to withstand attack, with resulting increase in the probability of industrial survival. In the coming period of mass production of atomic bombs and other unconventional weapons, the nation which makes its urban concentrations less vulnerable than its enemy's will gain an advantage which might be decisive to the outcome of war.

If our urban areas are to be rendered progressively less lucrative targets, a positive policy of dispersion, or spacing of new developments in line with standards of relative security from weapons effects is required. Such a policy is in line with general trends of new residential, commercial, and industrial development in the environs of metropolitan areas. Our cities can be made safer from attack only by adoption and implementation of a positive policy of requiring the incorporation into new buildings of structural features designed to increase protection to people and the means of production. Redevelopment of the more vulnerable parts of urban areas is also essential. Here, also, defense needs coincide with sound peacetime practice for city building and redevelopment.

14. Because of its complexity and magnitude, the civil defense task must be a continuing operation, carefully programmed.

As a part of national defense, civil defense must be a continuing task. Its complexity and magnitude require careful programming and steady and continuing activity over a period of years. Military priorities should not be used as an excuse for reducing the civil defense effort below an effective level, nor for interrupting the momentum of a continuing program. Civil defense priorities for areas should be associated with phasing and should include development of the program, recruitment of a hard core

of trained workers, provision of information to the public and expansion of the volunteer program. A properly designed civil defense system requires a permanent continuing program; in this atomic era it cannot be a temporary emergency program.

15. The civil defense program must place first reliance on the efforts of the individual and of the community to increase chances of survival, to minimize damage, and to recover as quickly as possible in the eventuality of an enemy attack.

The civil defense program must proceed on the basis of teaching individuals and communities to help themselves. Although necessary incentive is provided by the instinct of self-preservation, an added incentive is the natural desire to help others.

The State should be expected to assist with its resources any community when its local resources are exhausted. States should be prepared to assist each other, and similarly, the Federal Government should be expected to assist the States concerned when the outside help required in any area is beyond their capacity.

In effect, this means that civil defense rests first on the individual citizen. Likewise, reliance is placed on the community to exhaust its resources before State help is called, and on the State to do all it can before requesting help from the Federal Government.

Information and Training for Civil Defense

Part IX
of the
Report of

PROJECT EAST RIVER

September, 1952

Prepared under Signal Corps Contract No. DA-49-025-SC-96

Associated Universities, Inc.
New York, New York

September 5, 1942

The Honorable Millard Caldwell, Administrator,
Federal Civil Defense Administration
The Honorable Jack Gorrie, Chairman,
National Security Resources Board
The Honorable Robert A. Lovett, The Secretary of Defense

Dear Sirs:

This Part IX of the Final Report of PROJECT EAST RIVER is the report of the Panel on Public Information and Training for Civil Defense. The programs of the Federal Civil Defense Administration for informing the public and for training and educating civil defense workers in the light of the more important needs of civil defense have been studied by the Panel members. This report includes their recommendations for improvements.

In many respects, the investigations and studies of the Panel on Public Information and Training have been discouraging. In no other phase of the civil defense program are there more difficulties and resistance to be overcome. Civil defense is not a popular subject. People do not wish to be bothered nor do they want to think about it. They believe they have more important things to do than "play soldier or boy scout." Not only do people think this way but government officials at the Federal, state and local levels all too often act this way. Because civil defense interferes with normal routines, the general attitude is — it can wait until tomorrow or, at least, until the first atomic bomb goes off.

The essential task of public information and training is to create an enduring position of prestige and authoritativeness for the civil defense organization and program in our probable future way of life. The tremendous enterprise of building public understanding and confidence goes hand-in-hand with the obligation to provide factual information and specific technical training. These are the overriding aims against which the present state of public information and training for civil defense have been evaluated.

During its relatively short history, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has developed public information and training material of considerable range and size. It has been beyond the capability of the Panel to examine all of this large product in detail. However, an adequate basic sample of these materials was studied. The Panel concentrated on examining the important concepts, aims, and means which have

governed these activities. In this, the Panel was assisted with great frankness by personnel of the Federal Civil Defense Administration responsible for public information and training and education. Thus, many of the recommendations either endorse or are in the nature of adding refinements to existing policies and procedures. Other recommendations, however, call for fundamental revision of civil defense doctrine in order to integrate civil defense into its proper position of general preparedness.

Certain of the recommendations, particularly those bearing on ways of enhancing in the eyes of the public and governmental personnel acceptance of civil defense, go beyond measures which the Federal Civil Defense Administration can alone attempt. There is at stake the whole concept of civil defense as an integral component of national defense, both in the eyes of the people and in the estimates of its sister agencies. Some of our recommendations, therefore, are directed to agencies other than the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

PROJECT EAST RIVER has set forth recommendations in this Part IX which should make inroads into the hard kernel of indifference and lack of support of the civil defense program. Problems of education and training involving the adult population of the nation cannot be solved overnight. A recognition and understanding of the importance of civil defense by the public, and of its permanence and continuity, and of its need for Federal, state and local leadership of competence are goals that PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends with full realization of their difficulty of achievement.

Sincerely,

Otto L. Nelson Jr

OTTO L. NELSON, JR.
Director
Project East River

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Panel on Public Information and Training acknowledges with appreciation the cooperation of members of the Public Affairs Office and Training and Education Office in the Federal Civil Defense Administration and Officers in the Department of Defense and the National Security Resources Board. Valuable assistance has been received from representatives of several public relations firms and leaders in the field of psychology and education.

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INTRODUCTION

This Panel was established to investigate and make recommendations for implementing the information, training, and education programs dealing with civil defense. The studies dealt mainly with (1) the development of public information and training requirements for national and individual survival; (2) an educational program that emphasizes the psychological well-being of the nation; and (3) the methods which Federal, state, and local civil defense organizations should employ to satisfy these requirements.

In many respects, information, training, and education programs overlap. In this report, information is viewed as that which gives form and direction to people's thoughts and actions; it is intelligence in the military sense and knowledge in the educational sense. At the time of attack, information includes direction in the command sense and support and counsel in the psychological sense. Education is the more directed effort to inform; particularly, it is the long-range programmed effort towards the development of civil defense concepts, methods, and attitudes. Training is the development of specific proficiencies, habits, and skills for particular situations.

The assessments and recommendations offered are those seen as most pressing in furthering the acceptance, progress, and development of civil defense. Proper public attitudes and behavior are important elements of a sound civil defense. The difficulty of this informational, educational and training task is proportional to its size. And civil defense is undertaking one of the largest mass programs the nation has ever essayed.

In the problem of civil defense, the information and training programs are of paramount importance. Through these programs the nation will take heed and learn and participate. Without adequate information there is little incentive to train. Without adequate information the people have no way of knowing that civil defense is not a "boondoggle"; that the defense of the nation's resources transcends the military's ability and responsibility.

If our various recommendations have a single unifying keynote, it is this: *just as civil defense has been conceived as the primary responsibility of the people, so, nothing less than a public well-practiced and fully informed can carry out civil defense if any enemy should strike.*

We have, on grounds of available research, regarded public ignorance—especially momentary ignorance in time of emergency—as one of the greatest threats to the safety of our people. We have faced and rejected in our thought whatever, except from direct necessity, would obstruct the essential flow of facts to people under stress. We are cognizant of the attractions of strict censorship, but we are greatly concerned to make sure that in time of crisis, neither enemy agents nor hysterical citizens should usurp the sources of information.

Although the recommendations are not directed to any one Federal agency, they have principal significance for the Federal Civil Defense Administration. In general, they indicate the need for refinements and certain changes in procedure as well as better understanding among the agencies concerned with these problems.

Recommendations dealing with public information are submitted in Section I; those concerned with training and education appear in Section II. Appendix IX-A indicates the nature of further research to increase civil defense informational and training effectiveness. Appendix IX-B contains a discussion of panic prevention and control.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are proposed by the Panel on Public Information and Training:

Section I - Public Information

A. SPECIAL ASPECTS OF CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM

1. The public should be informed that there is a continuing possibility of an attack upon the United States but the emphasis should be not on its likelihood or imminence but rather on the results of such an attack. This approach should be allied to an emphasis that a thorough civil defense effort reduces the likelihood of enemy attack and increases the likelihood of individual survival.

2. Civil defense information and recruitment programs should utilize appeals that are as personally motivating as possible. Such a program would take advantage of motives that are calculated to give long-range and maximal benefits to civil defense. Motives such as personal reward, prestige, and community improvement can be utilized over long periods of organization and readiness, and can be tied to personal and immediate rewards.

3. The Federal Civil Defense Administration should explore further devices for face-to-face dissemination of information and for recruiting volunteers.

4. The active informational program should be intensified to better acquaint the public with the problems and realities of biological and chemical warfare. Secondarily, a program should be undertaken and intensified to correct the beliefs in exaggerated effects of atomic radiation. As other weapons become available, campaigns should be undertaken to inform the public about them and how to minimize their effects.

5. The more specialized parts of the public information program should be phased to successive steps of motivating, planning, organizing, recruiting and training leaders, and recruiting and training requisite numbers of other civil defense workers.

B. THE FEDERAL ROLE IN PROVIDING AUTHORITATIVE INFORMATION

1. All interested governmental agencies should support the concept of civil defense. The Federal Civil Defense Administration should assume responsibility and thus gain recognition as the official agency for issuing information bearing primarily on civil defense.

2. An inter-agency committee on civil defense technical information should be established.

3. As the principal agency concerned with civil defense in this country, the Federal Civil Defense Administration should further develop and coordinate authoritative information for informing the general public and for use in civil defense training and education programs. Emphasis should be placed on those aspects of civil defense information and training that will supplement related state and local efforts.

4. The total publications program of the Federal Civil Defense Administration should be thoroughly reviewed.

5. The leaders of national policy should support the concept that civil defense is an important and inseparable part of total defense, along with military, economic, diplomatic, and psychological activities. They should vigorously inform the public of this fact.

6. The National Security Resources Board should advise the President to recommend to Congress that a separate committee be formed for the consideration of Federal Civil Defense Administration affairs.

7. The National Security Resources Board should periodically advise the President to make public analyses of the accomplishments and deficiencies of civil defense preparedness in the light of enemy capabilities. This analysis would be based upon the National Security Council's estimate of the military threat facing the nation and an evaluation of the adequacy of military and civil defense relative to that threat.

C. DISASTER INFORMATION

1. To provide for full public information the present "Interim Conelrad Plan" should be revised in accordance with the recommendations of PROJECT EAST RIVER Panel on Warning and Communications.

2. The "yellow" alert should be made public throughout the country by means of radio and other mass media, and the Conelrad plan should go into effect at the same time.

3. A direct two-way information channel should be created that bridges the gap from the Air Defense Control Center to the key points to the local civil defense director.

4. The Department of Defense should assign to the Air Force the mission of furnishing to the Civil Air Raid Warning Officer at the Air Defense Control Center all information compatible with military security to help make civil defense workable.

5. As soon as a critical overt attack is detected, the Federal Civil Defense Administration should inform the public of the threat by methods outlined in the chart on page 28. Regardless of the amount of warning, the procedures indicated should be followed throughout the entire period of alert, attack, and immediate post-attack.

6. To direct useful activity and to avert panic or disorganization from the moment of warning of a possible attack, civil defense organizations should furnish the public with a full flow of facts and directions.

7. To detect and counteract dangerous public reactions during attack, the communications system requires a circuit leading back from wardens' areas to control centers. Over this return channel, appropriate civil defense personnel should report rumors and dangerous public conditions so that these may be countered by authoritative information and instruction.

D. CENSORSHIP

1. The withholding of information from the public should be limited only to that information which would result in far greater damage if released to the public, and thereby to the enemy, than might result from the actions of a poorly informed public. The simple criterion of merely "giving aid and comfort to the enemy" is obsolescent.

SECTION II - TRAINING AND EDUCATION

A. FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY

1. The Federal Civil Defense Administration should assist state and local civil defense organizations in establishing and developing information, training, and education programs. State and local civil

defense should bear a greater responsibility for training and training materials than they have up to the present.

2. Every state should permit the use of civil defense forces in peacetime disasters.

B. FEDERAL STAFF COLLEGE

1. The Federal Civil Defense Administration Staff College should function as a Command and Staff School for key civil defense personnel. Its principal functions should be:

a. To provide a general orientation in the problems of total defense;
b. To train students in administrative and operational techniques;
c. To contribute to the development and evaluation of civil defense doctrine, materials, organization and tactical plans through critical testing of basic assumptions and plans;
d. To provide short courses, seminars and conferences on specific elements of civil defense that are of national concern.

2. Section 201(e) of Public Law 920 (81st Congress) should be used for, or amended to permit, payment by the Federal Civil Defense Administration of necessary expenses for those attending or conducting Staff College programs.

C. FEDERAL TECHNICAL TRAINING SCHOOLS

1. The Federal Civil Defense Administration Technical Training Schools should be used to train instructors for the civil defense services and to offer advanced technical training not available elsewhere.

2. Section 201(e) of Public Law 920 (81st Congress) should be used for, or amended to permit, payment of expenses incurred by anyone attending the Federal Civil Defense Administration training schools or special classes.

D. CIVIL DEFENSE IN THE NATION'S SCHOOLS

In addition to the present short-range training and education program, there should be included and developed within the schools and colleges civil defense courses and training through appropriate curricula.

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SECTION I - PUBLIC INFORMATION

A. SPECIAL ASPECTS OF CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM

1. Obstacles to Acceptance

In the civil defense field the obstacles and handicaps which a public information program faces are so great as to cause reasonable doubt that the desired public information program can ever be satisfactorily carried out. Certainly, if the needed program is to be achieved, it will come only because of a complete understanding of these obstacles and the adaptations required to overcome them.

One major handicap has been the harm to public understanding arising out of security restrictions. The necessity to safeguard military information which would aid an enemy is an obstacle to complete public understanding that, of course, cannot be surmounted; however, there is a substantial twilight zone of information which should and could be made available—some to civil defense workers only but in the most part to all citizens.

A second obstacle is the reticence of the military forces to accredit civil defense as a partner along with the Army, Navy, and Air Force on the national security team. The armed forces normally have difficulty convincing the Congress and the public to make available the tremendous sums which they believe to be necessary for military defense. With such a difficult problem of their own, it is understandable that they are unwilling to dissipate the effectiveness of their appeal for military funds by emphasizing the importance and needs of civil defense. In addition, there may be the apprehension that by stressing the importance and scope of the civil defense task they are thereby making a major admission concerning their own lack of confidence in doing what ideally they should hope to do, i.e., have such an effective military defense that little need be done by civil defense. And yet it is only the spokesman of the military forces who can convince the people of the United States concerning the problem of both civil and military defense and the respective roles of each. It is to our professional military leaders that the people look to for authoritative statements on national defense.

A third obstacle is the psychological lag that makes it far more difficult to arouse interest and action on defensive matters as contrasted to offensive weapons and actions. Offensive weapons such as the atomic

bomb are dramatic and captivate the public interest; the prosaic and commonplace action required for a passive defense program which includes civil defense yields no such interest factors.

The fourth obstacle is what may bluntly be described as a heritage of somewhat silly and foolish incidents which, viewed from the vantage point of hindsight, cause many people to think that civil defense is a "boondoggling" project. This feeling, shared by many Federal officials as a carry-over from World War II days, gains momentum when present civil defense activities appear to be misguided or have faulty objectives in the opinion of such people.

2. Enlisting Public Support

There are four types of appeals to stimulate civil defense effort. These can be summarized as follows:

a. An appeal based on the likelihood and imminence of attack
b. An appeal involving the idea of civil defense as insurance against extreme damage
c. An appeal basing civil defense on the idea of reducing the likelihood of attack
d. An appeal identifying civil defense with needed civic improvement and necessarily efficient peacetime community activity.

Thus far, the major appeal has been on the likelihood and imminence of attack. The country, now in its second year of major civil defense effort, has not responded to the continuous campaign stressing the need for civil defense. Since the appeal has not led to durable results, new ways must be found for establishing a sounder basis for civil defense needs and participation. Therefore, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends:

> *The public should be informed that there is a continuing possibility of an attack upon the United States, but the emphasis should be not on its likelihood or imminence—rather on the results of such an attack. This approach should be allied to an emphasis that a thorough civil defense effort reduces the likelihood of enemy attack and increases the likelihood of individual survival.*

Civil defense as a means of protection and a way of recovery from attack may seem wasteful of time, money and energy if the probability of attack is seen as very low indeed. Moreover, apathy and dis-

couragement are likely to occur if no attack develops within a short time and preparedness is sold on a "get ready for tomorrow" basis. The terrible results of such an attack are so well recognized and feared that any evidence contradicting its likelihood tends to gain popular acceptance as an escape from the threat.

However, if civil defense is needed to lessen the effects of atomic attack, no matter how improbable its occurrence, there is little chance of evidence to contradict this need. The informational effort should stress civil defense as a factor "in keeping the peace" and as a deterrent to possible enemy action in that targets become less attractive if they are prepared. Further, the public should be informed that an adequate civil defense can reduce casualties materially.

Attitude studies[1] to determine how likely the public views the possibility of atomic attack on United States cities indicate a major barrier to involvement and activity in civil defense is the feeling that "it can't happen here" or "to my family" or "to my city." This belief is tied to one that the country will not be attacked, or, if attacked, the military could prevent the attacking force from getting through and causing any serious damage. The idea that the military can perform this miracle is on the increase and is held by a majority of the population—by both those who feel that war is quite probable and those who discount the chances of war. Although the military cannot and need not admit failure or weakness at any point, the necessity for civil defense as an adjunct to the military in modern warfare must be realized.

Once the United States is not seen as completely impregnable, the rationale for civil defense seems more apparent. The developments of the next few years are not likely to offer evidence in contradiction to such a rationale for a civil defense effort.

3. Motives for Civil Defense Participation

There is a range of motives to which civil defense can appeal. At one end are personally intense motives of self-preservation which arise only in times of emergency. At the other end are durable motives such as those of patriotism, which, however, are not personally intense. The most useful motives lie between those that are extremely personal

[1] University of Michigan Survey Research Center—

January 1952: Atomic Warfare and Civil Defense	*December 1951:* Defense of Our Cities	*and March 1952:* The Public and Civil Defense

but transitory and those that are remote and impersonal. Therefore,

> *Civil defense information and recruitment programs should utilize appeals that are as personally motivating as possible. Such a program would take advantage of motives that are calculated to give long-range and maximal benefits to civil defense. Motives such as personal reward, prestige, and community improvement can be utilized over long periods of organization and readiness and can be tied to personal and immediate rewards.*

Civil defense information programs allied with organizational and training efforts will be successful only if they tap strong, driving motives that have personal significance, if they use motives that can replace and reinforce each other, if they offer rewards that are not delayed to some future attack, and if the aroused motivations can be maintained over long periods of time.

Motives of personal survival are only valuable when the danger is present or when there is almost certainty of disaster. These motives are difficult to arouse and are dangerous; if the danger does not materialize, the resulting feelings of needless effort and wasted time create barriers to a later effort.

The motives for national survival, without the needs for personal survival, become very impersonal and distant. They become weak and involve the dangers of apathy and discouragement if an attack does not materialize.

The strong but not easily dissipated motives connected with day-to-day activities should be tied to civil defense. The motive to improve one's status and position in life is almost continuously operative. The reward of prestige virtually always arouses effort. Activities that involve one's neighbors, fellow club members and co-workers are motivating, rewarding and difficult to resist since they carry considerable social force and persuasion. If civil defense can be linked to doing a better job as a fireman, policeman, school teacher, mayor, doctor, nurse, engineer, plumber, etc., and if rewards, prestige, pay and advancement take into account the development of civil defense skills, greater public participation and interest in civil defense will follow.

The emphasis should be that civil defense is imbedded in the functioning of the local community, whether it be medical or school facilities, health services, civic and political practices, confidence in leadership or the many other ways in which specialist and layman work

together. The improvement of community agencies, functions, and activities should be identified as contributing to civil defense; conversely, civil defense activities should be recognized as contributing to the efficient functioning of the community.

This recommendation does not imply that social or governmental reform be effected under the guise of civil defense planning. Rather, a good civil defense will result in a better community.

4. Effective Personal Appeals

To capitalize on those motivations that are most likely to produce desirable results, civil defense agencies should supplement the mass informational campaigns and recruitment drives by other methods that are consistent with these motivations. The motivations recommended thus far lend themselves particularly well to campaigns directed at individuals or small groups. Accordingly, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

> *The Federal Civil Defense Administration should explore further devices for face-to-face dissemination of information and for recruiting volunteers.*

There is some evidence that face-to-face solicitation succeeds in enlisting public support where other methods fail. Studies of the sale of United States Savings Bonds during the last war showed that despite the intensive advertising in radio, magazines, and newspapers, the single most effective selling device was personal visitation. While there are no studies evaluating the effectiveness of personal visitation for recruiting civil defense volunteers, there is evidence that this method succeeds where other attempts have not.[2] Civil defense, faced with the difficult problems of enlisting wide public effort, should make main use of the same device. Local wardens and workers should visit individual families to bring them an immediate sense of the community program, answer questions, clear away doubts about civil defense, instruct in household preparations, and recruit personnel.

Besides individual solicitation, group and neighborhood meetings should be held in which the techniques of group discussion and decision are used to stimulate interest and activity. These techniques involve raising problems for community action, airing and answering helpfully the prejudices and doubts, and reaching group agreement on

[2] The experiences of the Binghamton, N. Y. and Berkeley, California civil defense organizations confirm this belief.

things which people then feel willing to cooperate in doing. Such meetings have been successful in overcoming individual apathy and in furnishing community decision and support for personal and group activity.

5. Providing Weapons Information

The information programs of the Federal Civil Defense Administration and some of the state and local organizations have been effective in acquainting the public with basic civil defense data. According to a recent study,[3] two out of every three people have a generally accurate idea of what civil defense is. However, the public still is not accurately informed about the effects of the atomic bomb. Also, the potentialities of biological and chemical weapons are relatively unknown. Ignorance concerning modern weapons and their effect on lives and property can be disastrous. Accordingly, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

> *The active informational program should be intensified to better acquaint the public with the problems and realities of atomic, biological, and chemical warfare. Secondarily, a program should be undertaken and intensified to correct the beliefs in exaggerated effects of atomic radiation. As other weapons become available, campaigns should be undertaken to inform the public about them and how to minimize their effects.*

Information to insure protection and survival should take precedence over correctional education. Appropriate behavior at the time of attack requires sound information on both the nature of the weapon or the missile and the protective steps to be followed.

Despite the Federal Civil Defense Administration publications in the field, the possibilities, dangers, and extent of biological or chemical attack are known only to relatively few. The public is aware that such an attack is possible, but it does not realize the lethal, crippling, disruptive and disorganizational potentialities of these weapons. Only a thorough program of preparedness, phased with the development and availability of preventive measures and equipment, can avoid some or all the dangers.

Research on the public's ideas on effects of atomic attack indicates a tendency for a majority of the people to regard radiation effects as a major hazard. The public needs to be advised of the general error

[3] University of Michigan Study: THE PUBLIC AND CIVIL DEFENSE, March, 1952.

in this belief and acquainted with the circumstances under which the belief might be true. This is especially important since dangers from radiation are, of all effects of atomic attack, the least perceptible to the public at large. As such, these dangers become stimuli to panic at the time of attack, one more deterrent to civil defense preparedness, unless protective measures and information are provided.

As other weapons, such as radiological warfare, become more imminent, their realities and potentialities should be presented to the public in such a manner that their panic potential is reduced and the public learns how to minimize their effects.

6. Phasing Public Information

A logical implementation of the successful public information program should provide for the growth of civil defence in terms of professional standards. Such a development embraces the concept of civil defense on a continuing basis. This requires a durable public informational and training program; one that will develop proper public attitudes, knowledge, and skills to meet the ongoing threat. A re-examination of current civil defense information, training, and education programs is suggested. PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

> *The more specialized parts of the public-information program should be phased to successive steps of motivating, planning, organizing, recruiting and training leaders, and recruiting and training requisite numbers of other civil defense workers.*

The task of providing general information on self-protection is a continuing one. Such information is valuable whenever repeated and over an indefinitely long time. But the appropriateness of other kinds of information bearing on special recruiting, particularly volunteer work, and other somewhat more specialized aspects of civil defense preparation depends upon the state of organization which has been achieved. The timing of information should be more clearly phased[4] to the timing of the organizational program. It is impossible to phase successfully the informational program if the other aspects of the program are not also phased.

Although there are several ways in which the sequential steps might be viewed and related to one another, the following breakdown

[4] Phasing refers to the logical sequence in developing civil defense to a proper state of readiness.

may serve as an illustration:

a. Motivation
b. Planning
c. Development of organization
d. Recruiting and training of leaders
e. Recruiting and training of workers

These steps are initiated in the order listed, and each is brought to a reasonable degree of development before proceeding to the next step. Work continues on the previous steps as each new one is activated. Such has not been the case thus far.

The Federal Government started the process quite correctly by first recognizing the need for civil defense and initiating planning activities. However, problems of national policy which had to be resolved delayed the development of a Federal organization. During this period, a few states proceeded with organizational and recruiting phases, without knowledge of what Federal policies and plans would be. Other states took no action. The diversity of levels of civil defense preparedness among the states made the Federal job more difficult when the Federal Civil Defense Administration was finally created.

With the advent of the Korean difficulties, it appeared that the civil defense structure of the nation should be brought to a state of readiness at the earliest possible moment to meet an immediate threat. Many states and the Federal Government jumped into the business of recruiting workers and leaders before the organizational structure and training programs were ready. As a result, relatively few volunteers were recruited, for the motivational program did not keep pace with recruiting efforts. Many volunteers were quickly disillusioned, for organizational structure and training programs were not ready.

It is time to take stock of what has happened and go forward on a sound, phased schedule. For example, if one knew that this country were to be attacked tomorrow, and that additional airplanes of advanced design were urgently needed, they could not be produced overnight. Models would have to be designed and tested; production and materials schedules would have to be established before production began, perhaps in new factories. Similarly, a civil defense organization must have a step-by-step development.

The information program should be governed by the phasing applied to the over-all civil defense program. However, the information program itself also needs phasing. Plans must be made for each successive phase of the informational program well in advance of its initiation.

B. THE FEDERAL ROLE IN PROVIDING AUTHORITATIVE INFORMATION

1. Federal Civil Defense Administration and Other Agencies

The Federal Civil Defense Administration and state and local civil defense organizations share the responsibility for preparing the nation to meet disaster, if it strikes. Such preparations, no matter how sound in concept and technical in plan, can have but little value unless the people are favorably receptive, thoroughly oriented into a general awareness of their responsibilities, and trained to take proper actions. Carefully planned and widely implemented information, training, and education programs are required to achieve this state of readiness. Orientation must be continuous, with phasing of emphasis in terms of the nature of the threat.

At the national level, the Federal Civil Defense Administration is primarily responsible for developing basic civil defense policies, plans, and doctrine for achieving a state of readiness or preparedness. Its success will depend, in a large measure, on the degree to which its mission is supported by the public and other Federal agencies with major interests in civil defense. To gain this support and to keep it over a long time, the civil defense program must be technically sound, economically feasible, and politically acceptable—in short, the program must merit public interest and support if it is to have public backing.

The relation of civil defense to other elements of national security, the measures required to achieve a sound civil defense program, and the organization of civil defense to implement that program are discussed in other parts of the report of PROJECT EAST RIVER. The discussion and recommendations of this part of the report are based on the assumption that the civil defense program is continuously improved along the lines suggested by PROJECT EAST RIVER.

To provide authoritative information to the public, the following requirements must be met:

a. The information must exist. Information may include estimates and opinions, but these must in the end be based on facts. Factual information is the single, most important element of a successful information program. If information is reliable, the public will forgive shortcomings in form and style of presentation. But if the public comes to realize that its information is nothing more than rumor, fiction, or hypothesis, all confidence in the information program will disappear. To regain this lost confidence is a long and arduous task. To insure that there is an adequate factual basis for releases of civil defense information to

the public, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has the duty and responsibility of seeing that research, development, test exercises, and such other measures as may be required are vigorously prosecuted with the over-all objective of providing a factual basis for the civil defense program.

b. The information must be in a form presentable to the public. This requirement covers two related but distinct characteristics. One is concerned with the need for what is essentially a translation from highly technical terms to equally correct but more easily comprehended language; this includes, of course, visual aids such as charts, maps or pictures. This translation process is one of the duties and responsibilities of the Public Affairs Office of the Federal Civil Defense Administration. As many agencies, both government and private, issue information pertinent to civil defense, the Public Affairs Office has the further duty and responsibility of monitoring all such information releases and, when deemed necessary, of supplying promptly a translation.

The other characterstic is security. Much information is classified and thus cannot be presented in a straightforward manner to the public. Frequently, this information has been classified in an honest effort to protect the interests of the United States, but, unknowingly, by denying the information to the public the civil defense program has suffered far more than any damage that might have resulted from a free public release. The Federal Civil Defense Administration has much at stake in this issue but it does not have the power and authority to act alone. A decision on security requires judgment over the interests of the Departments of State and Defense, the National Security Resources Board, and the Federal Civil Defense Administration. In short, the decision must be based on a review of the over-all interests of the United States, not on the interests of a single agency.

c. The information must be issued in an authoritative manner. Information released through leaks to "rumor" columns, or similar devices, is effective in stimulating public interest. Public acceptance and response come only if the information is given with authority. In view of the great diversity of possible sources of information, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has a particularly difficult task both in establishing itself as an authoritative source of civil defense information and in maintaining some degree of control over the civil defense information releases by other sources.

For the Federal Civil Defense Administration to achieve this necessary authoritativeness, two major steps are suggested. Recommendation:

All interested Government agencies should support the civil defense program. The Federal Civil Defense Administration should assume responsibility and thus gain recognition as the official agency for issuing information bearing primarily on civil defense.

There have been several deterrents to the acceptance of the role of the Federal Civil Defense Administration. The newness of the agency accompanied by a normal, relatively slow recognition of its role by other Federal agencies has contributed to the situation. The National Security Resources Board and the Department of Defense, which earlier had responsibility for civil defense, have retained interest in the activity, and some duplication and lack of clarification of function have resulted. This situation is now improving, but it is essential that continued effort be directed to coordinating all interests in this area.

Civil defense at the national level necessarily moves in the field of national security affecting the interests of other Federal departments and agencies. As a result, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has continuing and growing interests coincident with those of the Departments of Defense and Agriculture, the National Security Resources Board, the Public Health Service, U. S. Office of Education, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the American Red Cross, and Federal Communications Commission. Only through a continuing program of education and indoctrination can these agencies become more fully aware of their responsibilities in civil defense and their relationship with the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

Since each agency is now in the process of working out its civil defense functions, such preparedness should be coordinated through a central agency charged with the primary civil defense responsibility. Further, the total result of these efforts should be made known by the Federal Civil Defense Administration and cooperating agencies to assure complete coverage of all problems. Agencies, such as the Department of Defense, have issued statements to the public on civil defense, for example on the possibility of attack and the nature and effects of biological and chemical warfare.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration must recognize that it will never gain complete control over civil defense information releases by other agencies. Such control over state and local agencies, including private agencies, would verge on Federal censorship and would be most undesirable. At the Federal level, there can be no control as long as agencies must be opportunists in striving for attention and support in the annual battle for Congressional appropriations. On the other

hand, the Federal Civil Defense Administration should avoid the embarrassing position of learning for the first time through a public release by an outside agency of a significant civil defense development. The Federal Civil Defense Administration can avoid this embarrassing position if it establishes and maintains adequate liaison with those agencies whose affairs are likely to impinge on civil defense.[5]

Furthermore, through good liaison, the Federal Civil Defense Administration can anticipate information releases by other agencies and can be prepared to follow through promptly, exploiting and capitalizing as much as possible the efforts of the other agencies. And finally, by keeping abreast of current developments through good liaison and by monitoring unanticipated releases, the Federal Civil Defense Administration can perform a real service for civil defense by translating such releases or relating them promptly to the civil defense objectives and program.

Each Federal agency should coordinate its civil defense efforts through the Federal Civil Defense Administration in the same manner that activities having military or agricultural or internal security aspects would be coordinated with the Departments of Defense, Agriculture, and Justice, respectively. This need is exemplified by the Department of Defense working policy on the dissemination of information on matters of primary importance to civil defense. This policy represents an example of poor coordination, since the Federal Civil Defense Administration has the primary responsibility by Public Law 920 (81st Congress) "to publicly disseminate appropriate civil defense information by all appropriate means."

If any Federal agency were to release civil defense information independently, there is no assurance that this information would not be counter to the Federal Civil Defense Administration doctrine or out-of-phase with its program. However, a coordinated effort would help shed maximum light upon any new civil defense development.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration and its predecessor in the National Security Resources Board have taken first steps in a number of areas to become recognized as the primary source of civil defense information. Examples of this effort include publications such as "Health Services and Special Weapons Defense" and "Fire Effects of Bombing Attacks" for the professional worker, and "Survival Under Atomic Attack" and "What You Should Know About Biological War-

[5] See PROJECT EAST RIVER Report, Part VI: DISASTER SERVICES AND OPERATIONS.

fare" for the general public. These types of source material should be developed in all areas of civil defense.

Such publications require collaboration with other agencies. The Federal Civil Defense Administration with the cooperation of other agencies should extend its coordinating activities to assure the continuing availability of new and appropriate information brought together in the most useful forms. Recommendation:

> *An inter-agency committee in technical information should be established.*

This committee would help bring to light new developments among Federal agencies that are of significance for civil defense and aid in the development and issuance of necessary documents for civil defense officials and the public. Further, such a committee would assure collaboration among all agencies mutually concerned with these problems.

As part of the effort to provide source material, the Federal Civil Defense Administration should bring to the attention of civil defense officials documents such as the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, particularly those of the Physical Damage Division. These Survey reports are not now available. They should be re-issued and supplemented with more recent data, re-edited for civil defense use, if necessary, and issued to civil defense authorities.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration informational and training services observe the policy of not releasing information until it is factually endorsed by their technical branches and by other informed agencies. This procedure guarantees that information, when issued, is based on fact. However, in the new field of modern weapons and defense, information should be revised constantly in the light of new data. The Federal Civil Defense Administration should show complete candor in informing the public of necessary changes of doctrine and policy. Changes should be presented in a way which will justify public confidence in the Federal Civil Defense Administration as an agency alerted to the implications of all pertinent new material.

2. Federal Civil Defense Administration and the State and Community

In addition to developing the proper relationships with Federal agencies the Federal Civil Defense Administration should take a second major step by making significant contributions to state and local civil de-

fense preparedness. Public Law 920 (81st Congress) provides that the Federal Civil Defense Administration coordinate and guide the states and their political sub-divisions in civil defense matters. This procedure demands that the Federal Civil Defense Administration acquire a stature of prestige and authoritativeness which will gain it support and respect in state and local organizations. Therefore, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends:

> *As the principal agency concerned with civil defense in this country, the Federal Civil Defense Administration should further develop and coordinate authoritative information for informing the general public and for use in civil defense training and education programs. Emphasis should be placed on those aspects of civil defense information and training that will supplement related state and local efforts.*

The Federal Civil Defense Administration must overcome the indifference and inadequacy of many state and local civil defense informational services. By charter, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has no real power to correct such deficiencies. It should, however, continue to urge the appointment of qualified local public information officers where needed. The staffing of such positions will unclog the channels running from the Federal Civil Defense Administration to the local public.

Another major problem that requires clarification is the phasing of information from the Federal sources into state and local programs. States vary in the degree of civil defense development. To make maximum use of Federal information and training materials, state information and training officers should receive guidance for carrying out their responsibility. Guides should be developed which bring together the best experience and advice concerning successful and unsuccessful ways of disseminating information. For the best of national experience to be brought to bear on such problems, such guides should be developed by the Federal Civil Defense Administration in collaboration with active local civil defense officials.

Since civil defense operations, including training, are essentially state and local responsibility, the state and local communities should accept a greater share of the training responsibility than they have thus far. A few states have developed informational and training programs. However, since most states have not thus far developed adequate programs, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has sought to stimulate initial interest and national consciousness in civil defense by developing training materials that the states should have prepared.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration should cease functioning in the state provinces and devote itself to its primary tasks of assisting states and local communities in developing informational and training programs appropriate to their needs, of providing training beyond that given by the states, and leadership activities in the staff and training schools. Thus far, the training schools and staff college have been prevented from doing their major jobs by doing much of the states' job. Through encouraging each state to turn out its own materials, or adopt approved materials already available, the Federal Civil Defense Administration can exercise its review function and do a better job in its primary task of developing informational and training programs that only the Federal Government can and should undertake.

At the base of this problem is the unfortunate fact that state and local civil defense directors do not have access to full information. Security measures have exercised a crippling effect on civil defense preparedness and have placed the country in a vulnerable defensive posture. The Federal Civil Defense Administration can establish a better understanding of civil defense problems by urging, and aiding in, the declassification of information essential to civil defense. This procedure will lead to better public acceptance of the task, more intelligent planning at the local level and a realistic civil defense organization.

Another basic problem that requires attention is the need and demand for individual publications. Surveys should be initiated which indicate the requests for a publication in a given field, the value of present publications, and the desirability of producing a new manual that fulfills a need. The Federal Civil Defense Administration Publications Planning Committee has attempted to rectify this situation but at this writing no significant changes in policy have been noted. Recommendation:

> *The total publications and training aids program of Federal Civil Defense Administration should be thoroughly reviewed.*

To accomplish this latter aim organizationally within the Federal Civil Defense Administration, there is need for better coordination and planning between those concerned with training and education and those concerned with public information. While the two programs are inevitably closely allied, their purposes are distinct: public information is aimed at producing a state of general readiness; training and education are aimed at developing civil defense skills and attitudes. A better understanding of each group's problems is required.

3. National Policy Support

For civil defense to be effective, its contribution to the national security must be clearly understood, not only by the public but by those officially responsible for the formulation and implementation of national policy. Modern warfare has created demands upon the military that never existed before. People, animals, plants, industries, and cities are now lucrative targets for enemy attack. The military must not be diverted from its primary task of carrying the war to a successful termination. This important task of protection calls for a new defensive arm—Civil Defense.

Civil defense as a new element of national security represents a sharp departure from traditional military thinking. It is a concept that has not gained the universal acceptance the facts demand. The many implications that civil defense will bring to bear upon the economy and the very survival of the nation can only be developed as government leaders take cognizance of the effect of civil defense on their own programs. A sound philosophy of civil defense, accepted as a national principle, is required. Accordingly, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

> *The leaders of national policy should support the concept that civil defense is an important and inseparable part of total defense, along with military, economic, diplomatic and psychological activities. They should vigorously inform the public of this fact.*

Civil defense is a relatively new concept for this nation and one which is not yet accepted as a vital necessity for the national welfare. Interest in civil defense rises and falls with the immediate international situation. Public opinion surveys show a lack of understanding of the role of civil defense in supplementing military defense.[6] The decisiveness of civil defense for national defense is not understood, nor is its importance as a deterrent to attack.

Through the Federal agencies, the public must be advised that no nation can now survive a war unless it is prepared to counteract the effect of modern weapons upon populations, large industrial areas, and agricultural regions. Purely military defense is not capable of avert-

[6] University of Michigan Survey Research Center—

January 1951:	*December 1951:*	*and March 1952:*
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ing all such attacks, nor can it be the duty of the military alone to minimize death and destruction. Civil defense measures for industry are vital to national security.

The current civil defense effort has been based essentially on fear of atomic attack. While there is merit in dramatizing the immediate situation, such as that in Korea, to create wider interest in civil defense, such an approach does not sustain continued interest and support. Civil defense must be thought of as a continuing and long-term element of national security. Precise assignment of responsibility must be made among the various agencies for inclusion in their policy planning.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration alone cannot be expected to accomplish this identification of civil defense with total defense. The importance of civil defense has not been concertedly stressed to the public by the White House, Congress, Department of Defense, and by other agencies. This support should be repeatedly and forcefully given, and it should come from the very highest leaders concerned with development of national policy.

Such support should be based on a clear understanding of civil defense by national leaders. For example, Congress apparently does not appreciate the importance and significance of a permanent civil defense in an atomic era. The Federal Civil Defense Administration should rightfully regard as one of its tasks the informing of Congress on the manifold problems of civil defense. This procedure can probably be best accomplished by assigning those duties to one of its ranking personnel. A liaison officer from the agency should be in a strategic position to activate a knowledgeable interest by telling the story of civil defense to Congress more effectively than has been done thus far.[7]

One of the first moves by Congress should be the formation of a separate Committee for Civil Defense. As long as the civil defense program remains under the jurisdiction of the Sub-Committee of the Armed Forces Committee, the Federal Civil Defense Administration will probably not receive adequate consideration. Its problems should not be judged solely in terms of the military; its activities permeate all phases of national security. In the same manner that the Atomic Energy Commission's business is under the jurisdiction of a separate Congressional Committee, even though its appropriations are used in the main for weapon development, so should the Federal Civil Defense Administration's affairs be handled. Furthermore, its appropriations should be part

[7] See PROJECT EAST RIVER Report, Part VI: DISASTER SERVICES AND OPERATIONS.

of the "Independent Offices" Bill rather than being considered with temporary emergency agencies as is done at present. Any failure on the part of Congress to judge civil defense properly is multiplied on the state and local level by those officials who are guided by the actions of national leaders. Consequently, a distinct committee for civil defense is appropriate. Recommendation:

> *The National Security Resources Board should advise the President to recommend to Congress that a separate committee be formed for the consideration of Federal Civil Defense Administration affairs.*

For the public, such support might well begin with a nationwide Presidential radio address in which the dependence of military effort upon the civilian economy is stressed, and in which civil defense preparedness is clearly identified as correlated with military preparedness. The President has stressed this concept in his support of the Federal Civil Defense Administration. However, more pointed remarks aimed at specific audiences of government and the public are recommended.

The Department of Defense should follow with clear statements explaining those respects in which military defense must always rely upon civil defense. The military is in the best position to counteract the false impression that there is little need for a *civilian* civil defense. The Department of Defense should make clear to the people and to Congress, through repeated statements, the lack of absolute military protection against mass attack.

Other agencies of the Federal Government, such as the State Department and the Psychological Strategy Board, should recognize the significance of a strong civil defense. A high-level campaign of public information on this important matter would be invaluable, both to the Federal Civil Defense Administration itself and to subsequent campaigns in local communities. It would help identify the long-range national security effort with that of the local community and, indeed, identify the problems of the local civil defense worker with those of national defense.

4. National Security Resources Board and Presidential Support

There are wide differences of opinion about the ability of an enemy to execute a successful attack upon the United States. Individual views range from the belief that any air attack would be readily knocked out of the sky to one that any effort at self-protection is hopeless. It would, therefore, help people's understanding to have a periodic evalua-

tion of the situation from those in the best position to make such an evaluation. Accordingly, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

> *The National Security Resources Board should periodically advise the President to make public an analysis of the accomplishments and deficiencies of civil defense preparedness in light of enemy capabilities. This analysis would be based upon the National Security Council's estimate of the military threat facing the nation and an evaluation of the adequacy of military and civil defense relative to that threat.*

The National Security Resources Board should formulate the basic analysis for this periodic evaluation. The message should be straightforward and easily understood; details affecting military security would certainly be omitted. It should make clear the then-existent enemy capability for attack, the existing limits of military ability for countermeasures, the civil defense protection required to deal with the attack, and to what extent civil defense preparation is at the time adequate and inadequate to this task. For the benefit of the Federal Civil Defense Administration planning, the report of the National Security Council should state specifically what civil defense tasks should have the highest priority in the light of the existing threat.

Such a periodic appraisal would provide the public with an authoritative statement of the threat with which civil defense would in fact have to deal and explain the achievements of civil defense and the need for further improvements in the light of concrete enemy threats and weapon capabilities. Civil defense agencies and official departments would also benefit by such an analysis in determining their appropriate postures.

To make this appraisal possible, it will be incumbent upon the Federal Civil Defense Administration to furnish the National Security Council with all pertinent data concerning its state of preparedness as well as the situation at the local level. However, this evaluation will be limited severely if the Federal Civil Defense Administration does not have free access to all information pertaining to defensive preparations.

C. DISASTER INFORMATION

Modern warfare presents threats to total population and industry and requires new concepts in defense planning. Among the most important is that of an informed and trained populace.

PROJECT EAST RIVER has examined the present civil defense

warning and communications system. In Part VII, Warning and Communications for Civil Defense, the technical aspects of the system are reviewed and discussed. This part of the report is concerned with the potential effectiveness of the system in providing warning, information, and intelligence to local civil defense officials and the public. The Panel believes that the whole process of informing the public and keeping them informed of developments prior, during, and after attack has been subordinated unduly to military requirements. The effects of insufficient information and direction along with countermeasures for dangerous public reactions are discussed. Accordingly, modifications are proposed to provide for a more rapid transmittal and a wider dissemination of information.

For complete understanding of the problem, the following definitions, agreed to by the Air Defense Command and the Federal Civil Defense Administration, are stated:

> YELLOW ALERT—Attack by hostile aircraft is probable. This warning is *not* to be given to the general public.
> RED ALERT—Attack by hostile aircraft is imminent. This warning is given to the public through the siren system.
> WHITE ALERT—All clear. Attack by hostile aircraft is improbable. This message is also given to the public through the siren system.

1. Present Warning and Communications System

For the initial attack, each Air Defense Control Center decides the condition of its division in terms of the above definitions and within limitations prescribed by the Air Defense Command. The Civil Air Raid Warning Officer located at the Air Defense Control Center transmits the condition determined by the Division Commander to the division's key points.[8] *No intelligence of the developing situation is transmitted with any warning.* Through its "bell and lights" system at each key point the warning is spread to appropriate civil defense officers and important industries and institutions.

The only methods by which the local civil defense director can learn details of the developing air raid are:

[8] The 11 Air Defense Divisions contain approximately 170 key points located strategically throughout the country. The Air Defense Command's warning responsibility ends with the transmission of warning to those key points. See PROJECT EAST RIVER Report, Part VII, for a detailed analysis of the system.

a. ADCC→ADF→ADC→WASH

FCDA→FCDA REGION→STATE C.D.→LOCAL C.D.

Through the chain of command leading from the Air Defense Control Center to the Regional Air Defense Force Headquarters, to Air Defense Command, to the Pentagon or White House, at which point the Federal Civil Defense Administration receives official word of the military situation. The Federal Civil Defense Administration then transmits its summary to its Regional Offices, which in turn notify the State Civil Defense Directors, and finally to the local director.

b. Through informants in immediately adjacent areas, or

c. Through informal arrangements with communications personnel or organizations.

The first official public warning is the sounding of the "red," at which time radio control is instituted. Furthermore, the "Interim Conelrad Plan"[9] calls for control by silencing all radio stations in those air divisions under condition "red." The "yellow" warning remains officially secret from the public. When Conelrad is implemented, only those divisions under condition "red" will have official information through the radio medium.

Under these conditions, civil defense operations will be severely handicapped. It will be impossible to mobilize civil defense forces in time to do much more than "pick up the pieces." This will mean an unnecessary loss of many lives and property.

The time span between detection and attack will likewise increase as radar and other defenses are completed and refined. However, under the present circumstances, intelligence of the air situation will be relayed to local civil defense directors probably long after an attack has materialized.

The greatest danger for civil defense operations is that the local director has no knowledge of the basis of the "yellow" or "red"

[9] Conelrad—Control of Electromagnetic Radiation. A plan to deny navigational aid to the enemy and to permit the radio broadcast of civil defense directions and information. For full details on the Conelrad and Interim Conelrad Systems, see PROJECT EAST RIVER Report, Part VII: WARNING AND COMMUNICATIONS FOR CIVIL DEFENSE.

he may receive. If a "yellow" is received, key civil defense personnel are alerted, but they have no knowledge of what to expect. The raid may be 15 minutes to hours away. If a "red" is sent out, sirens sound and the public is to find shelter. They may be in shelter for a few minutes to hours without official information. Such a situation is dangerous and can easily lead to panic, thereby undoing civil defense preparations.

Many reasons have been advanced to support the present plan for passing the "yellow" to key civil defense personnel by telephone and keeping the warning officially secret from the public. Among these are: (a) Key civil defense personnel and control centers must be activated before alerting the general public; (b) the probable attack may not materialize, and alerting the total population for a false alarm may cause apathy or indifference to an alert signaling an attack that does materialize; (c) the great displacement of manpower should be delayed as long as possible without affecting the public's safety in order to maintain production and an apparent air of normalcy; and (d) the public may react in nonrational ways upon learning of the probable attack, resulting in panicky behavior.

Despite these cogent arguments, there are compelling reasons to negate the present system. For the first attack, at least, it seems desirable to take as few chances as possible with the safety of the population, even at the expense of losing an extra hour or more of vital production. The probability is large that the first real alert will produce factors leading to confusion that tests will not have uncovered.

Since the "yellow" is officially secret from the public, official channels are silent as to the actions of key civil defense personnel who will have to move publicly to get to their posts. There is also official silence concerning the reasons for these moves. Disaster studies in this country and abroad show that actual or impending catastrophe creates in people acute needs for a meaningful picture of the situation confronting them. If these needs are not filled by continuous and appropriate information from authoritative sources, false information and imagined facts will be grasped, exaggerated, and passed from person to person. Furthermore, people tend to react in terms of the information they have. If official information is not available, unofficial news, rumor and deliberate falsehood will fill the void. Such a possibility exists under the present system, and a hazard to the public's safety is created if official channels to the public are silent until the "red" alert is sounded.

Another aspect of the problem arises in the fact that no voluntary controls are placed on news media until the "red" alert is sounded.

This means that the radio, television, and newspapers may issue, unintentionally, information from unofficial sources which misleads the public at a critical time, during a "yellow." Only those areas of the country under condition "red" will have official information through the radio medium when the Conelrad plan is implemented. Other sections will not receive such information, creating a situation whereby rumor and deliberately false information may gain common currency. Such possibilities are real even in situations where official information is available, but the present system does little to minimize the possibility of informal and "planted" sources taking over.

Since there is no way by which to shut off informal channels of communication, inevitable rapid leaks of information from an area about to be attacked to other areas would produce in other areas, rumor, misapprehension, wasteful and inappropriate motion, and possible panic. Also, enemy agents, in the absence of official information could pre-empt control of public information to generate results they wish to achieve. Hence, the nature of public communication makes it necessary to abandon the belief that public information can be confined to key civil defense personnel, or to those parts of the country in danger of imminent attack.

2. Modifications for a Proposed System

An effective system will provide the civil defense organization with sufficient time, prior to attack, for mobilizing and giving the public enough information in sufficient time so that they, under civil defense direction, can take the proper steps to minimize loss of life and property if the attack materializes. Therefore, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

> *To provide for full public information the present "Interim Conelrad Plan" should be revised immediately in accordance with the recommendations of Project East River Panel on Warning and Communications.*[10]

The difficulty of controlling the content of information makes it imperative that the Conelrad Plan be made ready without further delay. This will ensure that the fullest informational service can be rendered with the least possible advantage to an attacking enemy.

The "yellow" alert should be made public throughout the

[10] See PROJECT EAST RIVER Report, Part VII: WARNING AND COMMUNICATIONS FOR CIVIL DEFENSE.

country by means of radio and other mass media, and the Conelrad Plan should go into effect at the same time.

Further, to provide information on both the national scene and the local situation to the general public and local civil defense director:

A direct information channel should be created that bridges the gap from the Air Defense Control Center to the key points.

This informational channel would go into operation after the warning is issued and would be the means of obtaining, within a few minutes after warning, an assessment of the divisional situation. Such a channel currently exists, but it is used solely for warning purposes. The three-link information channel

ADCC ⟷ Key Point ⟷ Local CD Director

would supplement the presently planned system to provide a quick, reliable picture of the local and divisional situation.

Since most information will originate at the local scene during the attack and post-attack periods, informational channels from the local disaster to local headquarters up to the Federal Civil Defense Administration should be clearly defined and rapid as possible. For proper assistance at local disaster, it is necessary that those providing such assistance be fully informed of the damage. To make this evaluation possible, during and after attack, it is recommended that:

The channels of information be two-way: i.e., from local civil defense director to the key point to the Air Defense Control Center.

In this manner, through the key points or the Air Defense Command, as might be appropriate, the states and the Federal Civil Defense Administration, at the regional and national levels, will have rapid access to information so that they may provide requisite help.

A summary of national developments will be available to local civil defense directors from the Federal Civil Defense Administration according to the chain of command provided by the present system.[11] However, this information will be delayed considerably in reaching the local civil defense operator. It is recommended therefore that each

[11] See page 21.

division's assessment be made available to all other divisions, either through the Air Defense Command Headquarters or Regional Air Defense Headquarters. This information can then be transmitted by the Air Defense Control Center Commander to his key points.

The Department of Defense and the Federal Civil Defense Administration should agree on the specific kinds of information to be made available to civil defense officials. During the warning-to-attack period, this assessment should include such information as:

a. General size of any known flight of enemy planes—a small, medium, or large flight as defined at the filter centers,
b. Approximate time away from each key point,
c. Approximate direction from which planes are approaching,
d. Any special knowledge of the developing situation that can be transmitted to the public without giving "aid and comfort to the enemy."

The memory of man is short, and the public will not long remember the details of the defense of the United States if an attack should come. *But should any official, whether he be civilian or military, withhold information from the public that, in retrospect, would have prevented loss of lives, misery, and discomfort, he does so at his peril*—nothwithstanding the validity of any argument he might make that the public release of information would have given aid and comfort to the enemy. Hence the policy on the nature and content of so-called military information to be released to the public must not be based on obsolescent ideas of warfare, with one military force pitted against another. In modern war, the citizen in his home or shop is in the battle scene. It is as essential that he be apprised of the situation as the engineer in the boiler room of a carrier or the combat team dug in for the night on some lonely hill.

The agreement of April 10, 1952, between the Department of Defense and the Federal Civil Defense Administration provides the means whereby such information needs can be worked out. PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

> *The Department of Defense should assign to the Air Force the mission of furnishing to the Civil Air Raid Warning Officer at the Air Defense Control Center with all information compatible with national military security, to help make civil defense workable.*

It is first necessary to determine the informational needs of the Federal Civil Defense Administration and local civil defense officials. Since such information, no matter how limited, will be available at the Air Defense Control Center, the next step will be to agree upon the requisite limitations imposed by military security.

Although PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends the immediate implementation of the April 10, 1952 agreement, one important element of this agreement should be seriously reconsidered: namely, the provision for the Federal Civil Defense Administration Liaison Officers at the Air Defense Control Centers. The need for information derived from these centers is clearly recognized by PROJECT EAST RIVER, but there is some question on how to fulfill this need. From an informational viewpoint, it is immaterial whether the informational officer is a civilian or military person, provided he is familiar with both Air Force and civil defense procedures and needs, and has the necessary authority to transmit information to the key points which will meet civil defense needs consistent with military security.

Prior, during, and immediately after post-attack, the public and civil defense will require authoritative information. Much of this information will be found at the Air Defense Control Centers and should be made available to civil defense authorities. From an organizational viewpoint, there are other considerations with which we are not concerned here.[12]

The Project believes the decision to man these posts with full-time civilians is premature in that their total duties have not been clearly delineated. This decision should be reconsidered in terms of the informational criteria, organizational requirements, and the desirability of spending approximately $500,000 annually to fulfill this need by civilian employees.

3. Content of Radio Information

The chart on page 28 represents PROJECT EAST RIVER'S recommendations for warning and informing the public by radio and other means of mass communications. Warning time will increase as the nation's detection capabilities increase. Accordingly, the public will be able to take requisite steps to increase its chances for survival provided clear and precise information is available from official sources.[13] It is

[12] See PROJECT EAST RIVER Report on ORGANIZATION, Vol. I.

[13] If the recommendations of Part IIA, "Military Measures Precedent to a Manageable Civil Defense" are accepted and implemented, then it will be desirable to provide information under a voluntary censorship plan as soon as an attack is declared possible.

recommended that:

> *As soon as a critical overt attack is detected, the Federal Civil Defense Administration, through its ADCC Liaison Officers and its regional and national headquarters, should inform the public of the threat by methods outlined in the accompanying chart. Regardless of the amount of warning time, the indicated procedures should be followed throughout the period of alert, attack, and immediate post-attack.*

On the assumptions that the Air Force will provide a warning of at least one hour prior to attack and that the public "yellow" is accepted, radio programs should begin functioning under civil defense direction as follows:

a. In the pre-attack and warning-to-attack periods, radio programs should:

(1) Be identified as issuing authoritatively from the civil defense organization,
(2) When appropriate, direct civil defense workers to man their stations,
(3) Indicate the estimated time of attack, nature of attack, and possible target areas,
(4) Indicate actions that the public should take for its protection,[14]
(5) Inform the public of the steps that are being taken for its safety.

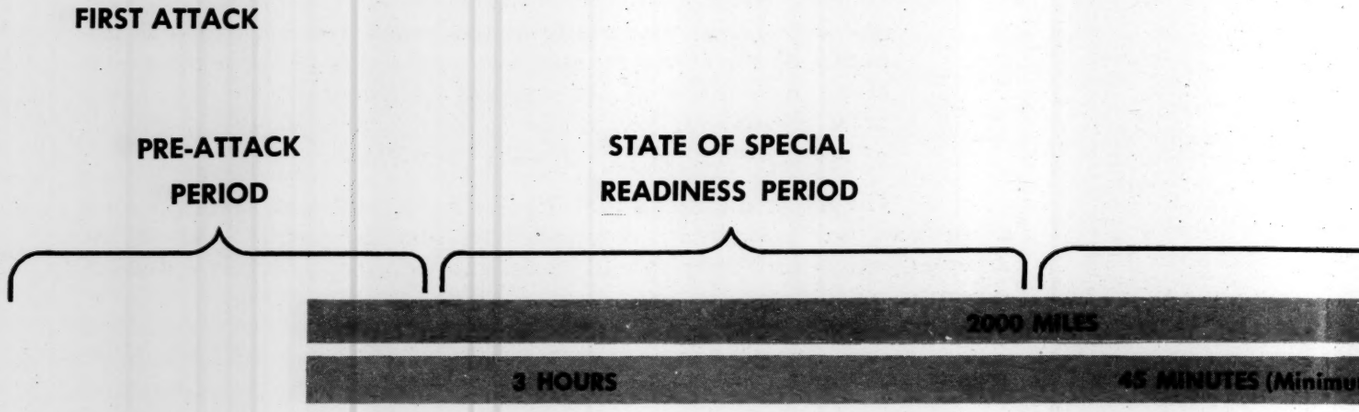
b. In the attack period, the radio should:

(1) Indicate the nature of the attack both nationally and locally as in the warning-to-attack phase,
(2) Advise use of applicable protective measures (gas masks,[15] remain in shelters),
(3) Indicate location and nature of community damage (situation of friends and relatives, weapons used, personal dangers existing),
(4) Inform of measures used to counteract the attack (fires out, planes driven off),
(5) Indicate post-attack damage and dangers,
(6) Inform as soon as possible of the general retaliatory measures taken.

[14] This information concerning local activities would vary in different target and nontarget areas.

[15] See PROJECT EAST RIVER Report, Part IV: CIVIL DEFENSE ASPECTS OF CHEMICAL, BIOLOGICAL, AND RADIOLOGICAL WARFARE—Section IIID.

WARNIN



Operations

1. ADCC interprets.

1. ADC notifies FCDA.
2. FCDA informs public and CD organizations by mass media exercising voluntary censorship.

1. CD continues to inform public through
2. CD gives directions to public via radio. limited to Conelrad operations, simpl tary censorship of information dissemin

NB

1. Above diagram suggests
2. Above diagram indicates be available. The first "
"state-of-special-readiness"

RELATIONSHIP OF
NING AND INFORMATIONAL ACTIVITIES TO OPERATIONS

WARNING-TO-ATTACK PERIOD

ATTACK PERIOD

nimum) 15 MINUTES (Minimum)

RED ALERT Siren

ATTACK

BLUE ALERT Siren

WHITE Siren

ough mass media.
dio. Radio now is
simplifying volun-
eminated by radio.

1. Public takes shelter.
2. CD continues to inform public and issues necessary directions.

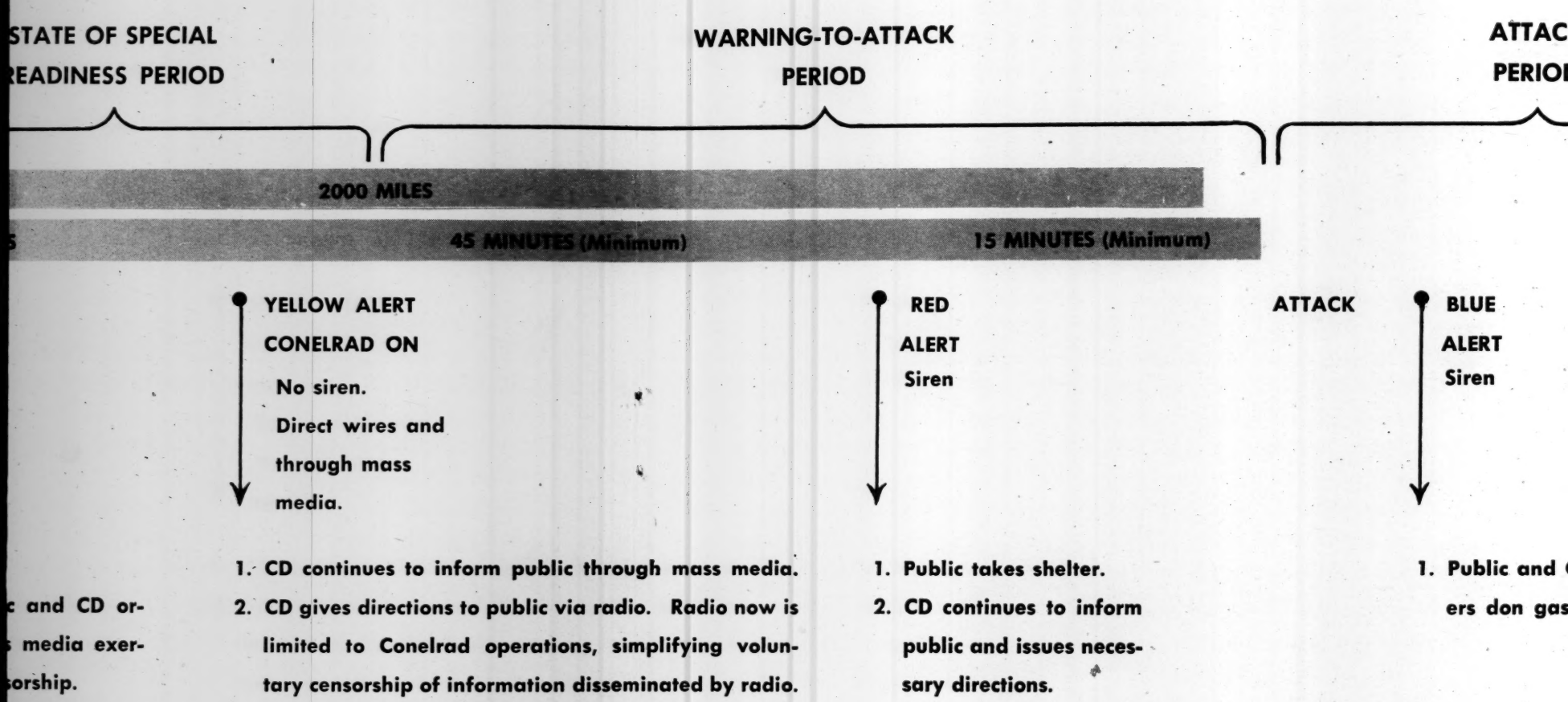
1. Public and CD workers don gas masks.

1. If attack has occ red, take up civil fense tasks.
2. If no attack has curred, revert to sentially conditi Yellow and foll local plan and structions.

gests a plan based upon acceptance and implementation of the Part IIA and Part VII recommendations for early warning.

cates a recommended plan that can go into effect upon the "yellow" or "red" since warning of "possible attack" may not irst "warning" could be the actual attack, or occur only a few minutes before attack. On first attack, the assumption of ness" calls for a well-developed evacuation policy and plan.

RELATIONSHIP OF
WARNING AND INFORMATIONAL ACTIVITIES TO OPERATI



NB

1. Above diagram suggests a plan based upon acceptance and implementation of the Part IIA and Part VII recommendati
2. Above diagram indicates a recommended plan that can go into effect upon the "yellow" or "red" since warning of "po
be available. The first "warning" could be the actual attack, or occur only a few minutes before attack. On first atta
"state-of-special-readiness" calls for a well-developed evacuation policy and plan.

ATIONS

TACK
RIOD

POST ATTACK
PERIOD

400 MILES

1-3 HOURS

and CD work-
n gas masks.

WHITE

Siren

1. If attack has occurred, take up civil defense tasks.
2. If no attack has occurred, revert to essentially condition Yellow and follow local plan and instructions.

ALL CLEAR

1. Resume normal activities, except continue Conelrad.
2. Civil defense continues to inform public and give necessary directions.

STOP CONELRAD

No siren.
Direct wires.
Public informed only by resumption of normal broadcasting.

1. Given only when both ADCC and civil defense requirements are met.
2. Radio stations resume voluntary information controls as in the pre-attack and readiness periods.

endations for early warning.
f "possible attack" may not
t attack, the assumption of

c. In the immediate post-attack period, the most important information for stricken communities will be that which advises:

(1) Location of food and lodging for those left destitute,
(2) Fate of relatives and friends; efforts that are being made in this direction; when information on such matters will be released, etc.,
(3) Personal dangers to guard against and methods to employ (sanitation, radiation, fire hazard, etc.),
(4) Substitutes for utilities which have been damaged (transportation, refuse disposal, communications),
(5) The importance for the war effort of effective and rapid reconstruction of community and industrial life,
(6) Reassurance concerning the emotional after-effects of disaster (as shown important by current disaster studies).

d. Similar information must be provided for the nonstricken and support communities so that they may most effectively use their resources in the clean-up process and aid in rapid rehabilitation of attack victims. For such communities, information content should include:

(1) Locations requiring mobile support teams,
(2) Number of displaced persons the community will receive and when,
(3) How long the community will be required to house and feed homeless persons,
(4) Demands upon the schools for providing housing, feeding, or extra classes for displaced children,
(5) Outside help available to the community.

4. Providing Facts and Directions

The best safeguard against panic during attack is previous thorough drill by which useful habits are inculcated. But this is not enough. The actual impact of bombing cannot be reproduced in peacetime exercises and it is highly probable that real bombing will produce disorganization and panic-reactions instead of organized activity. Therefore, at the time of emergency previous training should be reinforced by authoritative instructions reminding people what to do and connecting the present crisis with their past experience in preparing to meet it. Accordingly, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

To direct useful activity and to avert panic or disorganization from the moment of warning of a possible attack; civil defense organizations should furnish the public with a full flow of facts and directions.

Even if a trained public takes to shelter without disorder, information and instructions must continue to reach them. Meerloo[16] cites the case of a London shelter in which hundreds of people were killed in a stampede to escape when a bomb fell nearby. Lack of specific information and direction induced this panic behavior. Directions to remain in shelter and the reasons why this is less dangerous than attempted flight must be constantly repeated throughout the bombing and until above-ground danger has ceased.

Current studies show that, from the moment of crisis, people will be anxious to know what has happened, the extent of damage, their personal dangers and that of friends and family, how long the danger will last, and what is being done about it. If immediate and adequate information is not provided, rumor and imagination are likely to take over with consequent danger of paralysis, panic, and senseless reaction. The flow of information must be more sustained if people are hidden in private or public shelters and are cut off from the outside.

The possibility exists that to natural sources of rumor would be added the deliberate rumor-mongering by enemy agents in the population who would, in public shelters or elsewhere, spread false information likely to lead to panic and loss of life. This device was used by Germans in the invasion of the Low Countries, where enemy agents in towns ahead of the advancing German armies choked the roads with refugees through the spread of rumors instigating mass flight.

Radio is the main device for sustaining continuous information and direction—giving from civil defense authorities to the people. Full information should be given by radio from the moment of the "red" warning. Instructions should be repeated to householders to leave their radios turned on loudly enough to be heard in their shelter area, and if possible to carry a radio to shelter. Wardens should supply shelters with one or more battery-operated radios. It is important for the public to know at any moment that radio contact remains. Since interruptions between announcements probably cannot be avoided, the originating studio should carry a continuous background signal. The signal will indicate during even lengthy pauses between announcements that both the broadcast station and the local receiver are operating.

The crucial need for radios in providing information during and immediately after attack indicates the desirability for large numbers of persons to possess miniature receivers not dependent upon local power or fresh batteries. The Federal Civil Defense Administration should en-

[16] J.A.M. Meerloo—PATTERNS OF PANIC, International Universities Press.

courage commercial production of such inexpensive receivers. In case of an alert, the public should be reminded to take any such receivers with them to shelter.

Wherever possible, especially immediately after the attack, official couriers should visit shelters to give additional information and advice to the public.

5. Rumor and Dangerous Public Reactions

The informational program during the phase from the first warning through the immediate post-attack period must satisfy two major requirements: sufficient information for meaningful trained activity and continuous information from official sources to minimize the possibility of disorganization or panic. The technical requirements for such a program can be readily met through wire and radio communication systems. However, supplying information into these channels demands trained civil defense workers who will react intelligently in a crisis.

One of the major problems will be to report rumors and public reactions to the proper officials so that appropriate steps can be taken. Therefore, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

> *To detect and counteract dangerous public reactions during attack the communications system requires a circuit leading back from wardens' areas to control centers. Over this return channel, appropriate civil defense personnel should report rumor and dangerous public conditions so that these may be countered by authoritative information and instructions.*

Effective communication cannot depend upon a one-way circuit to the recipient. It must be responsive to public reaction; to what it gives or fails to give. Public misunderstanding, dangerous rumors, and need for further information or special instructions must be reported back to control centers from public shelters and other places where the public gathers. Therefore, all such sites should be linked with control centers by telephone, or failing telephone, by courier. The experience of the rumor clinics during the war[17] showed that it is possible to combat rumors which have arisen by rapid counter-information in which:

a. The rumor is identified as false;
b. Correct information is authoritatively given;
c. The rumor is again identified and condemned as foolish.

[17] Allport and Postman—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RUMOR, Henry Holt & Company, New York.

Appropriate civil defense personnel should be trained to be alert for the emergence of rumors under warning, attack, and post-attack conditions. False information should be locally counteracted and reported to control centers and where immediate refutation can be made by radio and other mass media.

Every broadcast center for public information should designate a member of its staff (preferably one trained in the techniques of rumor-control) to assess incoming reports of public reaction, and to devise and initiate rapid countermeasures for dangerous rumors. This running assessment of public morale and reaction should bear continuously on the information program which is put on the air.

D. CENSORSHIP

The great informational requirement that has been elaborated in this report is a necessary condition for the proper functioning of civil defense. Since these needs require public channels, and since these informational needs are so acute, a new policy of censorship is called for. Accordingly, PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

> *The withholding of information from the public should be limited only to that information which would result in far greater damage if released to the public, and thereby to the enemy, than might result from the actions of a poorly informed public. The simple criteria of merely "giving aid and comfort to the enemy" is obsolescent.*

The recommended policy of full public information leads to a serious question of censorship. No longer is it possible to decide the issue in terms of military requirements alone. The public under attack will have greater need than ever before for information. The importance of adequate information in time of crisis makes it necessary that the defense policy recognize and resolve a basic issue: the principle of full public information runs squarely into an opposing principle—that of concealment by the defender of what he knows in order to deny intelligence to an attacking enemy. The latter principle is undoubtedly attractive within a purely tactical context. In the broader context of total war and of the necessity of getting information to people so that they may engage in the right kind of activity, or of preventing panic, it could become disastrous.

Information not generally available to the press and other mass media is not a problem. Censorship will be exercised at the source, e.g., the incidence of Japanese balloons in the western states during

World War II or the existence of a Manhattan Project. In such instances a clear-cut policy is easy to establish—the gain to the enemy far outweighs any possible gain to the public. In the event of a leak to the newspapers of such information, the voluntary censorship code developed during World War II will probably be adequate. However, that code is no longer adequate to meet the broader demands of informational requirements of civil defense.

In World War II, this country did not face the kinds of physical or psychological assault envisaged in future hostilities. The public need for reassurance, detail of fact, and broad perspective will strain a policy based on voluntary censorship or broad concealment, e.g., the need to know that a biological warfare attack has been launched or that dangerous amounts of radiation persist in a given region.

Such a flow of public information increases the risk of having the enemy become aware of certain defensive plans which will aid him in planning a future attack. This is a risk which must be weighed against the effect of withholding information vital to the public's welfare.

Hard and fast rules meeting all contingencies are difficult to establish. However, since the nation must provide for civil defense, risks must be taken to assure maximum survival and minimum property loss. The overriding dangers implicit in rumor-mongering and the need for protective action in a crisis demand a policy of maximal information.

A difference of opinion exists within the Project as to which governmental agency or agencies should be responsible for supervising censorship. Arguments have been advanced that this is a military decision since the military is primarily responsible for security during wartime emergencies and since most information of a sensitive nature will be derived from military sources. However, in the immediate post-attack period, much of the detailed information on the nature of the attack and the extent of the damage will have civilian origins. Furthermore, this detailed information must be made widely known if prompt and effective rescue operations are to be realized. Such arguments point to the need for joint decisions on sensitive matters among the military, civil defense and other interested agencies. Under the present code, any local civil defense director is a responsible governmental official and therefore charged with the dissemination of public information in his area.

The National Security Resources Board, charged with recommending censorship policy, should take steps immediately to develop the basic principles of censorship and provide a workable plan incor-

porating these recommendations. Delay may find the nation unprepared to cope with its informational needs. This policy should lay down clear-cut responsibilities in the Federal Government for the different areas of information and should take cognizance of public needs versus those of *real* military security.

SECTION II - TRAINING AND EDUCATION

A. FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY

Civil defense training is the process of developing proficient habits in times of emergency; civil defense education is the means of acquiring proper concepts, methods and attitudes with respect to the whole civil defense problem.

Training must be phased to the informational and educational program designed to meet immediate and long-range requirements. The process demands coordination at every level—from the Federal to the state to the local organization. Much is being done by way of training, but it is merely a beginning if civil defense is to meet a crisis within the next few years. The basic training program should have done its job before any attack.

To meet these conditions, a number of revisions in present policy are suggested.

> *The Federal Civil Defense Administration should assist state and local civil defense organizations in establishing and developing informational, training, and education programs. State and local civil defense should bear a greater responsibility for training and training materials than they have up to date.*

In an effort to initiate the civil defense movement, the Federal Civil Defense Administration undertook to accomplish many parts of the job that are rightfully state and civil responsibility. In a number of states, civil defense was already organized and in the process of developing a training program before the Federal Civil Defense Administration was created. However, since the origin of the Federal Civil Defense Administration, many states have relied too strongly on Federal initiative with consequent ill effect on their training programs. This training responsibility is one that should be recognized by state and local officials as properly theirs and is in accord with the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950 that states "... this responsibility for civil defense shall be vested primarily in the several states and their political sub-divisions."

This training responsibility has two parts:

a. To the public—the best and most authoritative information and training should be given.

b. To civil defense personnel—these key officials should be thoroughly indoctrinated in accepted civil defense practices and techniques so that they in turn can train the public.

The responsibility for the public has been accepted by the states and local officials, but relatively little has been done about civil defense personnel. State responsibility extends to the training of instructors of local civil defense workers and to local civil defense administrators. New York has established a Rescue School in the exercise of this function, and New Jersey is planning a Staff College for its administrators. States of similar criticality status can well emulate such a program.

Instructors for these programs should be drawn, principally, from the regular disaster control services. Provisions should be made for their enrollment in full-time, extension, evening or week-end courses. In the course of such training for instructors and civil defense workers, each state should develop its own or adopt Federally proven procedures and materials. Such action will demand proper coordination between training personnel and those associated with the technical services.

Some states have written their own manuals without being aware of similar Federal or other state-prepared materials. This is an example of lack of coordination and wasted effort in the civil defense structure. If the Federal Civil Defense Administration had made known to each state the many manuals published by other states on warden training and police and fire services, and had evaluated them, more states would have manuals at their command and better ones than they did prepare. With the availability of Federal matching funds for training programs and materials, this situation should improve. The Federal Civil Defense Administration standards will have to be met by those states and local communities requesting such funds.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration and the states have rightfully placed emphasis on the development of training programs for those areas involving probable targets. For civil defense to function properly, training programs should be initiated and maintained in those areas that are not primary targets but will play an important role as support and reception centers. Emphasis should be placed on the many problems unique to such areas.

An important state training function is the holding of training exercises and games at the appropriate stage of development. Field training is a necessary element in the development of civil defense and should extend from the local block test through state-wide and interstate

cooperative games. Valuable experience and assistance would be obtained if the states permitted the employment of civil defense forces in peacetime disaster operations. Use of civil defense personnel in this manner would aid in determining the effectiveness of civil defense training and increasing morale and motivation among its workers. Recommendation:

> *Every state should permit the use of civil defense forces in peacetime disasters.*

A number of cities have demonstrated forcibly what can be accomplished at the local level when municipal leadership is aware of the problem. They have developed and are refining training programs for civil defense personnel.

One of the training functions of local civil defense organizations is to provide adequate training for all civil defense personnel. Training should include, for the regular services, work on organizational plans, line of command, and civil defense doctrine. These are the chief requisites as well as techniques in the training of auxiliaries rather than training in their own occupational skills. Auxiliaries should acquire training in skills—this task to be undertaken only after the hard core of the regular services is established.

Local civil defense organization should also develop for the general public through manuals, training courses, and other devices the means of acquiring specific techniques of self-preservation and those of mutual aid: fire-fighting, first aid, use of gas mask, significance of warnings, procedures to follow in an emergency, etc. It is most essential that no literature or information is distributed on the use of protection devices that are not available.

Finally, they should develop the training program of the civil defense personnel and the general public in successive stages from face-to-face procedures through field tests and exercises of segments of the community or total community. Drills should be held on a periodic basis and made realistic. Local training programs would be stimulated if prototype civil defense organizations with different areas of emphasis were established throughout the country. Such elements of the local program could be regarded as research and experimental units through which the Federal Civil Defense Administration and the states could test new practices and equipment under actual working conditions. This procedure would encourage regular and auxiliary personnel to participate in civil defense.

Training programs at each level have been too preoccupied with physical protection. World War II experience in Europe indicates the value of a mentally prepared population in meeting attacks by the enemy.[17] Greater attention should be given to psychological preparedness. Training programs should provide for participation in assigned tasks by as many people as possible.

Similarly realistic public exercises should be conducted to stimulate awareness of the potential threat and effects of modern weapons.[18] The benefits of this type of training were observed in Great Britain when that country was faced with evacuation problems at the beginning of hostilities.

This total training program is so complex that every effort must be made at all levels to assure a unanimity of effort. The programs from Federal to state to local levels should be better phased if they are to succeed. To achieve this proper phasing, it is incumbent upon the Federal Civil Defense Administration to delineate periodically to the states the degree of readiness which the local civil defense effort should have attained, instead of indicating the need for total mobilization immediately. Further, this state of preparedness should be correlated to the threat which means that the training program should vary in size and emphasis to meet the need. The nation may well stand or fall with the degree of success attained by these training programs.

B. FEDERAL STAFF COLLEGE

The short-range program of training can adequately prepare the nation for the immediate future provided it reaches a large enough group.

However, the long-range training and educational program is one of major proportions that must not be tied to any crisis or series of crises. Its major objectives should be to develop the new profession and discipline of civil defense. This will require continuous cooperation with the nation's schools at all levels and the development of adequate professional schools for civil defense.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration has taken a first step in this direction by creating its own Staff College and Technical Training Schools. The time has come for these schools to play a more

[18] J.A.M. Meerloo—*op. cit.*

[19] Irving L. Janis—AIR WAR AND EMOTIONAL STRESS. (Rand), McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York.

basic, and less nebulous, role in civil defense than they have to date. The need is present for a well-formulated program of training and education from the local on-the-block activity through a professional school at the national level. PROJECT EAST RIVER recommends that:

> *The Federal Civil Defense Administration Staff College should be regarded as a Command and Staff School for key civil defense personnel. Its principal functions should be:*
>
> *a. To provide a general orientation in the problems of total defense;*
>
> *b. To train students in administrative and operational techniques;*
>
> *c. To contribute to the development and evaluation of civil defense doctrine, materials, organization, and tactical plans through critical testing of basic assumptions and plans;*
>
> *d. To provide short courses, seminars, and conferences on specific elements of civil defense that are of national concern.*

At present, the Federal Civil Defense Administration Staff College offers a one-week course on civil defense administration, and holds special conferences on specific subjects. A short course on civil defense operations is contemplated. Thus far, the Staff College has performed a very limited but useful function. Emphasis has been on short courses because such training would reach the greatest number of students in the shortest time.

Unfortunately, this procedure has not attracted enough students of the type desired. Up to April 1, 1952, 22 state civil defense directors had not attended this school, which was created essentially for them and their deputies; only two state directors attended recently enough for the present course. Lack of interest in the course and the expense of attendance were given as the major reasons for nonattendance.

The Staff College has not yet tackled the long-range training program because of the urgency of initiating operation training. This long-range concept, analogous to a Military Command and Staff College, would be the basis for developing the new discipline of civil defense through problem seminars, thus developing sound plans, and in general creating a body of trained professionals that does not now exist.

Under the present situation, it is impossible to accomplish this task, which requires more than one or two weeks of schooling. If civil defense planning is to progress on a sound basis, the Staff College should begin to devote its energies to this kind of program within the next few months. The present course should become essentially a state responsi-

bility with aid from the Staff College for setting it up. Additional material on human reactions to stress situations, unfavorable mass reactions, and panic prevention and control should be included. These subjects are particularly important to the information programs that key civil defense administrators will direct. Recommendation:

> *Section 201 (e) of Public Law 920 (81st Congress) should be used or amended to permit payment by the Federal Civil Defense Administration of necessary expenses for those attending or conducting Staff College programs.*

Such payment would permit attendance of students for a profitable length of time and enhance the profession of civil defense. Once that is accomplished, plans should be developed to involve key civil defense officials and experts from government and industry in the activities of the College. Such activities should include the critical testing of civil defense assumptions and plans, the review of civil defense programs and materials submitted by the states, analysis of related training programs for national organizations, etc. Procedures should be developed whereby key civil and military officials can nominate qualified persons to participate.

These officials should be informed of the critical importance and worth of this training, and how they can support the endeavor. Also, state civil defense and other appropriate organizations should be informed of the procedures whereby their materials and programs can be thoroughly analyzed.

Since civil defense doctrine will have implications for the military, it is recommended that liaison between the Federal Civil Defense Administration and the Department of Defense be extended to include appropriate military personnel on the staff of the Federal Civil Defense Administration Staff College. There should also be an interchange of civil defense and military personnel as students at the respective staff schools. Furthermore, the implications of civil defense for military commanders should be thoroughly investigated to determine the need for civil defense representation on the faculty of the National War College and other appropriate military schools.

Until Public Law 920 can be used for payment of expenses, the current course on administration and the contemplated course on operations should be taken into the states as the beginning of an extension service. Such an experiment is highly desirable to determine how large

an audience can be reached for such training as opposed to confining it to a central school.

The Department of Defense has demonstrated the advantage of correspondence courses in maintaining interest among reserve officers and creating standards. The Federal Civil Defense Administration should provide such courses through the Staff College, either directly or in cooperation with the states, to enable civil defense personnel to qualify for their posts and to serve as a basis for promotion. Through such a medium, local civil defense could initiate civil defense orientation programs for registrants and supplement them as soon as possible with face-to-face training.

C. FEDERAL TECHNICAL TRAINING SCHOOLS

The Federal Civil Defense Administration is currently utilizing its training schools for training instructors of the warden and rescue services. There are very limited facilities for such training elsewhere. Since the warden and rescue services are staffed by the general public, persons who instruct wardens and rescue workers must be skilled teachers. They also must be thoroughly familiar with the specialized knowledge and skill required for the successful performance of warden and rescue duties.

The Federal Technical Training Schools should not be regarded as the place for wardens to learn elementary techniques. Such training is the proper province of local civil defense. The Federal Civil Defense Administration Training Schools should teach trained technicians in civil defense applications of rescue and fire fighting techniques, as well as how to train the local civil defense worker in these techniques. If other significant training needs arise, the training schools should direct their attention to them. Recommendation:

> *The Federal Civil Defense Technical Training Schools should be used to train instructors for the civil defense services, and to offer advanced technical training not available elsewhere.*

To date, Federal Civil Defense Administration Training Schools have not attracted enough students despite recent commendable efforts to make these schools unique institutions for civil defense teacher training. Lack of proper promotion to state and local officials and failure to define clearly the function and method of operation have contributed to this shortcoming. In addition, the cost of attending the schools and

the difficulty students have in taking a leave of absence from their regular employment continue to be unsolved problems for many who otherwise might participate.

However, the training schools are serving a useful function. As their role is better understood and as knowledge of the type of training is disseminated, the schools should play a significant part in civil defense preparedness. Attendance will increase as the courses offered meet the needs of those who will instruct warden and rescue workers. Recommendation:

> *Section 201 (e), Public Law 920 (81st Congress) should be used for, or amended to permit, payment of expenses incurred by anyone attending the Federal Civil Defense Administration Training Schools or special classes.*

State and local civil defense officials then may be able to participate who now cannot; trainees can be held to a standard of performance; classes can be organized in advance; follow-up studies can measure the results of training as reported by graduates, and these data can be used for curriculum revision; the local performance of graduates will stimulate others in their communities to participate; and the training school program will win for itself understanding, prestige, and support.

The training schools have the responsibility not only to train people as indicated but to insure the use of these trained instructors in local programs. It is only through the utilization of this "multiplier" principle that the Federal Civil Defense Administration can exert maximum effect. Therefore, appropriate procedures should be developed jointly by the Federal Civil Defense Administration and the states to integrate these trained personnel into local training programs.

Further, to discharge its responsibility for leadership in the training of civil defense workers, the Federal Civil Defense Administration should make available teams of teacher-trainers and special-service experts to state and local civil defense organizations requiring help. Such teams not only could train cadres but assist in organizing and initiating area programs of warden and rescue worker development.

The Federal training courses should include instructions in panic prevention and control, and in the identification and solution of psychological problems of special interest to wardens and rescue workers. Neither of the present courses at the training schools contains material

on teaching methods aside from two periods devoted to methods and volunteer civil defense training. Since the schools are organized for training teachers of civil defense workers and not for the workers themselves, this part of the curriculum should be strengthened.

States in critical areas should be encouraged to establish their own training schools and courses. Civil defense training is essentially a state and local responsibility.

D. CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING IN THE NATION'S SCHOOLS

In addition to the present short-range training and educational program, there should be included and developed within the schools and colleges civil defense courses and training through appropriate curricula.

If civil defense is to be a continuing element of the national security, the nation's schools should assist in providing a state of preparedness. The Federal Civil Defense Administration has suggested the social sciences as an appropriate part of the curricula for teaching civil defense concepts and the basic role they now have in the nation's long-range planning. To some extent this procedure is now being followed in many different courses. In physical training and hygiene courses, the basic first-aid course can be covered and probably elementary aspects of fire fighting and rescue work. On the college level these subjects can be given more extensive treatment.

The incorporation of civil defense into the school curricula requires the training and development of a body of professionals to carry out the research inherent in such a program. The Federal Civil Defense Administation and the National Security Resources Board should encourage this development because of its implications for the proper utilization of the nation's human resources.

In addition to the development of new courses covering and including a range of disciplines, the colleges should investigate along with the Federal Civil Defense Administration the feasibility and need for a student civil defense corps. Such a corps, analogous to the military training programs in schools, and integrated within any Universal Service Training Program, would provide a reserve of personnel trained in civil defense thinking and techniques.

Appendix IX-A

RECOMMENDED RESEARCH PROJECTS

PROJECT EAST RIVER recognizes many areas of civil defense information, training and educational programs which require further research. It is recommended that the Federal Civil Defense Administration sponsor the following research projects:

Continuation, on a regular periodic basis, of the present surveys of public information and attitudes bearing on civil defense.

The present national sampling surveys are providing valuable information about the motives, information, and attitudes of the people whom civil defense must reach through information, recruiting and training. The surveys have recently been extended to include nonurban populations and to furnish a truly national sample. These surveys should be repeated at regular periods to measure trends, accomplishments, and unfulfilled tasks in informing the public.

Intensive case-studies of successful and unsuccessful civil defense communities.

The variation in civil defense organization and training among communities provides an opportunity for determining which factors favor and those that oppose successful organization. It is recommended that at least three "successful" and three "unsuccessful" communities be intensively studied to determine the causes for the differences. Such study should include not only surveys of attitudes, information, and personal participation, but should include the history of the local civil defense organization, analysis of its ways of administration and leadership, and important community behavior and interest which have affected the development of civil defense. Analysis of how in successful communities civil defense has achieved prestige, interest, importance, vigorous leadership, financial and moral support, and of what in unsuccessful communities has thwarted these achievements would be invaluable in guiding the operation of every locality.

Evaluation of the effects of experimental civil defense campaigns in communities willing to undertake them.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration should seek out communities willing to serve as experimental laboratories for novel

campaigns. In such communities research should carefully measure the variables which the campaign is designed to affect before and after the use of its special techniques. In this manner, new devices can be developed and their usefulness evaluated. Such laboratories would permit comparative evaluation of various media, types of content, face-to-face versus radio appeal, etc., as ways of informing, recruiting, and training the public.

Expansion of research on public behavior in disasters that occur in this country.

A number of small research projects aimed at analyzing public behavior during disasters are already in progress and have demonstrated the feasibility and importance of this research. The Federal Civil Defense Administration should support a considerable expansion of the coverage and depth of this kind of study. Present research on personal panic during disaster should be supplemented by studies of organizational failure. The emergence of spontaneous leaders and organization in community crises should be studied to understand how these phenomena can be used by civil defense.

Research on the effectiveness of the Federal Civil Defense Administration schools.

The evaluation of the Federal Civil Defense Administration Staff and Training Schools which PROJECT EAST RIVER could make was limited by the short time that the schools have been in operation. The Federal Civil Defense Administration should arrange at the end of the first year to evaluate the methods and effects of present curricula. As in all training research, much effort needs to be spent on developing criteria of on-the-job performance against which the effectiveness of training can be meaningfully measured and towards which improvements in method can be pointed. As a result of such research, ideal curricula and teaching devices should be formulated which, if not immediately attainable, would nevertheless serve as a guide for the growth and future direction of the schools. Such evaluations should be repeated periodically to determine the scope and success of training against the current needs.

Research to determine the number of persons who should be trained and to improve recruiting of the requisite number.

Training will be maximally effective as a program if it is undergone by all who should have it and if it limits itself to that number of trainees who are actually needed. Research is needed to establish such numbers. It should be directed toward organizational and job analysis

within civil defense which would give sound estimates of the proper number of key personnel of various duties who need to be trained within given periods.

Given such numbers, the problem of recruiting then should be explored. Studies should be initiated to determine present rates of turnover among volunteers and the reasons for leaving or staying with civil defense organizations. Experimental devices for recruitment, and for retaining the enthusiasm of those recruited, should be investigated.

In preparation for the possibility that the time might arise for using nonvoluntary workers, some research should be devoted to determining which "draft" procedures would cause the least resentment.

Research on the need for educational programs on the college level and the content of these programs to assure a continuing supply of trained civil defense professionals.

If civil defense is to meet its obligations to the nation, it is clear that a body of professionally trained administrators and operational personnel will be required. To what extent can the need for such people be met by present educational plans? Is there a need for a specially trained group to acquire pertinent skills through appropriate college programs? If there is, how large a group is required or will be required on an annual basis? Is the need sufficiently great to warrant a special curriculum? What should this curriculum contain?

Many questions of this type will require investigation before a satisfactory program can be determined.

PANIC PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Appendix IXB of
Project East River Report IX
Information and Training
for Civil Defense

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PANIC PREVENTION AND CONTROL

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF PANIC CONTROL

The prevention and control of panics in time of attack are important tasks of civil defense. For the possibility always exists that where people panic under attack, more death and injury may occur from that cause than from the direct effects of military weapons. There are familiar cases—like the Coconut Grove fire and the Titanic disaster—in which the large loss of life resulted from the actions of the victims themselves in spite of available means of protection and rescue. Since an adequate civil defense program must contemplate many shelters in which crowds will assemble under attack, the necessary arrangements for defense create conditions in which mass reactions of panic become quite possible.

II. DIFFICULTIES IN PREDICTING PANIC

The possibility of panic must be taken as a working assumption. Whether, in any specific case, the probability of panic is high or low cannot be predicted. The limited literature describing and accounting for panics indicates that the causes deduced are reasonable *ex post facto*. There is serious doubt whether the relative force of these conditions, somewhat unique to each panic, could be applied to predict with any certainty what would happen in the event of, say, the bombing of American City X at time Y. Less so could one, in the present state of psychological knowledge, predict that panic would break out in a given public shelter under given circumstances of attack.

General conditions favoring or impeding panic are well known, but which of these will in a specific case be of greatest influence would require a specification of the particular situation beyond provision. Thus, for example, one of the strongest determinants of personal reaction to Orson Welles' "Invasion from Mars" radio program was what the listener found when he tried to verify the reality of the program. Those who looked out their windows and saw what seemed to them normal traffic in the streets began to doubt the radio; those who also looked out their windows but saw an unusual flow of traffic concluded that people were indeed fleeing for their lives. It was many of the latter who lapsed into panic-like reaction. One can, therefore, confidently predict that when, after the first impact of danger, people seek verification of the

danger, those who find reassuring data or evidences will least likely panic. But this is a different matter from being able to predict that individual A at time B in circumstances C will first find reassuring or frightening data when he desperately seeks to confirm his first impressions.

This consideration emphasizes the need for creating those conditions which minimize the probability of panic. Only in this way can the number of cases of panic be reduced without the impossible foreknowledge of their circumstances and of the personalities involved.

III. PANIC AND RELATED MASS REACTIONS

This report uses the following concept of panic: Panic is highly excited individual or group behavior characterized by aimless, unorganized, unreasoning, nonconstructive activity. It results ordinarily from sudden, extreme, and often groundless fear.

While panic-behavior may be found in a single individual (as in headlong but solitary flight from danger), its greater importance for civil defense lies in the simultaneous panic-behavior of many persons which may readily spread from individuals to groups. The sight of others in panic initiates or reinforces fear in the observer; it is not reassuring. This fear often becomes so intense as to inhibit reasoning and useful learned responses, and the observer also panics. Thus, individual panic can spread rapidly to a whole crowd and can sustain itself by a vicious circle of mutual reinforcement.

The same conditions which lead to panic also produce behavior characterized by demoralization and apathy rather than excitement and frantic activity. This mass paralysis is in some circumstances as obstructive to self-preservation as is active panic. In this report, such conditions are discussed as "untoward mass reactions."

Panic which typically involves disorganized flight from danger may turn to more or less organized group attack upon suddenly conceived sources or symbols of danger or threat. This phenomenon, which is the nature of rioting, is included among the mass reactions which must be prevented or controlled.

IV. NORMAL FEAR AND ORGANIZED RESPONSE

In order to prevent or control panic, the conditions of its development must be understood. Analysis of the causes of panic begins with any situation in which the individual finds himself, usually suddenly, confronted with serious danger or with what he estimates to be a serious threat.

Fear is a normal response to any danger. Some of the physiological responses of fear—increased rate of heartbeat and breathing, increased muscle tone, and release of blood sugar—are useful in sustaining the physical effort which may be required to cope with a danger. What is crucial, however, is whether the activity which is thus initiated and sustained in the individual will be channeled into behavior actually useful in combating the danger (organized behavior) or into behavior which is not useful (disorganized behavior: panic, paralysis, senseless aggression).

When an individual is facing danger and experiencing fear, one or more of the following conditions must exist if his behavior is to be organized and effective in reducing the danger, and hence the fear:

A. *The danger situation sets off habits of useful response learned through training and practice.* Thus, the doctor, fireman, and life guard respond to dangers of illness, fire, or drowning with well-trained habits of behavior which they know will reduce the danger.

B. Although the individual may not have trained, habitual responses appropriate to the situation, *directions for such responses are available to him* through the commands, suggestions, and exemplary behavior of others. If these directions are accepted, they serve to channel behavior into effective activity. For example, the soldier in danger situations for which he has been inadequately trained may behave effectively in response to command.

C. Lacking both trained responses or external directions, *the individual can develop correct insights into what must be done to reduce the danger.* The likelihood of such personal invention depends, of course, on the individual's general ingenuity, relevant knowledge, and ability to discern analogies to other situations which he has experienced, heard of, or read about.

V. FEAR AND DISORGANIZED RESPONSE

The likelihood of panic or other disorganized behavior increases to the extent that:

A. The individual is not trained in organized response.

B. No external guidance to organized response is furnished him.

C. He fails to develop rapid spontaneous insight into how to deal with the danger.

D. His fear is so strong that it inhibits his organized habits, makes him oblivious to external guidance, or blocks his insight into the requirements of the situation (as when his fear is reinforced by observing others in panic, or when the dangerous emergency releases a long accumulation of unrealistic fear).

E. His first organized responses to the situation are frustrated because they do not work, are impeded by the disorganization of those around him, or are inadequate for meeting sudden new developments in the danger situation.

Under these conditions, a profound change in behavior occurs. The individual's activity, instead of being *selectively directed toward appropriate parts of the danger situation* (toward putting out a fire, manning a lifeboat, preserving a shelter, incapacitating an enemy, etc.), *becomes urgently but diffusely driven away from the whole situation* (as in precipitate flight, stampeding, covering the eyes to avoid the sight of disaster, or psychological flight into the self as seen in reactions of hopeless apathy and paralysis). These panic reactions carry the same biological purpose as do organized reaction—that is, they are efforts to put greater distance between the individual and the danger. However, they have lost all selectivity of feasible means, they usually fail, they often create great danger to other persons, and their failure to reduce the individual's danger only increases the fear and further inhibits more rational behavior.

VI. PANIC PREVENTION MEASURES

The conditions which lead to disorganized behavior, as outlined above, can be utilized in developing a set of measures which make panic less likely. These conditions are discussed under the following:

A. Training to Establish Habits of Organized Response to Organized Dangers.
B. External Direction at the Time of Emergency.
C. Relevant Knowledge to Assist Personal Insight.
D. Means to Avoid Exaggerated Fear.
E. Arrangements to Prevent Frustration of Organized Behavior.

a. Training to Establish Habits of Organized Response to Likely Dangers

To the extent that training is feasible, it stands as the surest single preventive measure against panic. It is the device used effectively in combat training—the implanting of habitual estimates of danger situations and of habitual responses in consequence of such esti-

mates (taking cover, firing of weapons, performance of maneuvers, reconnaissance, etc.).

Its effectiveness stems from the psychological fact that well-trained habits resist disruption by emotion. The gas explosions in Brighton, New York were instructive in this respect. Many of the people who stood outside their gas-filled houses, not daring to re-enter to rescue belongings or pets, nevertheless entered to answer ringing telephones—a long-established habit took dominance over fear and helpless behavior in spite of great danger.

For civil defense, the goal is intensive training of the public to recognize the main sources of danger in foreseeable emergencies and practice in effective actions to combat these dangers. As in combat training, every approach toward realism in the training situations will be a gain inasmuch as it guarantees greater transfer of the learned responses to the situation of real danger. Also, as in combat training, these learned responses should be concrete physical acts whenever possible. The great need for such a training program, and its difficulties and limitations are discussed in the main sections of this report.

b. External Direction at the Time of Emergency

Even if the individual is untrained in reactions to emergency, his behavior may be directed effectively by external guidance, if this is *immediately* and *impressively* available to him. In fact, if he lacks the training to assess and usefully react to the threat, his need for authoritative assessment and direction from others is exceedingly urgent.

Analysis of the "Invasion from Mars" incident showed often frantic individual efforts to ascertain the danger and what others were doing or advising about it—telephoning friends, tuning to other radio stations, running to friends and neighbors, or going out into the streets to find out what people were doing. This "vacuum of direction" offers both an advantage and a danger. If it can be filled by quick leadership and immediate information and directions for behavior, it helps insure that these will be eagerly accepted. If no direction or information are forthcoming, the untrained individual is predisposed toward accepting false rumors and advice, imitation of panic behavior around him, and the dominance of his emotions of fear over his ability to organize his behavior. In fact, he will tend more often than not to interpret his observations as confirming his fears.

Effective civil defense planning must, therefore, provide for leaders in each area where people may congregate, and each leader must be prepared to provide the following and as rapidly as possible in each phase of an emergency:

1. A quick, clear, and accurate statement of the situation, in which its important dangers are made clear but not exaggerated;

2. Immediate, clear, and feasible directions for coping with the danger, reinforced by the example of trained assistants; consistent repetition, for thorough understanding and cumulative effect; support of higher authority, as through concurrent radio broadcast heard from civil defense headquarters, dissemination of official leaflets of instruction, etc.; and where urgent, direct commands following advice and explanation.

To accomplish these functions, the leader should be known to as many people as possible from previous training situations, so that people will have acquired confidence in his knowledge and ability in such situations. The leader should be selected and trained for a calmness and confidence (and, when appropriate, good humor) of behavior which show readily that his directions and information are the antithesis of the panic-reaction which he is helping people avoid. For the most effective direction, the leader should have advantages in communication—a raised place from which he is readily visible, a loudspeaker through which he can make himself heard above the noise and confusion, etc. A few trained (preferably respected) members of the group should be available to set immediate examples in carrying out the leader's guidance before disruptive examples of indecision or panic occur.

c. Relevant Knowledge to Assist Personal Insight

The sudden development of useful personal insights into problem situations is, like invention, so abrupt and often ingenious, that it is difficult to pre-arrange. But it is made more likely by the amount of relevant knowledge which the individual has and which he may suddenly find applicable.

It is true, on the one hand, that general ingeniousness and critical ability are in part related to higher formal education, which selects and encourages them. But, on the other hand, these abilities are, in part, specific to particular situations. In the Brighton gas disaster, the insightfully organized behavior in that upper-middle class suburb was carried out by a few delivery men who happened to be in the neighborhood at the noon hour. It was the delivery men who entered houses, found wrenches, and turned off house gas-mains, rather than the housewives and other inhabitants of the community who were, on the average, better educated than the delivery men. In this instance, specific familiarity with tools and gas piping led more quickly to useful insights than did general educational background.

It would be an absurd aim to attempt by any measure of civil defense training to raise general ingeniousness. But information can be made widely available about the hazards of attack and personal defense against these hazards. This is the direction of present efforts to raise the likelihood of correct individual behavior under attack among those whose training may be inadequate and who may be cut off from much official information or direction at the moment of attack. All information about the exact nature of hazards of blast, radiation, fire and fire-storm, biological and chemical weapons and all specific information on the best protection for oneself and others constitute a potential store of personal knowledge which many individuals may use to organize their behavior in an emergency.

d. Means to Avoid Exaggerated Fear

The fourth condition for panic—inhibition of habit, external direction, or individual insight by excessive fear—requires that panic prevention include prevention of fear out of proportion to the actual emergency.

Conditions for excessive fear exist. Current surveys show a considerable segment of the public who regard the results of an attack as so disastrous that efforts to counteract it are futile. Such opinion forms the basis for abject terror rather than reasonable fear.

For this reason, civil defense education, at the same time that it combats indifference from some members, must also avoid inflaming exaggerated anxiety in others. This is a difficult but essential task; its complexity has been analyzed in the main sections of this report.

In addition, civil defense education must make people aware that a considerable degree of fear under attack is normal and inevitable. As with the development of healthy attitudes among combat troops, civil defense must, in effect, tell people: "You will feel afraid when the first attack comes. So will everyone else, for attack is dangerous. There is no abnormality and no cowardliness in such justified fear. It is not whether you feel afraid, but what you do when you are afraid that counts. The fear you experience will make you more alert, stronger, and more tireless for the things that you and your neighbors can do to protect yourselves, and here is what to do . . ."

PROJECT EAST RIVER Report IX on Public Information and Training has strongly urged the utmost communication to the public about what is occurring at the time of attack so that it will be plain to people that the whole story can be calmly told and that the situation, as

bad as it may be, is not wholly disastrous and is being dealt with as effectively as possible by the orderly machinery of civil defense.

e. Arrangements to Prevent Frustration of Organized Behavior

Since organized behavior, if frustrated, may readily yield place to emotionally disorganized behavior, all civil defense planning is an assurance against panic which assures that methods and materials of protection are available and workable.

Accounts of the Titanic disaster indicate that technical failures in launching life boats caused a virtual mass inactivity in a great many who abandoned probably feasible means of self-rescue and went passively down to death.

Similarly, in the event of a bombing, the ground is laid for easy panic if attempts to find shelter fail, if communications devices do not work, if gas masks cannot be found, and if wardens are not available. Against such dangerous contingencies, only the most complete planning with respect to procedures and materials can be effective. Even the most tedious details at the local level of preparation may turn out to be crucial for preventing the panic of frustration.

VII. CONTROL OF PANIC

It is more practicable to prevent panic than to control or eliminate it. The process by which strong emotion takes over the direction of behavior from rational or habitual mechanisms is difficult to reverse. The return of the individual to rationality is not easy. Further, the group panic which he may incite aound him strongly sustains his emotionality.

The literature, quite understandably, fails to reveal any formula readily applicable to ending panic in the variety of circumstances in which it may occur. The devices which should be tried center, in any event, in the effort to channel crowd behavior in an organized direction.

Direct negative argument, however factual, is known to be ineffective in changing emotionally charged behavior. Positive suggestions toward simple, easily available acts are more effective. Useful in putting the suggestions across are: repeated, simple commands from individuals accepted as authoritative and trustworthy; examples of cool behavior by those who have not "lost their heads"; direct assignment of specific tasks by a leader to those who are only mildly disorganized and who may thereby recover their balance.

The National Opinion Research Center's study of a disaster at an aviation show describes how the aimless and distracted activity of friends and relatives of the victims was brought under good control by a public-address announcer who rapidly issued concrete directions for simple constructive activity and by a priest who assigned specific jobs to individual members of the crowd. The priest's effectiveness was especially striking in view of the exceptionally low prestige accorded Roman Catholics in that community.

VIII. THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF MOB AGGRESSION: RIOTING, SCAPE-GOATING, LOOTING, ETC.

Crowd behavior resulting in group and personal disorganization is characterized by diffuse attempts to flee from danger, without either individual or group decision as to means of flight and without interpersonal cooperation. The difficulty in controlling such behavior lies in the difficulty of setting useful goals and feasible cooperation for a crowd that offers no organization responsive to these.

A quite different case, and one still more difficult to control, arises if the disorganized crowd becomes organized around aims and means of venting aggression. In such case, the crowd becomes a mob. The psychological conditions which are likely to transform the crowd into a mob have the following type of development: the existence of generally felt threat is recognized and is seen by the mob members as resisting ordinary action; a strong frustration arises which in turn causes aggression toward convenient things, people, or symbols which represent (often fantastically) the source of the danger threat.

Mob behavior, therefore, has its origins, as does crowd panic, in strongly felt fear. But it develops further than crowd panic does, and it produces a further phenomenon: a group which is organized and mutually supportive with destruction of—not flight from—symbols of menace as its aim.

The deadly purposiveness of a mob and its strong insulation from external authority and suggestion make less hopeful the measures of control which may be adequate in panic. As with the panic, the effort must be to substitute appropriate goals of behavior for the destructive ones upon which the mob has become intent; and for this, the same techniques of calm suggestion and exemplary action should be tried.

Mobs are usually characterized by the emergence of leaders. If leaders can be identified and isolated from their followers, substitute control may become possible. The literature on mob behavior, however,

makes it appear that such efforts are more often successful in the movies than in real life. In the extreme, efforts may have to be limited to forceful constraint of the mob's area of activity—by barricading and defending essential property, defending and removing potential victims, reduction of the size of the mob by isolation of its less resistant members.

The measures for the prevention of mob behavior are the same as those for the prevention of panic, but these measures require still greater emphasis upon a public well informed about real sources of danger and real ways of coping with them in order to avoid the easy course of seizing upon false directions for organized activity.

What is the likelihood during a raid upon our cities that mob aggression would seek and find scapegoats to destroy instead of the real enemy? The fact of lynching, race riots, and other well-known attacks on scapegoats in our society is not reassuring. Neither is the public opinion which readily supported indiscriminate seizure of Japanese-Americans in World War II, nor is the present atmosphere, to the extent that it condones aggression toward merely unorthodox persons as symbols of Communism. The very real possibility exists that in event of sudden attack, mob action could readily break out. There are convenient scapegoats, and the nature of the world situation has made inevitable a long accumulation of anxiety and frustration toward Russia which could be easily translated into senseless aggression.

The hope is to keep the real enemy and the real means of counteracting him well-defined. In this, all civil defense organizations can assist, but it is finally a program to which every national agency and every public organization must jointly contribute.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

Many individuals have come to look upon panic and other untoward mass reactions as inevitable and as probably widespread during enemy attack. Such attitudes are not only false, if appropriate preventive measures are taken, but in themselves, tend to inhibit the development of such measures. Fortunately, training for proper motor responses to minimize the loss of life and property helps materially in the prevention and control of panic.

Public information on which to base a valid appraisal of the situation and practice in the correct action to be taken to meet various situations are essential to the prevention of panic. Pre-planned actions and the means to convey information and directions to crowds of people are required for panic control.

Even though these actions can be taken now, it is essential that further study be carried out to enlarge our knowledge of the prevention and control of untoward mass reactions.

X. RECOMMENDED RESEARCH ON PANIC

A survey of the literature on panic suggests two kinds of research which, if accomplished, should add considerably to our ability to predict and control panic:

A. A more detailed analysis should be made of a larger number of recorded panics as well as an effort to generalize further conditions which favor, prevent, or mitigate panic under a variety of concrete circumstances.

B. Conditions of anxiety and disruption of organized behavior, to the degree that these are practicable and ethical, should be studied in human laboratory situations, with emphasis on finding techniques for re-establishing organized behavior. Such prototype situations, though remote in intensity from large-scale panic, offer a better way of analyzing an otherwise unmanageable social phenomenon.

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PROJECT EAST RIVER

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APPENDIX IX—A. Research Recommendations
APPENDIX IX—B. Panic Prevention and Control

PART X. SELECTED REFERENCES FOR CIVIL DEFENSE

December 11, 1962

Dear Newt,

Thanks for sending me your private memorandum to the Ford Foundation. Here is a copy of my hasty comments, which were also sent privately.

Sincerely,

Edward R. Murrow

The Honorable
Newton N. Minow
Federal Communications Commission

ERM:jw

Mailed 12/11/62
RLP

RH

OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN NEWTON N. MINOW 12/11

OFFICE MEMO

December 11, 1962

To: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

Remarks:

Dear Ed:

Here's the memorandum I sent to the Ford Foundation -- privately.

Newt

Newton N. Minow

Enclosure

A MODEST PROPOSAL FOR EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

Educational television has yet to make its enduring imprint on the national mind.

To achieve this, educational television should undertake a major project of overwhelming importance which will make a permanent contribution to the nation.

What I have in mind is the creation of a first-rate, exciting visual course in American history -- a course made readily available to all of America's educational television stations.

Millions of Americans share a hunger for a deeper knowledge of American history.

Television offers the most effective and most dramatic new technique of imparting American history. Through the use of still pictures, newsreel film clips, and other films, talented people could weave together a memorable course in American history. Some of the commercial networks have from time to time demonstrated exceptional work in this field, e.g., NBC's PROJECT 20, CBS's YOU ARE THERE, ABC's VALIANT YEARS.

But there has never been an organized, disciplined television course with academic stature in American history. Specifically, I suggest:

1. That educational television commission the creation of a course in American history by hiring the best talent in television and education to do it. This will mean employing a person like Fred Friendly of CBS or Don Hyatt of NBC and giving them carte blanche to organize the material.

2. It would mean the closest consultation with recognized academic authorities in American history. The course must be true to the highest standards of respected scholarship, and must bear the imprimatur of some organization such as the American Society of Historians.

3. The course should use all the dramatic techniques which television professionals can bring to it. For example, in a treatment of the history of the Federalist papers, there could be, in addition to the use of still pictures, a dramatic scene in which Jefferson, portrayed by an actor, would advance his views in Jefferson's own words. Hamilton, portrayed by an actor, could then advance his views in his own words. Through this clash ofopinion, the drama and excitement of the period -- and similarly other periods -- could be brought to life.

4. The course should be run on all of the available educational stations not merely once. It should be run, I suggest, three times a week at different hours in the evening, e.g., 8:00 Monday, 10:00 Wednesday,

9:00 Friday. Educational television should offer the viewer at home a chance to see the program three different times. Thus, if he wants to watch THE UNTOUCHABLES one evening, he will still have the opportunity to participate. Or if he is busy going traveling or to the PTA one evening, he should not lose the chance to see and learn about American history. The point is that educational television should not be seeking a mass audience every evening in any event. It should seek to get some of the people to watch it some of the time. Furthermore, offering the course three times a week would amortize the program cost very substantially.

5. In advance of showing, the program should be built up with as much promotion as possible. A magnificent opening would be to invite the four living American presidents: President Hoover, President Truman, President Eisenhower, and President Kennedy to launch the first program together from the White House. The four Presidents (by coincidence, two of each political party) would all subscribe to the proposition that being an American citizen today requires a wide knowledge of American history, an informed background in American traditions, and would urge all citizens to take the course in the interest of good citizenship.

6. The course should offer some academic credit for the student willing to take examinations. There are ample precedents for this in other programs which the Foundation has already sponsored. Perhaps a special Certificate of Accomplishment could be provided for those who do not want to pursue formal university training but, nevertheless, need an incentive in order to continue their dedication to the project. The course could be at the level of senior-high or freshman-college. Schools could urge students to participate.

7. The long-term value of such a timeless course is obvious. It would be available not only for television usage in one year, but could be rerun in later years. It also could be made available to schools on film if it were of good enough quality. Its implications for foreign use are staggering. There are now as many television sets in other parts of the world as there are in the United States. In a few years, the number of television sets abroad will double the number in the United States. Making this course available in many countries would be a public service of incalculable value.

8. This would not be cheap. My guess is that it could be accomplished within the range of two to three million dollars, with the most exacting standards of professional skills and talent. When we consider that one hair-oil product is spending ten times that amount

this year on television spot advertising, our perspective on the investment may be sharpened. People like Fred Friendly would undertake such a project if it was adequately financed under distinguished auspices. People like Allen Nevins and other distinguished historians would eagerly participate.

To use the newest techniques of communications to advance an understanding of American traditions is a noble goal.

To dedicate ample resources to the task is an historic opportunity.

Newton N. Minow

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL TV

PART II

Three years ago this week, Walter Lippmann made the case for a non-commercial television network.

Mr. Lippmann wrote about a network "which can be run as a public service, with its criterion not what will be most popular but what is good."

B "No doubt, this network would not attract the largest mass audience. But if it enlisted the great talents which are available in the industry, but are now throttled and frustrated, it might well attract an audience which made up in influence what it lacked in numbers. The force of a good example is a great force, and should not be underrated.

"We should not, I believe, shrink from the idea that such a network would have to be subsidized and endowed. Why not? Is there any doubt that television is a mighty instrument of education -- education for good or education for evil? Why should it not be subsidized and endowed as are the universities and the public schools and the exploration of space and modern medical research, and indeed the churches -- and so many other institutions which are essential to a good society, yet cannot be operated for profit? B

"They are unwise friends of our system of private capitalism who do not recognize the fact that the higher life of our society depends on respect for and support of non-commercial institutions. It is true that the best way for this country to produce wealth is by private enterprise for private profit.

"But there are a lot of other things that need to be done besides producing wealth and selling goods. One of them is to inform, instruct, and entertain the people through the media of mass communications. And among these media there must be some which aim not at popularity or profit but at excellence and the good life.

"That it is possible to operate non-commercial institutions is attested by the fact that we do operate successfully schools, universities, hospitals, laboratories of research. Harvard, and Yale and Princeton and Columbia and Dartmouth and so on are not operated for profit. Their trustees do not play politics. They are concerned with excellence and not with making money.

"Why should not people of this sort be able to find ways to operate a television network?"

I believe deeply that Mr. Lippmann's statement of the case has become even more compelling in the past three years. True,

commercial television is improving, especially in its coverage of news and public affairs. But there are some important things that television serving commercial imperatives cannot do.

Government cannot -- and in my view -- should not -- provide government program service. Government can and should -- and will -- help provide the bricks, mortar and transmitters for non-commercial television.

But what is needed is a strong, vibrant program source independent of government to feed the transmitters with an alternative choice of television service.

Let's turn to specific needs.

1. ETV Stations.

The new federal ETV legislation authorized $32,000,000 of federal matching funds to build or improve facilities for ETV stations. Unfortunately, in the closing days of this Congressional session, funds were not appropriated this year to carry the new legislation into effect. We anticipate that when Congress returns in January, federal funds will start going to ETV stations for the first time.

In light of this development, I do not think that the Ford Foundation need longer carry the heavy share it has borne in building ETV stations, with two major exceptions: Los Angeles and Washington, D. C.

There is an obvious need for an ETV station in Los Angeles which has seven VHF commercial stations and no ETV station. The ETV station now in Washington must become a much stronger station. Both of these projects are underway, under responsible local leadership in Los Angeles and Washington. I would urge the Founcation to help. Outside of these two exceptions, the Foundation now can direct its major ETV efforts away from building stations and toward the orderly development of an improved national network service.

2. UHF Television.

In the next ten years, UHF television will provide a chance for growth in this medium, especially ETV growth. With the all-channel television receiver legislation, the country will in the next decade have local stations in almost every major community and additional stations in the larger cities. There will no longer be a crippling shortage of facilities -- or outlets for ETV. Many parts of the country will be able to have ETV for the first time.

3. NET.

To serve these new stations -- and to improve service to existing stations, I recommend strengthening the work of the National Educational Television and Radio Center. I've studied NET firsthand. With its limited resources, it does a valiant job in providing a national educational program service to the educational stations.

With the new ETV outlet in New York, NET has a unique chance to make more progress than ever before.

What is needed now, more than anything else, is concentration on quality. This is number one: Quality.

For educational television to grow, let alone survive, it must offer a program service of distinction to a sizeable minority of the American people. Program areas needing most concentration are the arts, discussions of public issues (as opposed to spot news), the changing impact of the technological revolution, and some special efforts for children. These require fresh talent attracted by ETV's special promise. These demand producers, directors, and writers who can meet the highest professional standards.

In seeking quality, ETV should not fall into the trap the commercial networks are in by offering too many hours of programming. I think NET should:

a. Offer no more than around 15 hours per week of first-rate programs. This includes programs produced in this country, programs imported from other countries (NET is now doing important pioneering work here), programs made available by independent producers and educational institutions, programs created by ETV stations, and also some programs produced by

the commercial television stations. ETV should not try to have a different program on every hour. Indeed, it should concentrate on fine programs and repeat its best programs often. (In the attached memo, I suggest one extraordinary program to be shown three times in one week.)

b. Be inter-connected with its affiliated ETV stations. As you know, the FCC has asked AT&T to study the possibility of an off-hours tariff for ETV. NET has some specific figures on this study. If the cost could be brought down to a reasonable figure, it would be a wise investment. The three commercial networks now spend more than $37,000,000 a year for AT&T line charges. That indicates the importance of inter-connection to network operation. I do not believe NET presently needs full time line connections, which is simply too expensive for ETV now. The off-hours service would meet most of ETV's needs for the next five years or so.

c. Enlarge its counselling services to the stations. The stations need expert engineering and legal services, advice on programming, training of personnel. The stations lack resources and expertise. NET's efforts in this direction should be expanded and supplemented.

d. Push the expansion of seven or eight ETV stations into exemplary regional centers. Such centers could be built up around community-operated stations like Boston's WGBH, San Francisco's KQED, Chicago's WTTW, and New Jersey-New York's WNDT. The best areas for other regional centers would be Washington, Pittsburgh, Miami, Los Angeles, plus perhaps Houston. Around these centers, an ETV career service program could be developed. Perhaps half or full-year internships could be financed for promising students to acquire the practical technique and knowledge. For experienced people in commercial television expressing professional interest in ETV, a program something like the Nieman Fellowships for journalists might be worked out between the center and its university affiliate. As the need for fresh talent becomes less acute, Fellowships would go primarily to persons already in ETV, enabling them to broaden their understanding. These centers could maintain active libraries of taped and kinescoped educational programs. In time, such libraries might become the television repository of their region's culture and history.

* * * * *

The costs of this plan would not be cheap.

The three commercial networks today spend $423,783,317 on programs each year. The 15 network owned and operated stations spend $43,908,136 more each year. One major network entertainment special can cost a sponsor today as much as $400,000 for time and talent.

This is big business, with commercial television's annual revenues at about $1,300,000,000.

I do not suggest precise figures here for expanded ETV. Its needs are obvious. Exact financial budgets would require management studies beyond the time and ability I could bring to the assignment just now. My guess is that to render a substantial ETV national program service of quality would require around $30,000,000 a year.

That's a lot of money.

But to advance the arts, lift the cultural level, and better inform and educate the nation, I can't think of a better investment.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DON K. PRICE
VICE PRESIDENT

February 8, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing for your information a copy of the letter sent to the ACITR members who will be present at the February 12 meeting, together with the reports referred to in the letter. I am very sorry that you will not be present to participate in the discussion.

Cordially,

Don

Don K. Price

Attachments (5)

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

January 31, 1957

Mr. George C. McGhee
2406 Kalorama Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

COPY

Dear George:

I am enclosing the following materials for the meeting of the Advisory Committee on International Training and Research on February 12:

Report of a Ford Foundation mission to Africa to explore training and research opportunities in research and higher education in a number of countries there.

Reports of a Ford Foundation mission to India and Pakistan to explore certain opportunities in the field of international legal studies.

A statement of plans for a Ford Foundation visit to Japan to explore training and research opportunities there, particularly in the field of international studies.

There is a common theme which runs through the two reports and the statement of plans (referred to hereinafter as the three reports). It is with respect to this common theme, and in particular one aspect of it bearing directly on the International Training and Research Program, that we know the ACITR can give us very valuable counsel.

In lieu of an agenda an effort will be made in this letter to state the theme and to highlight the questions on which ACITR discussion might focus.

<u>International Cooperation - a new dimension in American university programs</u>

The common element in the three reports is the staff's efforts to identify and develop cooperative training and research activities of mutual benefit to the United States and to the foreign countries concerned. This concern with

cooperative activities is not confined to Foundation programs but represents, as the ACITR members know, an increasing trend in the international programs of American universities. The ACITR has, on earlier occasions, discussed cooperative aspects of the ITR Program. This paper attempts to pursue somewhat further the subject of international cooperation, by which is meant not only (and not primarily) sister-university relations but also less formal cooperation between personnel and programs in the United States and foreign countries in research and higher education.

If one starts from the viewpoint of strengthening the capacity of American educational institutions in international affairs, the importance of cooperative relations between American and foreign educational institutions and personnel has become increasingly evident. The ACITR will recall the policy decision reached by the BOTR in 1953 that a substantial portion of program funds should be used to strengthen training and research resources abroad because of the contribution this would make to American competence. If one starts from the other end, that is, from the viewpoint of strengthening the training and research resources of other countries, it is clear from post-war experience with foreign aid programs, public and private, that the optimum contribution of the United States requires the full participation and strengthening of American colleges and universities. Only thus can the intellectual support for these programs be provided.

Therefore, from the viewpoint of meeting American or foreign needs, we reach the conclusion that to meet these needs requires the development of cooperative training and research activities which are of mutual benefit to the United States and to the foreign countries concerned. This is not a new idea. What is new is the increased emphasis given these cooperative activities, and their institutionalization, to a point where they must be considered as an important and new dimension in American university programs.

Ford Foundation handling of its International Programs

The mission reports on Africa and on India and Pakistan, because they are dealing with underdeveloped countries, identify training and research opportunities which are of interest to the Foundation's Overseas Development Program as well as to the ITR Program. To take advantage of the opportunities identified will involve grants both within the foreign countries

concerned and within the United States. The respective responsibilities of the two Foundation programs for making grants within and outside the United States can be explained at the meeting.

The primary purpose of the ITR Program will continue to be, as in the past, the strengthening of the role of American universities and their personnel in international affairs. One important aspect of that role is participation (involving both contributions and benefits) in cooperative activities with foreign institutions of education and research. The Overseas Development Program has among its major objectives the strengthening of institutions of education and research in underdeveloped areas. By combining and coordinating their efforts, the two Foundation programs - one working through the American and one working through the foreign institutions - can make a major contribution to the strengthening of both sets of institutions, including the establishment of cooperative, mutually beneficial relationships between them.

In addition to the academic advantages that result from international cooperation by American universities and personnel - when properly supported by adequate funds and administrative policies - there are management advantages, to both the universities and a foundation, from which in fact the academic advantages flow. The management benefits to universities and their personnel are continuity of relationships and opportunity to take initiative, make plans and assume responsibility. From the standpoint of the Foundation, there are administrative advantages in being relieved of a continuing responsibility for making a series of ad hoc decisions and for initiating individual projects; this helps to solve a management problem that otherwise might require for its solution resident Foundation representation in overseas areas where cooperative activities are supported by the Foundation.

It is not suggested that all worthwhile ITR programs must involve cooperative relations. It is suggested only that experience has shown that such cooperation is essential to the full realization of the objectives of the ITR program.

Questions for the ITR Program

Among the questions which this letter poses, and with which the ITR Program is faced, are the following:

1. The feasibility of international cooperation

What are the implications for American university policies and programs of such cooperative activities? Assuming the desirability of international cooperation, what are the factors which impose limits on what is feasible for American universities and personnel? Are American universities and personnel likely in fact to undertake more such activity?

What are the implications for Foundation policies and programs? What can a foundation do to help overcome the foregoing limitations without unduly distorting university interests and activities?

In considering cooperation between American and foreign institutions and personnel, where common training and research problems are involved, it may be desirable and in some cases may be necessary, to encourage cooperation among several institutions in the United States, among several institutions in the foreign areas concerned, and with institutions in third countries (e.g., the United Kingdom). To what extent is such cooperation practicable among educational institutions in the United States? What role can learned societies and associations of university personnel play?

2. U.S. institutional programs (involving research, training of Americans and training of foreigners)

What can be done to make the following U.S. institutional programs more effective through international cooperation? (This is the main question. Additional questions are listed under each type of program.)

Foreign Area studies

Assuming that a foreign area studies program is useful in cooperative activities with a given foreign area: To what extent should a foreign area studies program be considered essential, or how much foreign area competence is essential, to a U.S. university's capacity to engage in substantial cooperative activities with that foreign area? For example, should the Foundation look primarily to institutions having African-area competence to undertake special activities, such as legal studies, in or relating to Africa?

Inter-disciplinary (economic-social-political) development studies

In recent years a number of programs in this category have sprung up at American universities, particularly at the graduate level: To what extent should this type of program be encouraged? In what ways can they be served by, and serve as a vehicle for international cooperation?

International and comparative education studies

The Foundation staff has become increasingly concerned about the lack of persons who are equipped to advise foreign educational institutions and governments about their educational problems. The lack of this type of person represents one of the severest bottlenecks in the recruitment of personnel for overseas service. The staff is also impressed with the lack of attention that has been given (a) in orthodox foreign area studies to education as an important aspect of a foreign country and (b) in orthodox comparative education programs to educational problems as distinct from educational systems. During the past year the staff has had numerous discussions with universities that wish to strengthen or establish programs that would add to systematic American knowledge in this important field, train Americans and foreigners for overseas service in the field of education, and add to American insights concerning our own educational problems. A program of this nature at the University of Chicago is currently under active consideration by the Foundation staff.

What types of programs should the Foundation encourage in this field? To what extent can they be served by, and contribute to, international cooperation in the field of education?

International legal studies and international studies within the individual social sciences

Since law and the individual social science disciplines (rather than specially designed interdisciplinary programs) are the bulwark of academic strength in the law schools and in the social sciences in American and in most foreign educational institutions, what can and should be done to involve personnel in these disciplines more fully in cooperative international activities?

Since individual disciplinary boundaries and preoccupations are often a source of weakness and rigidity, especially in overseas educational institutions, what can and should be done to involve personnel in law and the social sciences more fully in inter-disciplinary studies of foreign policy and international relations?

Teaching of English as a foreign language

In foreign areas that have adopted English as the first or second major language, the teaching of English as a foreign language is increasingly recognized as a matter of vital importance in the educational process. A number of American educational institutions have had considerable experience in teaching English to foreigners and could presumably contribute to, and benefit by cooperation with, the countries needing assistance on this problem.

4. Foreign area studies fellowship programs and other individual exchanges

No specific questions are asked with respect to these programs. Questions concerning them may arise in the discussion of the institutional programs referred to above.

ACITR discussion

We recognize that the three reports, the subject of this letter and the foregoing questions constitute a big order, and we do not suggest that an attempt be made to cover them in a single day's discussion. The questions referred to will be before the ITR staff for a long time to come. At the same time the questions posed are no bigger than the problems faced. Accordingly the ITR staff would appreciate any help ACITR members can give in developing guidelines and avoiding pitfalls.

In short, we would appreciate your advice on the general questions noted above in relation to the specific proposals of the enclosed reports. In addition, we would of course welcome your comments on any other aspects of these reports, and your questions and comments on any other aspect of the ITR Program.

The meeting will be held at the Foundation offices (15 floor conference room) and will start at 10:00 a.m.

Cordially yours,

Don K. Price

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

December 19, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

This will confirm my telephone message to the effect that the meeting of the Advisory Committee on International Training and Research has been set for Friday, February 15, 1957.

We shall send you the detailed schedule later, together with papers which will be used in our discussion.

Cordially,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

October 10, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

This note will confirm that the next meeting of the Advisory Committee on International Training and Research will be on Tuesday, December 20, beginning at 10:00 A. M. We shall send materials and agenda to you a little later, giving you the exact place of the all day meeting.

Cordially,

John

John B. Howard
Assistant Director
International Programs

Yes

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

June 29, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

In Don Price's letter to you of May 9th he promised that we would send a full interim report on our current activities and future plans following our June Trustees meeting. Here is the report, and I hope that I may have an opportunity, sometime at your convenience during August or September, to talk with you about it.

I think you will find many things of interest in the report, in the way of both a maturing of plans discussed in earlier ACITR meetings and signs of beginning activities along lines ACITR members have helped to block out for new program development.

The memorandum reviewing the International Training and Research Program and recommending its future directions, which the ACITR discussed at the last meeting, has been sent by Rowan Gaither to the Trustees, in a somewhat different form but with essentially the same content.

You will be interested to know that John Everton is returning from the position he has occupied for the past three years as the Foundation's Representative in Burma, to work with us as a senior member of the ITR staff. John will have major responsibility for the Foundation's training and research programs, at home and abroad, concerning the Far East (working in this connection with David Munford). He will also have major responsibility for the subject of American university organization and policies for the conduct of overseas activities and sister-university relations. In addition, working with other staff members, John will help provide more adequate ITR attention to the undergraduate teaching of international studies, developments in the field of comparative education, the humanities aspects of ITR activities and the activities of the American Council on Education relating to international and overseas problems. John will join the ITR staff in early September. In October he and David Munford will probably leave for a visit of two months or so to Japan, Formosa and Hongkong to look into ITR program possibilities in the Far East area, particularly in Japan.

I will be on vacation during July and will take the initiative of phoning you on my return to the office, in order to arrange for a time and place to meet at your convenience, sometime during August or September, to discuss your thoughts on the interim report and our program plans for the coming year.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Howard
Director, International Training
and Research Program

Enclosures

May 17, 1956

Dear Don:

Have a good trip. If any of your lads want to talk to me, I will be here during the month of June fairly regularly.

As ever yours,

Mr. Don K. Price
Vice President
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

rh

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DON K. PRICE
VICE PRESIDENT

May 9, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

At the last meeting of our Advisory Committee on International Training and Research John Howard and I confidently expected that we would be asking you to meet with us again this spring.

The most important reason is that we simply found that we had gotten more hay down than we were able to stack. Several of the subjects which we have talked over at considerable length with the Committee required a lot more staff work, and action by our Board of Trustees, before there was any really new subject to discuss with you. Both John and I were confident that you preferred not to be called together again simply for the sake of following a schedule and before there were issues of substantive policy to discuss.

Among the problems which we had discussed with the Advisory Committee before, and needed to do a lot more staff work on, were the bringing of scholars and scientists from Asia and the Near East to America, the consideration of special summer seminars to improve teaching of international studies at the undergraduate level, and the opening up of new areas of program activity in Japan and Africa.

In addition a great deal of work has had to be put on the issue whether the Foundation should extend its support to the American Universities Field Staff and its general support to several national organizations dealing with the international exchange of students.

In addition to work on these problems we have had a calendar of staff travel that has added to our difficulties of scheduling, to say nothing of the travel plans of one or two of the Advisory Committee members themselves.

John and I would like very much to set the next meeting of the Advisory Committee for the autumn or early winter, after John's trip in the early autumn to Africa. We would like, however, to be able to keep in touch with you, and to keep you informed, in the interim. Accordingly I hope that some one of us on the staff here will be able to be in touch with each member

of the Advisory Committee during the next two or three months, and in addition we plan to send you in late June, after the Trustees' meeting, a full interim report on our current activities and future plans.

John Howard is off this week-end for a trip to the Near East and I myself plan to be in Europe from mid June to early September.

I look forward to seeing some of you before my departure, and the Committee as a whole during the autumn.

Yours sincerely,

Don

Don K. Price

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

September 20, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing for your information the announcements of the Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program and the International Relations Training Fellowship Program for 1956-57.

Sincerely yours,

John

John B. Howard
Assistant Director
International Programs

Enclosure.

Ford Foundation

September 1, 1955

Dear Don:

I am just back in the office and hasten to say that I hope the new division of duties is working out satisfactorily, and that you got a bit of a rest this summer.

As ever yours,

Mr. Don K. Price
Vice President
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

rh

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DON K. PRICE
VICE PRESIDENT

July 27, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Attached is a release, for publication July 31, regarding the appointment of Dr. F. F. Hill, now Provost of Cornell University, as a vice president of the Ford Foundation.

At the last meeting of our Advisory Committee on International Training and Research, I believe I mentioned briefly the review of the Foundation's Overseas Development program which was being conducted for the Trustees. As a result of that review, the Trustees decided to increase the budget for that program, and to continue it indefinitely.

In view of this decision it was all the more apparent that the combination of all the international programs under a single vice president (namely, myself) was too much. The Trustees accordingly approved our recommendation that a vice president be elected exclusively for the Overseas Development program, and I am going to concentrate my efforts on the Training and Research program, and the program on International Affairs (including Europe).

This new arrangement does not alter the Training and Research program with which the Advisory Committee is concerned. Its major effect, which seems to me a very desirable one, is that I will be able to put a much larger proportion of my time on the subject matter in which the Advisory Committee is interested.

Yours sincerely,

Don

Don K. Price

Enclosure

FROM: The Ford Foundation
Office of Reports
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York
PLaza 1-2900

FOR RELEASE: A.M. papers of
Sunday, July 31, 1955

Mr. H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., President of The Ford Foundation, announced today the election by the Trustees of Dr. F. F. Hill as a Vice President with particular responsibility for the overseas development program of the Foundation.

Dr. Hill is Provost of Cornell University and a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. He has served the government as Deputy Governor and Governor of the Farm Credit Administration and as a consultant to the Economic Cooperation Administration.

A native of Kansas, Dr. Hill grew up on a farm in Saskatchewan and received a Bachelor of Science degree in Agriculture from the University of Saskatchewan. While earning money to continue his education he became statistician and then Comptroller of the Federal Land Bank, Springfield, Mass. Upon receiving his Doctor's Degree from Cornell in 1930, he was appointed to the faculty to teach land economics. When Dean William I. Myers of Cornell became Governor of the Farm Credit Administration in 1933, Dr. Hill went to Washington with him as his Special Assistant. A year later he became Deputy Governor and in 1938 was appointed Governor of the Farm Credit Administration.

He returned to Cornell in 1940 to become Professor of Land Economics. In 1943 he was appointed Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics and in 1952 became Provost of the University.

In 1949 he undertook assignments abroad as a consultant to the Economic Cooperation Administration. He has served also as President of the American Farm Economics Association, as member of the Policy Committee of the National Planning Association Study of Technical Assistance in Latin America, and as a Director of the Center for Advanced

Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

He will begin his duties at The Ford Foundation on October 15.

Other Vice Presidents of the Foundation, and their areas of responsibility are: Dyke Brown, public affairs; Thomas H. Carroll, economic development and administration; William McPeak, education and the behavioral sciences; Don K. Price, international affairs and international training and research.

Ford Foundation

June 30, 1955

Dear Don:

The only thing I could say in response to your letter of June 23 is that I find myself in complete accord with all three of your assumptions.

I remain concerned at our inability to find people who are already established in the communication business who are prepared to take a year off to inform themselves of the areas of the world with which they are not familiar, but I do not know what to do about it.

As ever yours,

Mr. Don K. Price
Vice President
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

rh

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DON K. PRICE
VICE PRESIDENT

June 23, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I was sorry that we did not get to see you at our last Advisory Committee on International Training and Research Meeting. We had a most interesting and useful discussion.

Among other things, we talked about the need for a separate competition for fellowships in the international relations field, in place of granting them as exceptional cases in connection with the foreign area fellowships. The Foundation's Board of Trustees on May 27 authorized us to add this feature to the fellowship program to be administered during the coming year (awards for 1956-57).

As a result, we have been working on the proposed program, and discussing it with several consultants, as the attached draft announcement indicates. I am sending you this draft in the hope of getting your comments on the nature of the proposed program.

The maximum amount available for the program is $100,000, a sum which may support up to twenty or twenty-five fellowships. With this limit in mind the staff prepared this draft announcement on three assumptions: first, that the program should be directed toward academic candidates, not only because of the importance of building up some genuinely competent teachers and researchers in this field, but also because of the difficulty of adapting a program of this kind and size to the problem of training for government service; second, that the conventional training in international relations, which has usually meant a concentration in international politics, international organization, and international law, is not broad enough for the needs of the times, and should be supplemented by encouraging contributions from related social sciences; third, that, as many social scientists believe, the other social sciences can make a substantial contribution to this field but will be able to do so only as social scientists acquire a closer acquaintance with the substance of international relations.

Perhaps I should add that we look on this proposed fellowship program as only a first step into the field of international relations. It obviously does not touch on the important problem of the more advanced scholars in the field or of teaching international relations at the undergraduate level.

I know the demands on your time are heavy but I would be grateful for any comments you would care to make on the proposed program -- especially with respect to the three assumptions noted above -- either by letter or by telephone.

Yours sincerely,

Don K. Price

Don K. Price

Attachment

Draft #5 (June 21, 1955) Draft #5

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS TRAINING FELLOWSHIPS

The Ford Foundation is offering for the academic year 1956-57 a number of fellowships in support of special graduate training related to the field of international and foreign affairs. These awards will be made to exceptionally promising American men and women who seek to develop a combination of skills which will contribute to their capacity to teach and do research in this general field. They are designed primarily for persons who wish to expand their existing teaching and research competence by combining training in international relations with training in economics, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, social psychology or related fields, or with training in the history and culture of one or more of the non-western nations.

These fellowships are available to United States citizens and to aliens permanently residing in the United States who can give substantial evidence of their intention to become citizens. They will be given for study up to two years, but will be granted only for training programs beginning no later than January 1, 1957.

Applications will be received from persons who will have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. except the dissertation by January 1, 1956, or who have equivalent training and experience. Applicants should not ordinarily be over 40 years of age.

In establishing individual stipends, account will be taken of the applicant's qualifications, experience, present position, family status, and special expenses, including transportation, which would be incurred in carrying out the proposal submitted.

Applications are invited from

1. Persons now studying or teaching international relations who wish (a) to add at least one year's graduate training in a second social science discipline, or (b) to obtain at least one year's training in the history, culture and current problems of one or more non-western nations.
2. Persons in a social science, other than international relations, or in a related humanities field, who wish to get training in international relations as the basis for a career or to supplement their existing social science competence with a year's training in international relations.
3. Persons having had specialized training in a foreign area who wish to supplement their competence with a year's training in international relations.

For further information and application forms, write to The Secretary, The Ford Foundation (International Relations Training Fellowships), 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

Applications must be filed by December 15, 1955. Awards will be announced around April 15, 1956.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

7

Pending

February 10, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

The next meeting of the Advisory Committee on International Training and Research will be held on Friday, April 29th.

Later on we will send you the agenda for discussion and details as to time and place. We hope very much that you will be able to attend.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John

John B. Howard
Assistant Director
International Programs

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

October 19, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

We are delighted that you will be able to join us at the meeting, Thursday, of the Advisory Committee on International Training and Research. We understood that you would not be free to come.

I am attaching the papers to be discussed.

The meeting will start at 10:00 A.M. in the Conference Room on the 11th floor. We shall all look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee

Ford Foundation
Bd. on Overseas Training (correspondence)

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

September 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I'm looking forward to seeing you on Wednesday, September 15th at 3:30 to go over with you some impressions about the Ford Foundation's Overseas Fellowship Programs. Although I am interested in the entire range of your opinions and judgments about the programs on which the Board on Overseas Training and Research has had a concern, I am especially interested in your feeling about the so called "non-academic fellowships."

In the three years that the Fellowship Program has been operating for Asian Studies, only 27 of the 238 individuals who have received awards have been classified as being non-academic. The classification used here in the Ford Foundation shows that 12 of these were journalists, 6 were lawyers, 3 were in business, 3 in non-governmental organizations, 2 in the field of communications, and 1 in architecture

Although 25% of the applications during these three years have been from the so called non-academic people, only one applicant out of every 20 was successful in obtaining a fellowship -- although one applicant out of every 7 in the academic field was successful. This does not appear to be the result of any arbitrary limitation of funds available for the non-academic program, but seems instead to be due to the fact that the quality of many applicants is low.

I am concerned in completing my survey to find out more accurately what members of the Board on Overseas Training and Research believe about these non-academic fellowships. Specifically, what do they feel are the basic contributions to be made by giving such overseas experience to non-academic persons? Do they feel that the present machinery for administration of these fellowships is the best way of realizing these purposes? Are we getting the best talent available? If not, what are some of the techniques we might experiment to get better talent? Is a fellowship the best means open to the Foundation for achieving the purposes that the BOTR has in mind for non-academic people?

I think these question indicate the kinds of problems that I have been wrestling with in the course of the survey. I'm anxious, however, to have the benefit of your thinking on any and all phases of this fellowship program -- or of the usefulness of fellowships in general.

Sincerely yours,

Howland Sargeant

Howland Sargeant

Ford Foundation

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

August 30, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

You will recall that last Spring we undertook to arrange for as complete an appraisal as possible of our first three years of experience in the Foreign Study and Research Fellowship Program. We were fortunate enough to get Howland Sargeant, formerly Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, to help us with this and the work is now well advanced. We hope to be able to get something to you in writing early in October on the first results of his evaluation.

The immediate purpose of this letter is to inquire whether you and the other members of the advisory committee on international training and research would be able to meet together around the middle of October to discuss with us Sargeant's findings and the future development of our fellowship and research programs. The best possibility so far would seem to be October 21. Gordon Gray has said he can be here on that day, and we know that John Dickey already plans to be in New York then.

Would October 21 be all right for you? In a few days we will follow up by telephone to check on this date or, if necessary, alternative possibilities.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely yours,

Yes

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John B. Howard
Assistant Director
International Programs

Ford Foundation
Bd on Overseas Training (correspondence)

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

August 20, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

It seems to me that every time I want to sit down and visit with you, I am undertaking a survey of some kind. The latest one is undertaken at the request of Don Price of the Ford Foundation. I am working with John Howard and Cleon Swayzee to see whether we can come up with some answers to questions in the minds of members of the Board on Overseas Training and Research and of Officers of the Foundation about the Foreign Study and Research Fellowship Programs. I know how heavy a schedule you are carrrying these days, but I should very much like an opportunity to check some of my impressions with you. I'll give your secretary a call toward the end of August to see whether it would be possible for us to get together for a brief visit.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Howland Sargeant

Howland Sargeant

6

Sept 15
3:30

THE FORD FOUNDATION

New York Inter-Office Memorandum

TO: Messrs. Gordon [redacted] S. Dickey, Alvin C. Eurich, John W. Gardner, Edward R. Murrow, Milo R. Perkins, Carl B. Spaeth

DATE June 30, 1954

FROM: Don K. Price

SUBJECT:

As the Ford Foundation moved from its several scattered locations to its new offices at 477 Madison Avenue this week, we took advantage of the occasion to put into effect a new pattern of organization for the international programs which I hope will help us to develop even more effective balance and unity of purpose among the several aspects of the training and research program.

This new organization puts primary responsibility for the staff work on training and research programs in Mr. John B. Howard's hands. Mr. Kenneth R. Iverson similarly becomes responsible for the overseas development program, and Mr. Shepard Stone for the program of international affairs (U. S. and Europe).

June 28, 1954

TO: International Programs Staff

FROM: Don K. Price

SUBJECT: Changes in Organization of International Programs

With Mr. Gaither's approval, the following changes will be made in the organization of the international programs effective June 28, 1954:

1. Mr. John B. Howard, Mr. Kenneth R. Iverson and Mr. Shepard Stone will each be designated as Assistant Director of International Programs. While the international programs staff will be grouped under the three Assistant Directors, it is hoped that with the move into the new building it will be possible to continue to develop the close relationship among the several groups within the international programs. It is clear that the subject matter of the three staff groups will be closely related or overlap at many points, and I hope that by taking advantage of our new location under the same roof, and by more frequent staff meetings, we can make use of the opportunities that will arise as a result of the inter-relationships of our program. The following definition of the primary responsibilities will need to be developed experimentally in practice.

2. Training and Research Program

Mr. Howard will head the staff group dealing with training and research. This group (with certain exceptions noted below) will have primary responsibility for staff work on programs of training and research carried on by academic institutions at home or abroad that fall within the scope of the international programs. This will include the research and fellowship programs originated under the auspices of the former BOTR and the newly developing program of international relations research. In addition, Mr. Howard has personally been assigned responsibility for staff work in connection with international legal studies. While the international exchange of persons may be a part of each of the several international programs, the central staff concerned with exchange will be responsible to Mr. Howard.

3. Overseas Development Program

Mr. Iverson will head the staff group concerned with the overseas development program, including such research operations of indigenous institutions overseas as fall within its purview.

4. International Affairs (U. S. and Europe) Program

Mr. Stone will head the staff group concerned with international affairs (U. S. and Europe). This group (which takes over the staff of the

"Conditions of Peace" project) will have primary responsibility for that part of the international programs carried on in the United States by non-academic institutions, and for such programs as may be developed in Europe.

5. As Director of International Programs, I will have in my immediate office two assistants: Mr. John A. Quinn, dealing with program matters, and Mr. Gordon Parker, with administrative matters.

6. The Division of Overseas Activities and the Conditions of Peace project will not exist as separate organizational units after June 28.

DKP:jm

Ford Foundation.

Reach

June 21, 1954

Dear Ed:

I know you are fabulously busy, as always, so I won't demand more than a couple of minutes of your time. But here is a problem in which a slight amount of personal intervention by you might help save a promising Ford Fellow and an extraordinarily important project from going under simply because quick decisions can not be made in that bureaucratic organization known as the Ford Foundation.

The enclosed copy of my letter to Jonathan King is self-explanatory. All I need say is that if you can do anything to speed up a decision on his case, neither you nor the Foundation will ever regret it.

As ever,

Pepper Martin
Miramar Hotel
Hongkong

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City

June 22, 1954

Dear Jonathan:

I know that this letter will reach you at a most inconvenient time, what with vacation leaves and the usual summer absence of various officers and board members. However, one of the Fellows, Stanley Spector, is facing such an acute [redacted] crisis that I thought it most necessary to pass on to you the information I have.

First of all, Spector is, in my opinion, one of the most promising Fellows I have met anywhere, both in the U.S. and out here in Asia, and that includes my favorites in Japan. He is a rather remarkable young man, obviously a scholar, a serious worker and yet a most human type of individual. I think the soundest commentary on his character and personality is the fact that he has established himself in both the British official and the Chinese community in Singapore, which is quite an achievement for an American these days. I can testify personally to the wide, friendly relationship he has in the Chinese community since we spent some time together during the Chinese student demonstrations.

He and Bob Elegant, the other Fellow now in Singapore working on the political relationship between the Mainland and the Overseas Chinese, have pooled their talents and efforts and this team relationship, I believe, will result in both of them being vastly more effective in their research than if they were working alone. Believe me, if the Foundation has ever again two similarly compatible individuals working in allied fields in the same city, by all means encourage them to team up. In the present case, I can't imagine a better combination than Spector, a trained scholar and teacher, and Elegant, a trained and highly capable newspaperman, working together on what is certainly one of the major political problems in Southeast Asia, one that has both historical and contemporary importance.

I believe Spector has informed you fully of his financial problems. To recapitulate, because of the excessive cost of living in Singapore and the problem of supporting his family of four in the U.S., he will not be able to complete his original project, scheduled to end during the coming winter. Another factor, under the original project, he would return to the U.S. in the middle of the academic year when it is practically impossible for a scholar to secure work. This means he would face a period of up to six months of unemployment before getting a job presumably in September of next year.

Spector and I have gone over his books very carefully, and he has outlined a program that makes a great deal of sense to me. It calls for an additional payment of $750.00 in September (he is scheduled to receive $1200 then) and an extension of his Fellowship through June of 1955, which would require an allotment of $1950 in December and a similar one in March. He may have modified his program outline in some way or other since I left Singapore, but that was what he had in mind a month ago.

Frankly, I do not know any Ford Fellow out here whom I would support more vigorously than Spector in a similar situation. He is just now reaching the point where his research holds promise of returning large dividends. He has access to important documents, both British and Chinese, both private and public, which have not hither to been utilized. In other words, he is opening up a wholly new field of research, hitherto untapped by anyone with the possible exception of Purcell. If Spector produced nothing other than a bibliography and photocopies of the documents, the effort would be worth supporting. But he also has the intellectual capacity and personality to make those documents have meaning within the context of contemporary events.

As of the time I left Singapore, Spector was convinced that he could not carry on beyond September unless the Foundation could increase and extend his grant. In my opinion--and I am the first to admit you have not asked me for it--it would be a first-rate blunder not to do something for Spector. Here is a scholar of excellent qualifications, in a field of extreme and increasing importance, and just beginning to tap that field. He should, by all means, be kept there.

I fully realize the difficulties you face in reaching any kind of decision on Spector until September when, I assume, the Board meets again. If you think any kind of personal assurance could be made to Spector that the Board would more than likely treat his application with favor, then I am sure he would hang on to the best of his abilities until then.

I've been delayed considerably getting this letter off to you because I went to Indo-China direct from Singapore, and Indo-China is no place to send mail from. Letters simply get lost. So I waited until I reached Hongkong, and it is possible you may have reached a decision on Spector by now.

Perhaps you have adopted some such procedure by now, but if not I would suggest that you ask each of the Ford Fellows in places like Singapore and Jakarta to give a quick outline at the end of their first year of how they managed to overcome this problem of unexpectedly high expenses. Spector, for instance, had only the advice of U.S. consular officials to go on, and they tend to live on a scale considerably higher than any Fellow. He had to experiment with hotel life, then a mess and finally sharing an apartment before he was able to bring his living costs into line. He also had the problem of unexpected medical expenses, which every Fellow in this part of the world faces at one time or another. Hospital or medical care, as you well know, simply raise hell with a tight budget. But it seems to me that if you have in New York a summary of the simple financial problems encountered in each area, the Screening Committee will be able to make a better judgement on awards, and the prospective Fellows will know more or less what they face and will have experienced guidance to ease their way. Believe me, this problem of watching and worrying about budgets and emergencies consumes an extraordinary amount of time and effort that would better be devoted to the projects.

Somehow or other my letters to you always seem to deal with the financial problems of individual Fellows. One of these days I will sit down and write a carefree one, saying that all is well in Asia and that there is not a single blight on the life of any Fellow. Meanwhile, I'm heading back to Tokyo where I hope to settle down until the next crisis in Indo-China.

All the best,

Mr. Jonathan King
Board of Overseas Training & Research
The Ford Foundation
New York City

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

May 27, 1954

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is a copy of the materials I mentioned to you in our brief conversation at the Century Club sometime ago.

I am sorry there has been the delay, but we had only one copy available until today.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ae

Alvin C. Eurich

Encls.

COPY

Assistant Secretary of Defense
Washington 25, D. C.

April 30, 1954

Dear Dr. Eurich:

I am replying to your letter of March 15, 1954, in which you state you will submit the hours on citizenship and world problems but will not include the lessons on Communism in the information program of the Armed Services. I want to express regret at my delay in replying, but I am quite sure you are familiar with the press of duties in Washington particularly at this time.

According to the information which I have received from the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education and they, in turn, from Dr. William Litterick, the material which was to have been produced by Professors Almond, Rostow, and Fainsod comprised source material, not the actual lesson and discussion hours. I am also informed that other suitable writers on Communism are available to produce the actual hours and, in fact, some work is being accomplished on these Communism hours. The fact that the material prepared by the three professors named above is not to be used in the discussion hours should not, I believe, deprive the Armed Forces Information program of this important series of hours. I know that your working group, headed by Dr. Litterick, is anxious to accomplish this part of the program. We of the Defense Department desire at least a few of the hours on Communism. We believe the production is wholly feasible and consistent with the aims of the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

Dr. Litterick has kept you informed of the progress on the various hours. I am sure you have been, as have I, impressed with the excellence of the first two hours which have come from the printer, namely, "The Declaration of Independence" and "Freedom and Responsibility." We expect to have others as time for coordination and printing will allow.

Again, let me thank you and the Ford Foundation for your cooperation with and assistance to the Armed Forces.

I am sure you will agree with me that the production of several hours on Communism is not only desirable but within your group's capabilities. We anticipate that these hours will be most beneficial in furthering our program.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

John A. Hannah

Dr. Alvin C. Eurich
Vice President
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Letterhead of
THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

COPY

March 15, 1954

Dr. John Hannah
Department of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Hannah:

In your letter to me dated August 3, 1953, you listed the three major objectives you hoped the group working in Washington on the Armed Forces program under the sponsorship of the Fund would accomplish. The third objective envisioned among other items "a series of hours on Communism." As you know, we have been at work on all three objectives.

Recently our staff in Washington reported to me that the Department of Defense has decided not to use the lesson materials being prepared on the subject of Communism because Professors Fainsod at Harvard, Rostow at M.I.T. and Almond at Princeton, have not and apparently cannot be cleared for security purposes.

As you recall, we agreed at our last meeting in Washington following your request to complete for the Department of Defense ten citizenship lessons, six Communism lessons and three on world problems. We also agreed to try to find the most competent people in the country to provide our staff with materials on the subject of Communism. Two of the gentlemen in question, namely Fainsod and Rostow, were recommended to us by former Ambassador George Kennan and Mr. C. D. Jackson of the White House staff as being among the most competent people in the country to prepare materials on the subject of Communism.

If the report I have is correct we will, of course, not include the lessons on Communism in the materials we submit to you for the educational program of the Defense Department. We shall merely submit the citizenship and world problem lessons that have been tried out in various training stations throughout the country.

As I have indicated at several points in our discussions, the Fund for the Advancement of Education has no desire to make any grant or provide any services not wholly acceptable to the recipient.

It is still our plan to complete the citizenship and world problem lessons by July 1, 1954 which we agreed to do at our last meeting in Washington. When these are completed I will officially transmit them to you. Are these arrangements satisfactory to you?

Sincerely,

Alvin C. Eurich

ACE:FS

CC: Mr. Wm. F. Litterick
O.A.F.I.E.
Pentagon T-7
Gravelly Point
Washington 25, D. C.

CABLE ADDRESS: FORDFOUND

THE FORD FOUNDATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

N GAITHER, JR.
IRECTOR

April 19, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Don Price has told me of your discussions at the last meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research and of the general willingness expressed by Board members to continue to serve on an advisory committee. I share Don's very strong hope that each of the members will agree to serve on the new committee.

I want you to know that I and all of the other Foundation officers are deeply appreciative of the significant service the Board on Overseas Training and Research has rendered in the development of the overseas training and research program. We have been actively aware that from the very beginning your contribution and constructive influence have extended beyond the matters formally reviewed by the Board. I am certain that your contribution will be even more important as we continue our relationship under the new arrangement.

For myself, I very much hope to be able, from time to time, to sit in on your meetings.

Sincerely yours,

Rowan Gaither

H. Rowan Gaither, Jr.

CABLE ADDRESS: FORDFOUND

THE FORD FOUNDATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

April 19, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Even while under the pressure of his other heavy obligations, of which you have no doubt read, Gordon Gray has sent me the attached letter confirming the decision taken at the last meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research to terminate the existence of the Board as such. I enclose a copy of my letter to him inviting him to serve as a member of a new advisory committee on international training and research.

I hope very much that all the members of the former Board will be willing to accept membership on the new advisory committee and hope you will accept this most cordial invitation to do so. On behalf of the Trustees and staff, I would like to express the Foundation's appreciation for your past contributions to the Foundation's program, and our hope that we may look forward to an equally fruitful relationship in the future.

Yours sincerely,

Don K. Price

Don K. Price
Associate Director

Enclosures

THE CONSOLIDATED UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

University of North Carolina at CHAPEL HILL • *North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering at* RALEIGH • *The Woman's College at* GREENSBORO

GORDON GRAY, *President*
WILLIAM D. CARMICHAEL, JR.
Vice-President and Controller
J. HARRIS PURKS, JR., *Provost*

April 9, 1954

Mr. Don K. Price
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

COPY

Dear Don:

In accordance with the decision we reached at the meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research on Wednesday, March 31, I should like, on behalf of all of the members, to tender their resignations from the Board on Overseas Training and Research. I have talked with Ed Murrow, who was not present at our meeting, and he concurs with the judgment of the other Board members.

As stated at the meeting, all of us have a deep interest in training and research in the foreign and international field and wish to be as helpful to you as our time and talents permit. As you face the problems of organizing and integrating the Foundation's work in this field, you will want to examine the question of how we might be most helpful to you. We all recognize that the Board, as originally constituted, was asked to undertake a degree of responsibility which is no longer necessary as a result of changes in the organization and program of the Foundation. We, therefore, recommend that the Board itself be terminated and that our resignations be accepted to give you maximum freedom in thinking through this problem.

I am sure that it was apparent from the discussion on Wednesday that all of us, within limitations imposed by other commitments, would be happy to work with you in this capacity as long as you feel we can genuinely be useful to the Foundation's purposes.

Sincerely,

GG

Gordon Gray
President

cc: Board Members

CABLE ADDRESS: FORDFOUND

THE FORD FOUNDATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

April 19, 1954

President Gordon Gray
The University of North Carolina
Chapell Hill, North Carolina

COPY

Dear Gordon:

I should like to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of April 9 in which you report the recommendation of the members of the Board on Overseas Training and Research that the Board be terminated and the resignations of the members accepted. I share the feeling, reflected in the discussion at the meeting, that in view of the changed role of the Board growing out of the development of the Foundation's organization and program it is desirable to take this step at the present time.

I would like immediately, however, to proceed to the establishment of a new advisory committee on international training and research and hope very much that you will be willing to serve as a member of that committee. I am extending the same invitation to each of the other members of the former Board.

This committee would be advisory to the Foundation's Director of International Programs. It would advise on those policy questions submitted to it by the Director and his staff, and, as was so convincingly demonstrated at the March 31st meeting, the committee can be extremely useful to the Foundation by raising and discussing on its own initiative questions which it feels should be brought to the attention of the Foundation. The Director would certainly want to take the liberty of consulting with individual committee members between meetings as the occasion arises.

I would expect that we might want to call meetings of the Committee about three times a year. Between meetings I would expect to keep the members of the committee informed of developments in the Foundation which are related to the Committee's interest.

As several Board members suggested, at and after the last meeting, that the change to an advisory status should involve a change in the basis of compensation, I should like to propose that the Foundation pay an honorarium to members at the rate of $200 for each one-day meeting of the committee on the assumption that each meeting would require a certain amount of preparatory study, and $100 per diem for any other time spent on behalf of the Foundation, plus, of course, reimbursement for travel and subsistence expenses.

On behalf of the Trustees and staff I would like again to express the Foundation's very great appreciation for the contribution which you and the other members of the Board have made to the Foundation in the guidance of its overseas training and research program. The helpful discussion at the last meeting convinces me all the more that as members of the proposed advisory committee you can be of invaluable help to the Foundation in the conduct of its program in the future.

Yours sincerely,

Don K. Price

Associate Director

Ford Spitzer

THE FORD FOUNDATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

February 15, 1954

Dear Ed:

I very much regret that we have missed connections again on the Board meeting, particularly since your schedule was able to accommodate the date previously set, the 25th of March. As my secretary explained to yours, the change was made at Gordon's request.

Is there any possibility of your coming up from Washington on the 31st of March just for the day? We would welcome your sage counsel.

Cordially,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
445 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

March 25

January 6, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

On calendar

Dear Ed:

After considerable difficulty we have finally arrived at a mutually convenient date for the next Board meeting.

This will be on Thursday, March 25th at 10:00 in the Board room at 655 Madison Avenue, 8th floor. Luncheon will be at the Hotel Del Monico.

I shall be looking forward to seeing you then.

Cordially,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee

NOVEMBER 17, 1953

G.H.GRIFFITHS
FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

RE YOUR LETTER NOVEMBER 5. GLAD DO ANYTHING TO HELP MASS MEDIA PROGRAM BUT ONE OF MY OWN EFFORTS IN THAT FIELD IS ON THE AIR TUESDAY NIGHTS AND MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO ATTEND DECEMBER 8 MEETING. REGARDS

E.R.MURROW

1-43-7

FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

November 5, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The Fund for Adult Education currently has under consideration a program of Internships, Scholarships and Fellowships in the Mass Media. It is hoped that a program of training grants can be devised which will have a significant impact on the role of television, radio, film, publishing and the press. The possible ultimate dimensions of the program are undetermined, but for the first year an outlay somewhere in the neighborhood of $200,000 is contemplated.

Enclosed is a report recently issued which may serve to familiarize you with the Fund's purposes and program -- at least in general outline.

In the process of re-examining and sharpening the concept of the program, we are seeking the council of those in a position to identify training needs in the respective media and to suggest the lines along which a program of the general type suggested might be most effective. We are inviting six or seven people to consult with us on this program at a meeting in New York on Tuesday, December 8 from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. The meeting will be held at the offices of the Fund at 595 Madison Avenue, New York City. You are one of those we would like very much to have with us. Any expenses you might incur will of course be born by the Fund and in addition we will wish to provide our usual consultants' honorarium.

We are most anxious to have the proposed program take shape along lines that will promise the greatest benefit to the American scene within the general framework of the Fund's purposes. We hope very much that you will find this aim of interest and that you will find it possible to be present. A reply by collect wire will be appreciated.

Later we will forward certain preliminary recommendations drawn up by a Development Committee, together with a proposed agenda for the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

G. H. Griffiths

G. H. Griffiths
Director, Mass Media

encl.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

R2

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

September 22, 1953

Dear Ed:

Last week, when the Board decided that we should initiate the Soviet and Slavic studies fellowship program for the academic year 1954-55, which it had discussed previously, Carl spoke of the conference of leading scholars, representatives of potential employers of persons to be trained, and others of experience and judgement in this area field with whom we would wish to consult in conducting this program. These persons concerned are listed in the Soviet and Slavic Studies section of the Docket for the September 15th meeting, sent to your office earlier.

Mr. M. Interested?

We plan to meet at this address, in our own conference room, at 10 in the morning on both Friday, October 9 and Saturday, October 10. A general discussion of experience and present needs in Soviet and Slavic area studies is planned for the first day and, with a smaller group, a more specific examination of procedures and criteria, for the second. Dr. Philip E. Mosely will chair the meetings.

An agenda, together with pertinent background materials to be used as a basis for discussion, will go forward to the participants shortly. We should like to send you this material also and will be very pleased if you are able to attend the conference in spite of the pile-up of work which I am sure greeted you when you got home.

Cordially,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee

Edward R. Murrow
Counselor On Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ 445 Park Avenue
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

September 29, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed,

The conference we have called to help us plan our scholarship and fellowship offering in Soviet and Slavic area studies is to meet here in our conference room at 10 a.m. on both Friday and Saturday, October 9th and 10th. The agenda for the meeting, together with background materials to serve as a basis for discussion, are enclosed.

As soon as possible after the conference, we will send you a draft of a public announcement of the program and an outline of the general procedures we plan to follow in conducting it.

Cordially yours,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee
Director of Research

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

No called.

August 6, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

This will serve to refresh your memory that the next BOTR meeting was set for September 15th here in New York.

We expect to have the Docket in your hands by Monday, September 7th. I will notify you, at that time, of the exact time and place of the meeting.

Cordially,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee
Director of Research

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

September 4, 1953

Pl 1-2900

Dear Ed:

Attached is the docket to be considered at our meeting on September 15th. The meeting will be held in the Conference Room in our new offices on the 9th floor at 445 Park Avenue (between 56th and 57th Streets). The meeting will convene at 10:00 AM.

Although the number of items on the agenda is small, each involves fundamental policy issues which I am sure will keep us busy all day. It is expected that Mr. Gaither will be present at our luncheon to tell us about recent developments throughout the Foundation.

Don't forget the new meeting place. I hope the intense heat will have subsided by the time of the meeting.

Cordially,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

August 4, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

At our May 5th meeting we discussed the Langer recommendations for three studies on the Russian impact abroad (Indonesia, India, and Iran). The studies were approved in principle, a subcommittee was appointed to advise with the staff on further developments, and after subcommittee action, the staff was to poll Board members individually.

Subsequent to the Board meeting, our plans were discussed with the appropriate agencies in Washington. All agreed to the importance of moving ahead with the three recommended studies. All offered to help in any appropriate way but agreed that care should be taken to avoid government identification with the studies.

Mr. Langer and I discussed in detail the Indonesian project with the directors of its respective parts, Prof. George Kahin of Cornell and Prof. Karl Pelzer of Yale. The projects were revised and resubmitted, and were sent to the members of the BOTR subcommittee on June 15th. John Gardner and Milo Perkins approved the projects as submitted, though Milo expressed concern that they might be too general in their focus to acheive the end sought by the Board.

John Dickey has expressed misgivings about the projects and would personally prefer to have the Board consider them at our next meeting. He questions, for example, to what extent the interests of the Foundation are served or impaired by research with such heavy political overtones. He questions whether we may not be risking our right of access especially to sensitive areas. This is a point which is, of course, very important to foundations which, like the Ford Foundation, have on-going developmental programs in all of the countries which would be the subjects of the study. John observed that the projects as presented are broader in approach than the Swearingen-Langer Japan studies, but wonders to what extent they reflect our true intentions. You will recall that the question of breadth of approach was discussed at the May meeting and it seemed to be the concensus of the members present that a really effective contribution could be made only if the studies were done within the wider context of the general political background of these areas.

John feels that because of his absence from the last meeting, and because the other two members of the sub-committee have approved the projects, he does not wish to oppose the will of the majority. However, the staff feels that it would be desirable to have another full Board discussion of the contemplated Country studies. This view of the staff derives further support from the fact that Mr. Ensminger, our representative in India, has raised similar questions with regard to the contemplated Indian research study. Mr. Ensminger feels, however, that a broadly conceived Indian study could go forward if it were thoroughly discussed and explored with key Indians with whom he will be happy to put Park in touch.

I am attaching a copy of the revised Indonesian project, together with John Dickey's letter. As soon as possible I shall send you copies of the Indian project together with any further comment from our sub-committee or from Mr. Ensminger. The contemplated Country Study of Iran may also be ready for Board consideration at the September 15th meeting. If so, I shall try to get copies to the members of the Board early enough for thorough consideration.

Cordially yours,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee
Director of Research

cc: John Gardner
Milo Perkins
John Dickey

P.S. Since writing the above, we have had no further word from Mr. Ensminger or members of the subcommittee on the Contemporary India project so I am enclosing it herewith. If we receive additional comments we shall send them along.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

March 5, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I thought you would be interested in the actions on overseas training and research taken by the Foundation's Board of Trustees at their recent meeting in Pasadena.

Because of the administrative changes in the Foundation, the Trustees wished to take action at this meeting only on matters requiring immediate decision. The Division of Overseas Activities and the Officers therefore withdrew their recommendations on the three-year projected fellowship program, since appropriations already made cover our 1953-54 program. It is planned to place the three-year, 1954-57 fellowship program before the Trustees at their May meeting, and we are encouraged to believe that it will be approved.

The Trustees approved the appropriation of $1,500,000 for grants in support of research, since projects now under consideration by the Board on Overseas Training and Research might exceed the unexpended balance of the current appropriations before the May meeting of the Trustees.

I look forward to giving you a further report on Foundation developments at our April 20th meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Carl

Carl B. Spaeth
Director
Division of Overseas Activities

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

March 2, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed.:

You will recall that at our last meeting most of the discussion of the Columbia University Near and Middle East Program revolved around its prospective position within the general University program and problems of future financing. At the end of the discussion the Board resolved: "that the Board on Overseas Training and Research indicate that it regards the request of Columbia University for support of its Near and Middle East Program as having merit, and, subject to assurances to be obtained by the staff as to the position of this program within the general program of the university, would be glad to entertain a request for a grant at the next meeting of the Board".

Carl Spaeth and I met with President Kirk and Schuyler Wallace on Friday, February 6th. We indicated that the Board was favorably disposed toward the application for support but that it had expressed an interest in the university's plans for developing and financing foreign area programs over the next few years.

Professor Wallace outlined in some detail the university's general program of development in the international field over the past six years and explained the relationship of the Near and Middle East Program to the whole. President Kirk expressed complete understanding of the Board's concern and, within the understandable limitations of his position, gave assurance of administration support of the Near and Middle East Program.

The attached letter from Schuyler Wallace outlines the development of work in international affairs at Columbia since 1946 when both the School of International Affairs and the Russian Institute were established. The University gradually transferred the salaries of the members of the staff of the Russian Institute from Rockefeller funds to the General Funds of the University as various lines in the budget became vacant.

Similarly, the budget of the East Asian Institute, organized as a result of a Rockefeller grant in 1948, will be transferred to the General Funds of the University at the end of next year. The Carnegie-sponsored European Institute, on the other hand, has not yet been integrated into the general University program. The request for assistance with the Near and Middle East Studies Program was drawn up with the expectation that at the end of six years there would be a number of retirements in the various departments which would make possible the transfer of most new appointees from Foundation funds to the regular budget of the University without undue burden on the University. Dr. Wallace adds that: "Quite obviously the University must be and is prepared to take up any slack which may exist in connection with these various developments."

Dr. Kirk's letter indicates that he has read and agrees with the statement of Dr. Wallace, and he reaffirms the intention of the University administration to make this program "an integral and permanent part of the School of International Affairs and of the University's broad program in the field of international understanding."

The staff feels that these letters together with our discussion with President Kirk and Professor Wallace provide the necessary assurances requested by the Board. We wonder if you would agree with this, and if so, whether you feel that the staff should recommend, on behalf of the Board, that the officers of the Foundation approve the grant requested for support of the Columbia Program.

This action would be desirable from Columbia's point of view but I suspect that action can be deferred until our April 20th meeting with no great inconvenience to Professor Wallace and his program.

Cordially yours,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee
Director of Research

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Date:

TO: Ed. Murrow

FROM: Oliver O. Lovejoy

..... Appropriate action

..... Comments or recommendations

..... Please discuss with me

..... For your information and files

..... Please note and return

..... Please attach previous

..... Prepare reply for my signature

Ed: Does this help at all?

OOL

Feb. 25 Ford

Mr. Swayzee:

TV EDucational program

Here is a reprint from Variety explaining in a little more detail the program being carried out by FAE on educational TV. When I talked with Mrs. Spinney over at FAE she said she would send on this Variety sketch rather then give information in great detail. Apparently, outside of their Annual Report, 1951, they have nothing much in written form on the program. She said however that she would welcome a visit fromyou.

However here a few items which might help clarify -- actually, tho' the entire program is still in the development stage.

The first step was the formation of the joint committee on educational TV set up originally by the National Committee on Education. The main function of this committee was to supply legal and technical information to those interested in an educational television station. Educational associations, civic groups, etc. were contacted to see what kind and type of help was available.

The FAE then set up a national citizens committee under the chairmanship of Bob Mullen (head of citizens committee for Eisenhower. The citizens committee follows along in the strategic areas where there is interest in a station. When these stations interested in educational TV are able to find ways and means of financing the FAE can then come along on a matching basis.

As mentioned in the article, no one has been given a grant as ;yet but a few stations are under serious consideration -- Lowell cooperative, Chapel Hill, perhaps Atlanta. All told about 30 stations will be selected. They will have to meet conditions of the grant (I couldn't pin Mrs. Spinney down as to the conditions) and it will be handled on a matching fund basis.

the Service Center: George Stoddard, President, Univ. of Illinois is Chairman of the Board of the Center.which is now being set up. Its main function will be to screen and evaluate all of the existing material on films, both here and in Europe, find out what is available and what isn't. It will assist the program directors of various TV networks to obtain the type of material they want, also supply information on programs available. New productions will also be offered by this center.

rg

VARIETY

Wednesday, October 8, 1952

FAE Ready to Help Educ'l TV With $5,000,000, But Won't Toss It Around

Fund for Adult Education, which has a $5,000,000 grant from the Ford Foundation to help educational television, has quietly been talking to groups with financial backing and plans well afoot for educational stations.

FAE is not just going to toss around the $5,000,000, giving it to outfits which have just a good idea. Instead, it will provide funds only when the group concerned has already substantial assurance of raising a certain figure (varying with the community). FAE grants to stations will be geared to a sliding scale, with projects that raise more coin on their own getting a bigger gift from FAE. Money would not be earmarked for buildings, but only for equipment.

It's understood that the minimum amount of backing which a group would need to qualify for FAE assistance would have to cover a transmitter, cameras, sound equipment and kinescope recording facilities.

Delbert Clark, eastern representative of FAE, told VARIETY that prospects are good in terms of the Fund's finding groups progressing with plans for getting educational channels. These groups are not all universities, Clark said, but include communities, groups of colleges, school systems, libraries and museums.

No Final Terms Yet

No final terms have been agreed on to give anybody a grant as yet, Clark said, although letters of intent have been received from some institutions and groups giving preliminary details of the engineering, financing and programming plans. By a certain deadline more complete data will be furnished.

FAE is distinct from the Foundation's Television-Radio Workshop, which will back the "Omnibus" series on CBS-TV starting next month. While the Workshop works entirely through commercial channels, FAE concentrates on informal adult education. Since its inception, FAE has been aware of the potentialities of AM and TV in spurring group discussion, Clark said.

A year ago, FAE granted funds to the sole educational video station, WOI-TV, Ames, Ia., for the experimental production of TV shows, to be recorded via kinescope for study and possible later use by other educational outlets when they get on the air. This year the U. of Iowa station has been given another FAE grant to work on programs that would be suitable for other educational telecasters.

Central Exchange

Part of the $5,000,000 fund is allocated for possible help to a central programming exchange. This would operate along the lines of the tape "network" formed by the National Assn. of Educational Broadcasters which has also received FAE aid). Film and kines developed by one station would be bicycled to other outlets. Some coin may go to contracting with stations to produce shows that could be beamed on other educational outlets by kine.

Clark told VARIETY that there is no good reason for a fight between the commercial and educational broadcasters. On the contrary, he feels that growth of educational video can supplement the diet on commercial channels.

In announcing the $5,000,000 grant, FAE board chairman Paul H. Helms said that two matters are being studied: (1) ability and willingness of educational institutions to raise the sums necessary to get into TV; and (2) methods by which high-quality program material can be provided for educational stations that do go on the air.

Helms stressed that grants would have to be limited to "strategically located" communities where there are groups that can carry a major part of the financial burden. FAE will also be guided by geographical considerations so as to reach the most people.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

February 6, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

In announcing the establishment of the Board on Overseas Training and Research in March 1952, Mr. Hoffman stated that one of the responsibilities of the Board would be to "investigate the requirements for informed and skilled Americans in the various fields of service abroad...". At its meeting on November 13th, 1952 the Board briefly discussed this problem and appeared to express an interest in moving ahead with a basic survey of our foreign personnel requirements.

Following the November 13th meeting of the Board the staff talked several times to representatives of the Public Administration Clearing House and requested them to prepare an outline of the kinds of foreign area competences relevant to a survey of the type contemplated, of the several end users of these competences and of potential sources of supply. This document, "Proposed Survey Personnel Concerned with Overseas Problems", is attached and is the one referred to in our discussion at the February 2nd meeting.

I am also sending you a copy of that part of the February 2nd minutes which relates to this problem.

I shall, of course, be most grateful for any comments you may care to make after looking through this material.

Cordially yours,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee
Director of Research

Progress Report on Survey of U.S. Requirements for Overseas Personnel

Mr. Swayzee reviewed the staff discussions with the Public Administration Clearing House and other interested agencies and stated that the PACH had drawn up a memorandum outlining the general aspects of the problem which the staff would send to Board members immediately following the meeting. Mr. Swayzee reported that the staff discussions had established the fact that all interested groups would be willing to cooperate and that the survey should be made by an outside non-employing agency. He discussed alternative possibilities of having the survey conducted jointly by several agencies since no one agency could handle all aspects of the problem, or of employing a consultant who could work with an advisory committee drawn from all the interested groups. He suggested the possibility that the Board might want to appoint a sub-committee which could work with the staff in developing the project.

In the ensuing discussion the Board reviewed the need both to improve the quality of trained personnel in existing jobs and to provide a manpower reservoir for future needs. While it agreed that it would be undesirable to attempt to predict too specifically future quantitative requirements for trained personnel, it felt that the survey should: 1) attempt to appraise in a general way both immediate job opportunities and future national needs, 2) rank both the areas and the competences for which training is required, and 3) assess training programs in the United States to see if such people are being developed.

In response to a question as to whether the Board could properly go into such a nation-wide survey at the present time, Mr. Spaeth indicated the need uncovered in the Foundation's early consideration of research and training programs for such investigations to provide a basis for future Foundation action.

The Board agreed that it should postpone further action until the members had had a chance to read the paper prepared by the Public Administration Clearing House, and a sub-committee composed of Mr. Eurich, Mr. Gardner, and Mr. Dickey was appointed to study the problem with the staff and to report back to the Board at its next meeting.

Appendix I

PRELIMINARY - CONFIDENTIAL

10 December 1952
PACH - N.Y.

PROPOSED SURVEY: PERSONNEL CONCERNED WITH OVERSEAS PROBLEMS

A. PURPOSE OF SURVEY

1. The expanded role of the United States in world affairs has necessitated a great increase in the number of Americans employed overseas and in positions which require intimate knowledge of alien peoples and problems, and the skills necessary for cooperation with foreign nationals. The proposed survey will deal with the kinds of personnel required for this work, studying especially long-term training needs in the light of the present and prospective supply and demand for such persons.

2. The immediate aim of the survey will be to provide guide-lines for universities and foundations in developing programs for training and research on foreign areas and languages, and in related subjects, such as international political, economic and cultural relations.

3. The corollary aim of the survey will be to stimulate employing agencies to assess more specifically, realistically and imaginatively their overseas personnel needs and to make appropriate long-range plans.

B. CATEGORIES OF PERSONNEL

4. Priority attention will be given to the needs for and supply of the kinds of persons marked PP in the following classification scheme. Categories marked P will be included for background purposes, but will not be studied as intensively as the first priority groups. To complete the picture of kinds of

personnel related to the survey, additional groups are listed, not marked with a symbol. It is not intended to cover these groups in the survey, but it may be useful in certain instances to establish liaison with other agencies or persons conducting studies focusing thereon. These subjects should be borne in mind during the survey, even though not made the object of particular inquiry.

5. Six ways of classifying overseas personnel are suggested as a means of identifying the groups to be covered by the survey. These are scaled according to:

a. Intensiveness with which the person studies and works with foreign nationals;

b. Kind of training;

c. Occupational groups;

d. Geographical area of competence;

e. Level of competence; and

f. Discipline or disciplines in which competence has been achieved.

6. First breakdown - by intensiveness of work with foreign nationals:

PPa. Persons working abroad in positions requiring intimate cooperation with local officials and private groups, especially in attempts to influence, more or less profoundly, their ways of thinking and acting.

PPb. Persons studying foreign areas, their cultures, economics, government and social institutions, with a view to learning how to work, or to teach others how to work, with nationals of the area.

Pc. Persons occupying more traditional types of positions in foreign service, diplomatic and overseas military service, involving primarily work with and on behalf of Americans, contacts with local nationals consisting chiefly of negotiation of agreements, granting of visas, checking invoices, collecting information, and normal social intercourse.

Pd. Persons working at home on projects involving administration, planning and evaluation of overseas activities.

7. Second breakdown - by kinds of training called for:

a. Persons trained specifically and primarily for overseas work:

PPi. Area experts - with specialized training to deal with particular overseas areas, including knowledge of the local language or languages and various social sciences and humanities as applied to an understanding of the area.

Pii. International relations experts - generalists professionally trained to deal with American foreign affairs problems, with special competence in international relations, diplomacy, international law, international trade and finance, etc. This group includes a large portion of the traditional Foreign Service Officer group.

Piii. International organization experts - Americans trained particularly in the problems of international administration, used especially on the secretariats of international bodies and in U.S. delegations to such agencies.

iv. Technicians trained to act as translators, interpreters, etc., requiring less elaborate educational preparation than persons in the three categories above.

b. Persons trained for professional careers in the United States, who acquire additional competence for dealing with the problems of a foreign area in their technical field.

PPi. Persons with long-term additional study and experience as a basis for overseas work - such as administrators of American missions abroad, officers in military government and occupation duty, and technicians who have entered a permanent overseas career service.

ii. Persons whose special preparation for overseas work is limited to brief orientation programs and less extensive field experience. (This group is largely covered by the Sayre-Thurber report.)

c. Professional and technical personnel who acquire specialized knowledge concerning the application of their specialties -- medicine, agriculture, engineering, etc. -- to foreign conditions, such as the tropics, arctic zone, and arid regions. Do administrators working abroad require a special type of

knowledge about the application of their administrative skills overseas that can be distinguished from learning about the foreign area, covered under item "b.i." above?

d. Persons needing no special preparation or training for overseas work.

8. Third breakdown - by kinds of activity or professional occupation:

PPa. Area specialists - social scientists, humanists, linguists; who work in overseas programs;

PPb. Area specialists who conduct basic research;

PPc. Teachers of area specialties;

Pd. Functional specialists - agriculture, public health, education, commerce, evangelism, etc. who work with foreign nationals;

Pe. Media personnel - journalists, radio broadcasters, cultural and information officers;

Pf. Foreign service and diplomatic officers;

Pg. Administrators of occupied and dependent territories, and their staffs;

Ph. Home-based policy making officers and administrative staff for overseas programs; and

i. Military personnel stationed abroad;

j. Dependents of all kinds of personnel stationed abroad.

9. Fourth breakdown - by geographical area of competence. Area competence includes knowledge of the major language or languages of the area, although for certain types of position area knowledge is more essential than language, while in other posts language may be more important than area. Area specialties may be distinguished at several levels:

PPa. The finest classification would consider every country or small area as the subject of a separate specialization. The list compiled in the Foreign Service Institute distinguishes 41 such area-language specialties.

PPb. For many purposes persons whose area competence includes a larger region may be needed. Examples are Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, etc. University area institutes have, to a large extent, been organized to cover these regions.

PPc. There may be other types of area competence which interlace the geographic regions, such as "the Tropics," "the underdeveloped countries," the British Commonwealth, the French Union, the "Atlantic Community," etc. Suggestions have been made for other area groupings based on similar economic, political or cultural traits, on common religious practices, or integral "civilizations" in the sense developed by Arnold Toynbee. Again the overlap between concepts such as the Near and Middle East, Southwest Asia, the Arab League countries, the Islamic world, the Eastern Mediterranean, etc. suggest that there may be need for various kinds of area experts with overlapping competences.

10. Fifth breakdown - by <u>level of competence</u>. The schedule developed in the Foreign Service Institute distinguishes four criteria:

PPa. Language competence and proficiency, classified into 6 grades;

PPb. Integrated knowledge of an area based on study and non-field experience, in 6 grades;

PPc. Systematic field research experience, in 3 grades; and

PPd. General field experience, non-research, in 3 grades.

Over-all rank determinations for position classification purposes may be based on different combinations of these criteria.

11. Sixth breakdown - by disciplinary competence:

PPa. Experts in single disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, such as economists, anthropologists, political scientists, linguists, historians, etc. Such persons have a broad understanding of other disciplines as they contribute to an understanding of the area of specialization, but they would be especially qualified to work in one discipline.

Pb. Certain persons may have a broad area competence including some, though not intensive, expertise in several disciplines. The extent to which such general area competence is possible, or whether there are any special techniques for general area study, remains a subject of controversy. It is certain, however, that some area experts are able to employ freely, in relation to their special area, more than one academic discipline.

Pc. Persons with substantial area competence who also have professional and technical competence in such fields as medicine, engineering, forestry, agriculture, biology, chemistry, etc.

(NOTE: It will be observed that in the foregoing paragraphs attention has been concentrated on training as it relates to the kinds of personnel available for overseas work. Other factors which affect the suitability of individuals for this kind of work are not covered. For example. the role of women, both married and unmarried, as compared with men, in overseas posts, is not included, nor is the use of persons of ethnic minority groups, such as Negroes or persons of Asian ancestry, nor are such factors as class and occupational background taken into account. A comprehensive analysis of overseas personnel would have to include these considerations. It would also have to consider motives which induce persons to choose overseas careers as they influence the effectiveness

of their work. Similarly it would study the effect on an employee's work of his attitude towards persons of different racial origin and with different social customs and habits. Insofar as organized training can affect personal attitudes and the ability to like and cooperate with foreign nationals, however, this subject may be included within the scope of the proposed study. In the selection of students for educational programs and fellowship grants, these personal characteristics and background factors would also have to be taken into account.)

C. NEEDS

12. It would be desirable to survey every kind of agency competing for the supply of qualified American personnel, since unanticipated demand from a group not included might disrupt supply plans based on the needs of groups studied. In practice, however, the scope of the survey will be limited by the readiness of agencies to reveal information. Priorities may also be determined by the possibilities of access to data. The agencies employing Americans for work on overseas problems include:

a. Government agencies:

   i. Civilian - State, M.S.A., C.I.A., Library of Congress, Congressional committee staffs, Agriculture, Labor, etc.

   ii. Military - including uniformed and civilian personnel, and employees of contract agencies;

b. Universities and research institutes;

c. Voluntary agencies - foundations, religious missions, labor unions, cooperatives, etc.;

d. Commercial and industrial organizations - traders, banks, investors, oil, rubber and other industrial enterprises, consultants, etc.;

e. International organizations, both governmental and non-governmental;

f. Communications agencies - press and radio;

g. Foreign governments and private agencies employing American personnel.

13. Different degrees of awareness or sensitivity to needs for specially trained persons among the agencies would affect methods of investigation, scope of the survey, and priorities.

PPa. Recognized needs could be determined by interviews with planning and personnel officers in the agencies. These needs might include:

i. Foreign area specialists actually employed or budgeted for;
ii. Specialists actively desired but not budgeted for; and
iii. Specialists recognized as desirable by some officials in the agency, although difference of opinion exists regarding their usefulness.

Pb. Need for specialists who might make a useful contribution to an agency's work, but whose value is not recognized by leaders in the agency itself, may be estimated by outside observers.

14. It would be desirable to project agency needs into the future, in both short and long-range terms, such as:

PPa. Short-term needs for the next year or two; and

Pb. Long-term needs over the next five, ten, or more years.

15. Different contingencies may be taken into account in framing estimates. It is assumed, however, that there will be:

a. Continued support for technical assistance, economic aid, overseas investment, missionary work, and other overseas programs employing highly trained persons at a rate not less than the present; and

b. Continuation of a cold war for the next five to ten years.

Either of these assumptions might be invalidated quickly. Attention might be given to possible changes in case of sudden decreases or increases in need for overseas personnel:

a. In the event of sudden decrease, what provisions for alternative

employment can be made for persons trained for overseas work that would facilitate their re-employment at home?

b. In the event of sudden increases in requirements for overseas personnel, how can qualified persons be quickly made available? Particularly, how can the nucleus of research and teaching personnel be safeguarded against demands from program agencies that might drain off this cadre to meet immediate requirements, and thus impair the flow of newly trained persons?

c. Answers to (a) and (b) are interdependent, since programs providing alternative employment of foreign area experts, might also serve to maintain a foreign service reserve that could be tapped in the event of a suddenly increased demand. In attempting to estimate needs under different contingencies, precise quantitative projections cannot be hoped for, but educated guesses may be possible.

D. SUPPLY

PP16. The body of persons presently trained for overseas work could first be estimated. This would include personnel working in universities, government agencies, voluntary organizations, commercial and industrial firms, etc. This inquiry would not lead to a roster, or any precise quantification, but rather to information about the approximate size and composition of the supply.

P17. The potential supply of personnel with overseas experience and related training who could be relatively quickly converted to effective employment on overseas programs could be surveyed. Estimates about this group would have to be of the most general, and perhaps speculative, character.

P18. Foreign nationals, although not eligible for many kinds of employment, constitute a major source of area knowledge, and can be used as informants,

translators, broadcasters, researchers, and even in technical and administrative positions. They include:

a. Persons in the United States, especially refugees, such as anti-Communist Chinese, Russians, Czechs, etc.; immigrants; and to a lesser extent students, visitors, and other temporary residents; and

b. Persons recruited abroad, especially those employed directly in American overseas operations, as well as some who may be brought to the United States, e.g. German researchers employed by the U.S. Army.

P19. Americans who have returned from various kinds of overseas activities (returnees), often have experience that qualifies them as area specialists, or could become so qualified with a minimum of additional training. The possibilities of more systematic use of this resource could be explored. They include:

a. Personnel with war-time or more recent overseas military experience, especially those in intelligence, military government and relief operations;

b. Voluntary agency personnel, missionaries, business agents, advisers to foreign governments, etc.;

c. Scholars under fellowship programs and on sabbatical leaves;

d. Specialists employed in technical assistance programs

PP20. Americans now in their university training, especially in the foreign area institutes, international relations schools, and related programs preparing personnel for foreign service. Special attention might be given to the sources of funds for the support of such training programs, especially for faculty salaries, student grants, and physical needs, such as library resources, buildings, etc. The survey might also review scholarship programs of foundations, research councils, and the U.S. Government, and consider present employment opportunities for graduates of such programs as they relate to the volume and quality of supply.

21 The sources of candidates for training might be examined. Undergraduate and graduate students provide a primary source, but older and more experienced persons may also wish to undertake intensive area studies in preparation for overseas work. Attention could be given to the cultural climate out of which candidates come, including the general extent of foreign area courses and language study in the liberal arts curriculum, in the training of secondary school teachers, in the mass media, and adult education programs, as well as the attitudes of ethnic minorities, the impact of foreign visitors and students, cultural and educational programs of foreign governments, etc. The expansion of foreign area understanding among the general public would make possible a more intelligent choice of overseas careers by young persons, and the specialized training of such persons could begin at a higher level.

22. Factors affecting the quality of individuals being trained for foreign service, either as a result of self-selection or of positive recruitment, condition the standards of work and understanding that may be expected of American overseas personnel. Such factors include the motivations appealed to in recruiting programs, conditions of employment, security of tenure, problems of securing and adjusting to domestic employment following termination of overseas duty, and the harassments of loyalty and security investigations to which overseas personnel are peculiarly susceptible.

E. AVAILABLE DATA

PP23. The survey would take into account available data. Among the studies and projects which provide a background for this survey are:

a. The Inter-Agency Committee on Area and Language Specialists, chaired by Ross Pollock;

b. The Special Survey Committee on Area and Language Specialists, chaired by Leonard Carmichael;

c. Investigations of certain government agencies, such as Robert Clark's office in the National Security Resources Board, and the investigation of personnel needs in fundamental education, sponsored by the Office of Education and conducted by Carson Ryan.

d. Studies by research councils, such as the Wendell Bennett report of the SSRC on university area programs, and reports on South Asian studies and other areas.

e. Foundation studies, notably the Ford Foundation's Survey of Asian Studies.

f. Rosters and associated studies providing indices of available personnel, notably the ACLS-Office of Education roster of members of learned societies; and rosters of persons who have participated in exchange programs, especially rosters being compiled and in prospect in the Institute of International Education and the Office of Education. More restricted rosters include one being compiled in the UN for the Technical Assistance Administration on experienced persons available for assignment to social welfare projects.

g. Investigations of the effectiveness of American overseas personnel, recruitment tests, etc., especially the study now being directed by Milton Mandell in the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

h. Reports of official agencies and study committees on overseas personnel needs and practices, such as the Bureau of the Budget and Civil Service Commission report for the Post Office and Civil Service Committees of the

Senate and House published April 1952 with the title, "Overseas Pay and Personnel Practices," and the report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Personnel, James H. Rowe, Jr., Chairman, which was published in August 1950 with the title, "An Improved Personnel System for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs." The Hoover Commission reports and other studies such as the Brookings Institution report entitled "The Administration of Foreign Affairs and Overseas Operations," June 1951, and Professor James L. McCamy's "The Administration of American Foreign Affairs," Alfred A. Knopf, 1950.

i. Studies conducted abroad regarding training needs for the overseas services of other countries might provide useful background information for the proposed survey. For example, the "Report of the Interdepartmental Commission of Enquiry on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies," published in London, 1947, by His Majesty's Stationery Office, includes an analysis of the extent to which foreign area and language training is used for the various services, public and private. Similarly such studies for specific services as the report on "Post-War Training for the Colonial Service," London, H.M.S.O., 1946, Colonial No. 198, give information about the content of instruction for one kind of overseas career. The report on "Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Service," London, H.M.S.O., 1950, classifies and describes all categories of this service, including information on the qualifications expected of recruits, and training given after employment.

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

in the City of New York

New York 27, N.Y.

Office of the President

February 6, 1953

Mr. Carl Spaeth
The Ford Foundation
575 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Carl:

In the accompanying letter Schuyler C. Wallace has indicated the decision of the University to re-orient a considerable portion of its work both in the social sciences and the humanities in the direction of international affairs and the procedures which we have followed in working out this re-orientation.

In connection with Professor Wallace's application for Foundation assistance in the development of a program of Near and Middle East Studies, I simply want to add that we at Columbia have every expectation of making this program an integral and permanent part of the School of International Affairs and of the University's broad program in the field of international understanding.

Very truly yours,

(signed) Grayson Kirk
President

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

in the City of New York

New York 27, N. Y.

School of International Affairs

5 February 1953

Mr. Carl Spaeth
The Ford Foundation
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Carl:

As I said to you this afternoon, the development of the work in international affairs at Columbia University is not as plan[illegible] as it may appear to the outsider. As a result of our experience during the war, a group of us in the Departments of Economics, History and Public Law and Government, with the full backing and approval of the administration, set out gradually to reorient the University in the direction of international affairs.

In 1946, with the aid of limited support from the estate of Judge Edward B. Parker, the School of International Affairs was organized. At a later date it was decided to assign the income of the Parker Fund to the School of Law for the purpose of developing work in comparative and foreign law, with the result that the budget of the School of International Affairs became an integral part of the University budget. In part the School of International Affairs was a new development, in part it was a mere reorganization of work already given.

In the same year, 1946, the Russian Institute of Columbia University was established with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation. The initial Rockefeller grant was for $250,000, payable at the rate of $50,000 per year, with the understanding that an application for renewal of the grant would receive serious consideration. Such an application was made and acted upon favorably by the Trustees of the Foundation. In the meantime, as various lines in the Columbia budget became vacant, the University gradually transferred the salaries of the members of the staff of the Russian Institute from Rockefeller funds to the General Funds of the University, so that at the present time each member of the staff

of the Russian Institute enjoys the same tenure that every other man of professorial rank does at the University. In addition, the University is, of course, providing the necessary physical facilities for the operation of the Russian Institute and contributing a proportionate share toward library expenditures.

The University has not and can not undertake out of its own funds an extensive scholarship program in this field. In so far as there is a necessity for a major scholarship program in this area it is because of the existence of a national crisis. This, it seems to us, must be met by the great foundations rather than by any one university.

I should also add that where opportunities have arisen to purchase, in Europe or elsewhere, major libraries relative to the Russian field, the University has not been able to supply the funds but has had to turn elsewhere for assistance. In some cases assistance has been forthcoming which has enabled the University to purchase these libraries - in other cases the purchases were made for the Library of Congress or other institutions interested in this field.

In 1948 the East Asian Institute was organized as a result of a grant of money from the Rockefeller Foundation to strengthen the work at Columbia offered by the Departments of Chinese and Japanese. These departments were already relatively strong, being made up in large part of three senior members in the Chinese field, and three senior members in the Japanese field, together with one person of middle rank in both and four language instructors. As a result of the grant, the staff of the East Asian Institute has been expanded in the field of Chinese economics and to a lesser degree in the fields of political and social institutions. In addition, the grant has made possible certain research projects which could not otherwise have been undertaken. This money runs out at the end of next year at which time the university will transfer to the General Funds such budgetary lines as are currently carried by the Rockefeller grant.

The third institute which was created at Columbia was the European Institute which also began its operations in 1948. This Institute differs somewhat in its purpose from the two Institutes previously described. It arose out of the fact that, after the war, the University was called upon to train a number of contingents of Army officers for military government in Germany. It was shortly discovered that neither Columbia nor any other university had the personnel with which to do the job. It could only be done by cooptng personnel from all the major

universities up and down the Atlantic coast and as far west as Chicago.

The purpose of the European Institute, consequently, was (1) to strengthen the offering of Columbia University in the European field, (2) to break down the departmentalization which characterized much of the work then given, and (3) to work out a coordinated plan of research for the University. To accomplish these purposes the Carnegie Corporation made a grant of $30,000 a year for a period of five years.

Quite obviously the problem of operating the European Institute has been somewhat different from the problem involved in the operation of the two Institutes previously mentioned. Unlike the Russian Institute, the staff of which was assembled de novo, the European Institute was super-imposed upon a faculty body numbering 50 to 60 people, many of whom were in their later years and already committed to a teaching and research program of a highly specialized character.

Despite this fact the program has not been ineffective. It has increased the strength of the European offering of the University not merely by enabling us to add a limited number of people on the basis of the Carnegie grant but, no less important, has stimulated different parts of the University to develop courses in this area which would not otherwise have been developed.

In the first category are the courses on European economy and on the Economy of Britain offered by Professor Fleming, the course on the Economy of Germany offered by Dr. Diebold, and the course on the Government of France offered by David Thomson, and a number of seminars on European Economic Problems, Contemporary France, Contemporary Britain and Contemporary Germany.

In the latter category, i.e., courses which came into existence by virtue of the creation of the European Institute, are the courses on Political and Social Theory in the context of European Institutions, the course on Comparative Economic Organization, the course on European Legal Systems, the course on Contemporary France, etc.

In addition, the European Institute has been responsible for the creation of a Faculty Seminar which has involved not merely members of the Columbia staff but visitors from institutions as far away as Williams, Wesleyan, Yale, Princeton and Bryn Mawr. The European Faculty Seminar has spent the past three years discussing (1) the forces making for integration in Europe, (2) the forces making for disintegration, and (3) great power policies vis-a-vis Europe. Out of these discussions

have already come a number of significant articles and, no less important, the ground work for a series of large scale research projects we hope to take up in the immediate future.

So far no one of the additions to the staff of the University who were brought here on the Carnegie grant have been assigned to the General Funds of the University. And I am frank to say that we have been nurtering the Carnegie funds as carefully as we could for the express purpose of postponing the date on which this will occur until after the staff of the East Asian Institute have been so transferred.

Indeed, we hope to stretch these funds to the time when one or more of the members of the present staff of the University now giving work in the European field will retire. At this time it will be possible to make the transfer from the Carnegie grant to the regular funds of the University more easily. I have talked at some length about the European Institute because its integration within the University is not as yet completed.

In planning the program of the Near and Middle East Studies, those of us who are in charge of this program have not been unaware of the fact that any help we may be able to secure from one of the foundations will in the very nature of things be limited and that at some future date the University must be prepared to take over the financial burden of the enterprise. It is for this reason that we have proceeded with caution and that down-to-date we have made a very limited number of additions to our permanent staff but have built up our program very largely out of existing staff and by making extensive use of visiting professors.

In submitting the request for financial assistance, which is now before you, we have done so in the expectation that at the end of six years there will be a number of retirements in the various departments which will make it possible to transfer most of our new appointees from the Foundation Funds to the regular budget of the University without undue burden on the University. Quite obviously the University must be and is prepared to take up any slack which may exist in connection with these various developments.

Thus, what appears to an outsider to be a tremendous expansion in the University's activities and a radical increase in the financial burden assumed by the University is in fact, in large measure, the re-orientation of the resources of the University to meet what seems to us to be the critical educational needs of our times. The foundations have assisted greatly in this re-orientation - and in our opinion in

meeting the educational needs of the country - by making it possible for the University to do today what they otherwise would have to do piecemeal and less effectively over the course of six or seven years.

If there is any further information you may desire, do not hesitate to call on me.

Cordially yours,

(signed)

Schuyler C. Wallace
Director

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EDWARD R. MURROW
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Ford Fndtn

February 4, 1953

Dear Mr. Coyne:

Thank you for your recent letter.

I am sure that your application to the Board on Overseas Training and Research will receive careful attention at the earliest possible moment. You must appreciate that the screening and consideration of hundreds of applications requires time if we are to make wise decisions regarding the many and varied applications that come before the Board.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ E. R. Murrow

Mr. Donald E. Coyne
415 Lyman Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

cc: Mr. John Weiss - with correspondence

Ford

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ED R MURROW NY NEWS

FWG FM MARTIN.."PLS ASK DOROTHY MCDONOUGH TO PHONE JOHN WEISS AT FORD FOUNDATION AND TELL HIM I HAVE JUST MAILED ROBERT ELEGANT,S APPLICATION FOR A FELLOWSHIP. HE WAS IN KOREA WHICH ACCOUNTS FOR THE DELAY. IT SHOULD ARRIVE WITHIN A FEW DAYS AFTER THE DEADLINE FOR APPLICATION."

NIETFELD

Ford Foundation

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

December 23, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Yes.

Dear Ed:

It now appears that Monday, February 2, is a convenient date for the meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research. Accordingly, we are planning to meet at 10:00 A.M. on that day in the office of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

I will appreciate your letting me know if this date is agreeable to you.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

P.S. Bill Costello all signed up. Looks like a very good addition. Thanks for the tip + I'm sorry I moved on it without keeping you advised

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

GORDON GRAY, CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

JOHN S. DICKEY
PRESIDENT, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

ALVIN C. EURICH
VICE PRESIDENT, THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

JOHN W. GARDNER
VICE PRESIDENT, THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

EDWARD R. MURROW
COUNSELOR ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

MILO R. PERKINS
CONSULTANT

CARL B. SPAETH
DIRECTOR OF OVERSEAS ACTIVITIES
THE FORD FOUNDATION

JOHN K. WEISS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NELL P. HUTCHINSON
ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

DOROTHY SODERLUND
FELLOWSHIP SECRETARY

December 9, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

It is Carl Spaeth's feeling that the meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research which has been scheduled for January 7th would be more productive if put over until later in January or early in February.

I will be getting in touch with you soon to try to arrange another date for this meeting of the Board.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
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GORDON GRAY, CHAIRMAN
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ALVIN C. EURICH
VICE PRESIDENT, THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

JOHN W. GARDNER
VICE PRESIDENT, THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

EDWARD R. MURROW
COUNSELOR ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

MILO R. PERKINS
CONSULTANT

CARL B. SPAETH
DIRECTOR OF OVERSEAS ACTIVITIES
THE FORD FOUNDATION

JOHN K. WEISS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NELL P. HUTCHINSON
ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

DOROTHY SODERLUND
FELLOWSHIP SECRETARY

Yes.

November 20, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

It now appears that a majority of the Board favors January 7th in New York for the next meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research, rather than January 5th and 6th in Pasadena. Accordingly, we are planning to have the next meeting at the offices of The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, on Wednesday, January 7, 1953.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

GORDON GRAY, CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

JOHN S. DICKEY
PRESIDENT, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

ALVIN C. EURICH
VICE PRESIDENT, THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

JOHN W. GARDNER
VICE PRESIDENT, THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

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JOHN K. WEISS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NELL P. HUTCHINSON
ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

DOROTHY SODERLUND
FELLOWSHIP SECRETARY

November 7, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing for your information the tentative agenda and docket for the November 13 meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research.

All agenda items are supported by staff reports except items 2.3, 2.4, 3.2, 3.3 and 5.4 which will be reported on orally at the Board meeting.

The meeting will begin at 10:00 a.m. in the offices of The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 575 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

Enclosure

Letterhead of
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Members of the Board on Overseas Training and Research

Ford
JOP

COPY

John K. Weiss November 5, 1952

New York Times Editorial of December 4, 1952

I thought you would be pleased and interested to see the editorial on the Fellowship Program from the Times, which we received in addition to the general news coverage about the program, and which reads as follows:

FOR STUDY IN ASIA

" The Ford Foundation has announced plans for another significant public service. Fellowships will be granted to properly qualified persons for special study and residence in East Asia and the Near and Middle East. The purpose of this grant is to broaden the scope of Americans who may be called upon to deal with Asian problems.

There is no substitute for accurate knowledge obtained at first hand. We have often been deficient in that knowledge in the past. Most of the Asian studies have been political, linguistic, anthropological or religious. More recently there have been some sound economic surveys for some areas. There are still hundreds of fields of human endeavor and activity that need exploration. The surface has hardly been scratched.

The events of the past decade have made Americans somewhat more Asia-conscious than they were previously.. While we are still essentially Europe-minded, especially in the orientation of our culture, we are gradually becoming more familiar with elements in the Asiatic scene. For one thing, American news coverage of Asia, although still not as detailed as that of Europe, is more intensive than it used to be. We are coming to accept not merely Korea but Hong Kong, Singapore, Jakarta, New Delhi and Rangoon as normal news sources. The problems of Iraq and Iran no longer seem to have merely an Arabian Nights flavor. They are real things that happen to real persons.

This is a sound development. Asia is important to us know and there is every reason to believe that it will be increasingly important. In this field we need more trained and knowledgeable persons. The Ford Foundation is embarking on the course that will help to provide them. It deserves our congratulations and our thanks."

JK:mrc
cc: Messrs. Gray, Dickey, Eurich, Gardner, Murrow, Perkins, Spaeth.

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

CONFIDENTIAL
FOR INTERNAL STAFF ONLY

TO: Gordon Gray and Other Officers

FROM: John K. Weiss and Cleon O. Swayzee

SUBJECT: Staff Activity Report, November 28, 1952

I - TRAINING ACTIVITIES

1953-54 Fellowship Program

The announcement and various forms have been drawn up and printed in accordance with the directives of the Board. The timetable for the Program is as follows:

Date of announcement of Program, November 30, 1952;
Date for return of application and reference forms, January 31, 1953;
Date for announcement of awards, April 15, 1953.

The press release announcing the Program was sent out simultaneously from the Pasadena and New York offices for release November 30th. The Ford Foundation in New York handled the wire services. The New York office press releases were mailed on November 26th. The announcements were mailed out November 28th.

Four of the six members of last year's Screening Committee, including the Chairman, have agreed to serve again in the same capacity, namely, Messrs. Wallace, Talbot, Wodlinger, and Thomas. Mr. Murrow indicated that he would speak to Mr. William Costello of the CBS staff as a possible replacement for Mr. Martin who is now in Japan. Discussions have also been held with Mr. Robert Clifford, who has formerly served in the U. S. Foreign Service in Lebanon, Burma, and Belgrade, and is now with the American Machine and Foundry Company, as a possible replacement for Mr. Attwood. A final recommendation for the talent scout for non-academic personnel has been sent to Mr. Spaeth. No action has been taken regarding the non-academic Screening Committee pending the appointment of the talent scout.

Discussions have been held with Dr. Wallace regarding preliminary screening, but nothing definite has been decided yet.

Re-application of one-year BOTR Fellows

A list of the fellowship winners who asked for grants covering more than one year but received only one-year awards has been prepared, and after consultation with Dr. Wallace, plans are to notify these Fellows as to how they can reactivate their applications for the additional time requested.

Slavic Studies

Discussions with Philip Mosely and others are going forward preparatory to presenting a report to the Board on Soviet and Slavic studies.

African Program

An intensive search is now in progress for a person who can: 1) make a careful study of research and training needs in the African field; and 2) recruit personnel for the proposed African Fellowship Program. Preferably one person will be obtained to perform both the above functions.

Near and Middle East Research Program

The staff has had discussions with several members of the S.S.R.C. Near and Middle East Committee exploring the question of formulation by that Committee of a series of related research projects covering the entire area.

University of Michigan Field Session

Discussions have been held with George Cameron, Director of the Near Eastern Studies Program of the University of Michigan, outlining the kind of detailed information necessary for presentation to the Board on the proposed field session and its relationship to the current University of Michigan program.

Survey of Personnel Requirements

The survey of the quantitative and qualitative need for experts in various foreign fields and the adequacy and availability of training facilities to help fill this need is under discussion with the Public Administration Clearing House and a detailed outline for such a study is in preparation.

Roving Staff Members

Here also an intensive search for personnel is underway. Two Roving Staff Members are needed, one to assist, encourage, and evaluate the performance of BOTR Fellows in the United States and Asia; the other to do the same for BOTR Fellows in the Near East.

Training for Specialized Mission Personnel

Regarding the need for training personnel for foreign missions, a status memo has been prepared and dispatched to Mr. Spaeth, summarizing the conclusions of the Sayre-Thurber Report and indicating what has been done up to this point. It will serve as a basis for further discussion with the officers of the Foundation.

II - RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Research Liaison Office in the Near East

Nothing further has been done on this pending appointment of a Roving Staff Member for the Near East, who will, in addition to his other functions, investigate the possibility of establishing such an office.

Soviet Techniques of Indoctrination and Control

The Board has recommended to the Foundation a grant of $61,000 to Rodger Swearingen and associates for an investigation of Soviet Methods of Indoctrination

and Control in Japan. Talks with Philip Mosely and others have been held preparatory to drawing up plans for a series of coordinated country studies on this problem.

Publications Revolving Fund

The staff is preparing recommendations for the Board regarding the possibility of establishing a fund for the subsidization of the publication of worthy manuscripts on the Far East, Southeast Asia, Southern Asia, the Near and Middle East, Africa, and the Slavic area. Initial inquiries have been made of various groups, among them area sub-committees of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, regarding the screening of manuscripts. Conferences are being held with possible publishers regarding details of actual publication.

III - BOARD MEETINGS

The last meeting of the Board was held on November 13, 1952. The next meeting of the Board is to be held in New York on January 7, 1953.

IV - PERSONNEL

Mrs. Nell P. Hutchinson has resigned as Assistant Executive Secretary.

Mr. Jonathan King has joined the staff as Staff Assistant.

In the next few weeks, Mr. Swayzee hopes to have located an assistant.

In addition to the above, and Messrs. Weiss and Swayzee, the staff now consists of the following: Miss Dorothy Soderlund, Fellowship Secretary (half-time), Miss Marion Coughlin, Miss Mireille Oltramare, and Mrs. Pauline Sutherland.

SP

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

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JOHN S. DICKEY
PRESIDENT, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

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CARL B. SPAETH
DIRECTOR OF OVERSEAS ACTIVITIES
THE FORD FOUNDATION

JOHN K. WEISS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NELL P. HUTCHINSON
ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

DOROTHY SODERLUND
FELLOWSHIP SECRETARY

September 3, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

As you know, the next meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research will be held at 9:30 A.M. on September 17, 1952. The meeting will be in the offices of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, Room 534, 575 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.

I am enclosing for your information and consideration a proposed agenda for this meeting. Because of the necessity of scheduling the Board's program in concert with the Ford Foundation's operations, the staff will recommend that the Board take action with respect to a second year's fellowship program (Item 2.3.3). Also following the proposed general discussion with respect to broad principles affecting the Board's support for research programs, it is possible that the Board will want to take action with respect to a general recommendation in this area (Item 3.4).

With respect to Item 3.3, a staff memorandum covering all pending research projects and separating them into the three categories listed in the agenda will be sent to you shortly.

It is also anticipated that a recommendation concerning an administrative budget for the Board will be presented at the meeting.

I am also enclosing a copy of the draft minutes of the June 18 meeting for your consideration.

If you have any questions or suggestions with respect to any of this, please let me know.

Arrangements have been made to serve luncheon at 12:45. I expect that the agenda will be completed around 5:30.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

Enclosures

Letterhead of
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Rord Pradtn

July 29, 1952

COPY

Mr. Wells Church, News Director
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Church:

This is just a short note to tell you how much we have appreciated having Mr. Robert P. Martin work with us as a member of our Screening Committee for the recently established Overseas Fellowship Program. Mr. Martin has been a truly wonderful member of the Committee and his experience in the Far East, plus his non-academic point of view, have proven to be invaluable. I don't know how we would have gotten along without him.

I can only hope that our keeping him tied up for a somewhat longer period than was originally intended has not unduly inconvenienced you in your own planning. Once again, many thanks for your kindness.

Sincerely,

Ed -
Thanks again to you too - he was a superb help to the Committee
John

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

JKW:FS

CC: Mr. Carl B. Spaeth
Mr. Robert P. Martin
Mr. Edward R. Murrow

Ford G.P.

July 9, 1952

Dear Mr. Weiss:

This is merely a note in Mr. Murrow's absence from the city to tell you he will be at the September 17 meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Cammarota
Secretary to
Mr. Murrow

Mr. John K. Weiss
The Ford Foundation
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BOARD ON
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Alvin C. Eurich
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John W. Gardner
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Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting Company

Milo R. Perkins
Consultant

Carl B. Spaeth
Director of Overseas Activities
The Ford Foundation

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

Yes

June 23, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

This is to remind you that there was tentative agreement that the next meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research would be held on Wednesday, September 17th. Would you let me know definitely that you will be able to meet on that date, please?

I will, of course, send you official confirmation of this meeting later in the summer.

Sincerely yours,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

THE FORD FOUNDATION
~~575 MADISON AVENUE~~
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BOARD ON
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Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting Company

Milo R. Perkins
Consultant

Carl B. Spaeth
Director of Overseas Activities
The Ford Foundation

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

June 10, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing for your information the tentative agenda for the June 18 meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research.

I am also enclosing the draft minutes of the May 22nd meeting of the Board. I have taken some liberties with the chronology of the fellowship discussion in the interests of clarity. I can also report that the fellowship screening committee met for the first time at lunch yesterday and plans to go ahead on a full-time basis immediately. They all seem most enthusiastic with their assignment. I expect they will raise some policy questions in an interim report prior to the June 18th meeting.

Mr. Sibley has completed the preliminary screening and turned over his conclusions to Professor Wallace yesterday. He has agreed to remain available for consultation to the Committee as needed. A copy of his final report is also enclosed.

The Board meeting will start at 9:30 and you will be able to get the room number at the desk in the Hotel Drake lobby that morning.

Sincerely yours,

John

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

Enclosures:
1. Tentative Agenda.
2. Minutes of May 22 Meeting.
3. Report by Mr. Sibley.

P.S. Thanks for Pepper Martin. He looks wonderful against the academicians.

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Date: June 5, 1952

TO: Mr. Edward Murrow

FROM: John Weiss

..... Appropriate action

..... Comments or recommendations

..... Please discuss with me

.....X..... For your information and files

..... Please note and return

..... Please attach previous

..... Prepare reply for my signature

Ford

FROM: The Ford Foundation
Board on Overseas Training & Research
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York
Plaza 5-4600
Dorothy Soderlund

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, JUNE 9, 1952

John K. Weiss, Executive Secretary of The Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research, announced today the appointment of Nell P. Hutchinson as Assistant Executive Secretary of the Board.

Mrs. Hutchinson, formerly Public Relations Officer of the State University of New York, will assist in the overall administration of the Board's operations.

Before serving the State University, Mrs. Hutchinson was assistant to the President of the Woman's Foundation in New York City - an organization devoted to research and programs on the American home. From 1944 to 1946 she was assistant at Barnard College in the Residence Halls Program and in 1942-44 she was director of the Student Union of the University of Texas. Coming from Indianapolis, Indiana, she was educated at Stephens College and Stanford University from which institution she has the Master of Arts degree.

The Board on Overseas Training and Research, under the chairmanship of President Gordon Gray of the University of North Carolina, was established in March 1952 to assist the Ford Foundation in formulating programs and carrying out activities pertaining to the furtherance of world peace. It will study and assess both private and governmental programs of international training and research and will advise the Foundation upon ways in which

their program may be strengthened to enable the Nation to meet more effectively its international responsibilities. The Board will administer the Foundation's own programs in support of Overseas Training and Research. The other members of the Board are:

John S. Dickey, President, Dartmouth College
Alvin C. Eurich, Vice President, The Fund for the Advancement of Education
John W. Gardner, Vice President, The Carnegie Corporation of New York
Edward R. Murrow, Counselor on Public Affairs, Columbia Broadcasting Company
Milo R. Perkins, Consultant
Carl B. Spaeth, Director of Overseas Activities, The Ford Foundation.

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Date: 6/3/52

TO: Ed Murrow

FROM: John Weise

..... Appropriate action

..... Comments or recommendations

..... Please discuss with me

.....X..... For your information and files

..... Please note and return

..... Please attach previous

..... Prepare reply for my signature

Ed—
If you're free, you might want to sit in on the luncheon —
John

Letterhead of
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Ford
3P

COPY

June 3, 1952

Mr. Donald Wadlinger
Institute of International Education'
801 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Wadlinger:

This is to confirm your appointment as a member of the fellowship screening committee of the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research.

The other members of the Committee are:

Dr. Schuyler Wallace (Chairman)
Mr. Robert P. Martin
Dr. Philip Talbot
Mr. Harold Atwood
Professor Lewis Thomas

The Board is asking the Committee to get together for an introductory luncheon on Monday, June 9, at 12:30 p.m. at the Hotel Drake, 56th Street and Park Avenue.

While I recognize that some of these data may be familiar to you, I am enclosing for your information the following material:

(1) the general announcement of the fellowship program plus the application forms and instructional material

(2) a copy of an interim report on the fellowship applications by Mr. Elbridge Sibley of the Social Science Research Council

(3) a summary of the Board's discussion of the program at its May 22 meeting dealing largely with the Sibley report

(4) a form letter sent to all applicants on May 28.

I would appreciate very much hearing that you will be able to be at the luncheon meeting on June 9, and on behalf of the Board I should like to express our great appreciation for your willingness to assist in this important program.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

Enclosures (4)
JKW/ec

cc: Carl B. Spaeth

Similar letter sent to:
Mr. Martin
Dr. Talbot
Dr. Wallace
Prof. Lewis
Mr. Atwood

THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

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Carl B. Spaeth
Director of Overseas Activities
The Ford Foundation

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

May 28, 1952

TO ALL FELLOWSHIP APPLICANTS:

Because of an unexpectedly large response to the recent announcement of foreign study and research fellowships, it is evident at this time that it will not be possible to complete the selection of all fellows by July 15 as originally scheduled.

Because of the substantial hardship this delayed time schedule will place on many applicants, the Board has decided to notify each applicant as soon as final action is taken with respect to the application rather than waiting until the selection process has been completed.

Notification of the Board's decision with respect to your application will be sent you as soon as possible. You may be certain that every effort will be made to expedite the decisions of the Board.

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS -- 1952

Statement of Policies Adopted at Meeting of the Board, May 22, 1952

I. There is to be no formal procedure established with regard to checking the applicant's acceptability to the officials of the country in which he wishes to study. This matter is to be handled on an ad hoc basis after discussion with appropriate personnel in the State Department.

II. Individuals unlikely to gain admission under present conditions to the countries of interest will be excluded from consideration for fellowships.

III. All grants for foreign travel are made contingent upon the ability of the grantee to obtain passports and visas required.

IV. Partisans of special social movements and recognized supporters of political parties inimical to the best interests of the United States, for example, admitted Communists, are to be excluded for consideration for fellowships.

The Board will not knowingly grant an award to any member of the Communist party or person whose loyalty is known to be under serious question.

V. Unless political conditions preclude it, the student's program should generally include provision for a stay in the area of interest after suitable preliminary training in this country. Fellowships should not generally be awarded for preliminary training in this country where there is no expectation on the part of the applicant to go abroad. A normal minimum period of residence abroad of 6 months is to be required of those to whom awards are given for foreign study or research.

VI. Persons already intimately familiar with foreign nations or regions will not be excluded from awards to carry on further research and writing about or in these countries.

VII. Candidates whose nativity or ethnic background is that of the place to be visited or is of some place other than that to be visited are not to be excluded by virtue of this ethnic background.

VIII. Immigrants not yet naturalized are to be excluded for consideration for fellowships.

IX. Persons employed by or closely identified with American missionary organizations at the time of application are not to be excluded from the list of eligible applicants.

X. The Board expects all successful applicants to devote full time to the fellowship program for such subsistence as has been requested. This will normally prevent the award winner from being gainfully employed otherwise (including self-employed), even on a part-time basis.

XI. The Board will approve joint tenure of its fellowships with fellowships or grants from other organizations.

XII. No special provision is to be made for new college graduates with high academic and personal qualifications, but whose interest in particular foreign countries is of recent development and naturally somewhat vague.

XIII. No awards will be made this year to take effect a year later. These applicants are to be instructed to re-apply.

XIV. No application is to be acted upon favorably by the Board until a member of the Board or Screening Committee or a designated agent has interviewed the candidate personally. The Board is eager that the Committee do as much of the interviewing as possible itself.

XV. The geographic scope of the program will include Arabic countries along the south coast of the Mediterranean, Ethiopia, the Sudan and such other areas not on the continent of Asia and Asia Minor as might appear advisable with the exception of Greece and Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union only in such instances as it appears to bear immediate relation to the primary area of interest.

XVI. Since the general emphasis of the total program is on contemporary problems, such fields as archeology, ancient history, ancient languages and literature and medieval and pre-nineteenth century subjects are to be reviewed primarily with regard to their relationship to contemporary culture and affairs. Such fields are not to be automatically excluded.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

575 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

TENTATIVE AGENDA

Meeting of May 22, 1952

1. Approval of minutes of March 18, 1952 meeting

2. Training Program

   2.1 Foreign Study and Research Fellowship Program
      2.1.1 Analysis of Statistical Data on Applications
      2.1.2 Progress Report on Preliminary Screening
      2.1.3 Discussion of Policy Questions Raised in Preliminary Screening
      2.1.4 Discussion of further Screening and Final Determination of Fellowship Winners
      2.1.5 Administration of Fellowships for Winners

   2.2 A.C.L.S. Proposal for Summer Fellowships for Foreign Language Study

   2.3 Report on Training for Specialized Mission Personnel

3. Research Program

   3.1 Report on Ford Foundation Trustees' Action on Research Appropriation
   3.2 Consideration of Memoranda on Research
   3.3 Discussion of Immediate Steps to be Taken to Implement Research Program

4. Other Board Activities

   4.1 Grants
      4.1.1 Institutional Grants
      4.1.2 Project Grants

   4.2 Coordination with other Activities of Foundation
      4.2.1 Research Center for International Communications

5. Staff Organization

6. Other Business

7. Date of Next Meeting

8. Adjournment

JKW/ec
cc: Perkins, Murrow Gardner, Dickey, Gray, Spaeth, Eurich, Soderlund

THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

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Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting Company

Milo R. Perkins
Consultant

Carl B. Spaeth
Director of Overseas Activities
The Ford Foundation

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

May 14, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am enclosing for your information the tentative agenda for the May 22 meeting of the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research.

Although I do not now know how many fellowship applications will have been received by that time, as of today we have over 250 completed forms in the office and more come in with each mail. Mr. Sibley is here on the job and has already begun the preliminary screening. He will be preparing a list of questions which the Board may want to consider with regard to further screening.

With respect to item 2.2 on the agenda, this is in reference to a proposal received from Mr. Mortimer Graves of the American Council of Learned Societies that the Board institute "a baby fellowship" program for foreign language study. Without questioning the validity of such a program, I should indicate that it appears to Mr. Spaeth and to me that the administrative hazards of trying to establish such a program for the summer are too great to give serious consideration to such a proposal at this time. I do feel that we may want to consider this in terms of the over-all fellowship program for another year.

With respect to item 2.3, this makes reference to the report prepared by Wallace S. Sayre and Clarence E. Thurber to which Mr. Spaeth will speak at the meeting. Copies of this report will also be available for all members of the Board.

In view of the Foundation trustees' action in approving a $1,000,000 appropriation for the research activities of the Board, I believe item 3 on the agenda is self-explanatory.

With respect to item 4, at Mr. Gray's suggestion, I should merely like to raise with the Board how best to deal with requests for grants both for institutions and for specific projects, such as, for example, the Herald Tribune proposal.

I believe the balance of the agenda is self-explanatory.

The meeting will begin at 9:30 in room 534, 575 Madison Avenue in the offices of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Arrangements have been made for luncheon at the Drake Hotel at 12:45.

If you have any questions with respect to this agenda or additional items which you would care to have included, I would appreciate your getting in touch with me so that we may prepare the revised agenda prior to the meeting.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

Enclosure

THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

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Director of Overseas Activities
The Ford Foundation

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

May 8, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

After receiving this morning the letter from John Gardner, a copy of which is enclosed, I immediately checked with Gordon Gray and Carl Spaeth as to their views on following out the procedures outlined in Mr. Gardner's letter. It was their judgment that the procedure recommended by Mr. Gardner was very superior to that proposed in my memorandum of several days ago. Accordingly, with their concurrence, I telephoned Mr. Elbridge Sibley, of the Social Science Research Council in Washington, and asked him whether he would be amenable to start working in our offices next week reviewing all of the applications for the overseas fellowship program, as well as formulating the several policy questions which, in the light of these applications, the Board will want to consider at its May 22 meeting.

Mr. Sibley called back late this afternoon to indicate that he would be agreeable to this procedure and would be available to start work on Tuesday, May 13, with a view to sticking out the job until it is finished.

I am keeping this letter short in order that I may get this information to you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss,
Executive Secretary

C O P Y

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, N.Y.

John W. Gardner
Vice President

May 6, 1952

Mr. John K. Weiss
The Ford Foundation
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

I can tell you from my own experience that the trouble with asking one's Board for advice is that they may give it to you, and then you feel under some obligation to listen to it. I want to relieve you of that obligation in connection with anything I say in this letter. I have some definite reactions to the plan which you outline, but you are closer to it than I am and will be the best judge of whether my comments have any relevance. Take them or leave them as you wish.

First, I seriously doubt that the preliminary screening (referred to on page 2) should be delegated to wholly inexperienced individuals. I don't think that I agree with you that the alternative would be to put all applications through a more elaborate screening process. Would it not be possible to obtain immediately the services of some experienced person or persons on a loan basis who would undertake to do this preliminary screening. Experienced individuals could do it probably even more rapidly than inexperienced, so it should not alter your time schedule. I am thinking of individuals such as: Elbridge Sibley, Bryce Wood, Joseph Casagrande of the S.S.R.C.; Mortimer Graves of the A.C.L.S.; Philips Talbot; Wendell Bennett (Yale). If you obtain more than one of these individuals, I should think it would be with the understanding that they did the screening individually, since it should not require conferring. Any conferring at this stage would, of course, slow things down badly.

Next, I have some comments concerning your second paragraph on page 3. I have strong objections to a couple of organizations to which you propose to send a list of the abstracted projects, but I won't dwell on these objections since I have a more fundamental argument with the whole process which you describe. Even if you select your organizations with great care and even if they do their job well, you will end up with a very large list of "experts"--perhaps almost as many experts as applications. Each of the experts will be judging one or at the most a few cases and will be under the necessity

of establishing his own standards of judgment--which may differ drastically from the standards of other experts. He will have no opportunity to sit down with other experts in order to work out a common standard of judgment for the different categories (pre-doctoral, post-doctoral, etc.) nor will he be judging the candidate in relation to the other candidates in that category. He will be working in the dark to an unnecessary and undesirable degree.

In any new fellowship program it is usually necessary for the men doing the judging to sit down face to face at least until they get through the stage of establishing common standards and criteria for judgment to cover the various categories with which they will be dealing. This may take two or three days of discussing sample cases; agreeing on ground rules, etc. For all of these reasons, I strongly recommend that we drop the idea of working through a large body of unassembled experts and plan instead to set up a small screening committee of experienced men carefully chosen for various types of background (academic, non-academic, social science-humanities, etc.). This committee might draw as widely as it wished upon the opinions of experts but would carry most of the burden itself.

This would eliminate the necessity of a second staff screening. The screening committee would be instructed to leave whatever number of "survivors" they wished to bring to the Board itself.

I think, by the way, it may be useful to get a couple of experienced men in this field to go through a sample of the applications before the meeting on May 22 with a view to posing the kinds of policy questions which will have to be decided by the Board before any effective screening can be done. Some of these policy questions will become apparent in the statistical roundup which you planned, but others will only be brought to the surface in a preliminary study of applications.

As I said at the beginning, these are only my own opinions, and I do not wish to complicate unnecessarily the very difficult job ahead of you. Please feel completely free to ignore these suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ John

JWG:ien

THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Gordon Gray, *Chairman*
President, University
of North Carolina

John S. Dickey
President, Dartmouth College

Alvin C. Eurich
Vice President, The Fund
for the Advancement of
Education

John W. Gardner
Vice President, The Carnegie
Corporation of New York

Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting Company

Milo R. Perkins
Consultant

Carl B. Spaeth
Director of Overseas Activities
The Ford Foundation

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

May 2, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The enclosed proposed program for the administration of the Board's 1952 fellowship program has been formulated as a result of conversations and correspondence with representatives of the Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Guggenheim Foundations, the Fulbright group, the State Department, the Institute of International Education, the Social Science Research Council, the Institute of Current World Affairs, the Middle East Institute, the Asia Institute and a number of other knowledgeable individuals in education, in industry, and in government.

It is proposed with the hope that members of the Board will submit suggestions either for major or minor changes which may be incorporated in a revised procedure which will then be discussed -- and, I hope, approved -- at the May 22 meeting. I have, of course, made a number of assumptions in drafting this which are certainly matters for the Board itself to determine. This has been largely with the thought that a concrete proposal will form a better basis for discussion than a number of unanswered questions. I have discussed this procedure generally although not in detail with Mr. Spaeth and he has suggested that I submit it to all members of the Board for review and comment.

It appears at this time that some 2500 application forms will have been distributed by May 15. Of these probably not more than 1000 will finally be completed and returned.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

Enclosure

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
Memorandum

To: Board on Overseas Training and Research Date: May 2, 1952

From: John K. Weiss

Subject: Proposed Administration for 1952 Overseas Fellowship Program

Upon receipt of all completed fellowship applications received prior to the established May 15 deadline, a staff review of these applications will be made to extract certain quantitative data. These data, summarizing both the background of the applicants and the nature of the proposed projects will be submitted to the Board on Overseas Training and Research at the May 22 meeting, both for their general information and for discussion as to advisability of establishing quotas for awards among various categories, such as: first-year graduate student vs. late pre-doctorals vs. post-doctorals; social scientists vs. natural scientists vs. humanists; educators vs. journalists vs. government personnel vs. industrial personnel; persons concerned with Morocco vs. Israel vs. Yemen vs. Burma vs. India, etc. Since I have not yet seen these statistics, I have no intelligent opinion as to whether or not the establishment of any such quotas will be meaningful or not.

Concurrently with the preparation of the statistical data described above, a staff screening of all completed applications will be completed in order to prepare brief abstract summaries of the applications which may be easily duplicated, said abstract to give such pertinent data as name, age, affiliation, educational level, cost of project, other awards, plus a brief summary of the project.

Memorandum to: Board on Overseas Training and Research 5/2/52
Subject: Proposed Administration for 1952 Overseas Fellowship Program

At this point, I should like to raise a basic question of policy. In both the preparation of the statistical data and the individual abstracts, it already appears likely that we will find a substantial number of applicants and/or projects which are obviously not in line with the Board's objectives. For example, one boy has already written in indicating that his chief purpose in applying is to avoid the draft. Another has "always wanted to see China and Japan." Still others have extremely mediocre academic records or references. It will be possible for this office to screen out on an arbitrary basis those applications which are obviously disqualified and thus save the time and effort of further processing. This is what is done by the Guggenheim, Fulbright, and SSRC programs. I should stress at this point, however, that such preliminary screening will mean not only that the Board has not had an opportunity to review a substantial number of applications but also that they will not have been reviewed by anyone who could remotely qualify as an expert in the field, but rather by persons who are primarily recent college graduates with no particular competence in this field other than native intelligence.

The other alternative will be to put all applications through the more elaborate screening process--to be described below--which will have the advantage of having each of them seen by a professional expert but have the disadvantages of "diluting" the usefulness of the professional experts by distracting their attention from the more worthwhile projects. It will also markedly increase the paper-work and administrative problems in the office.

Memorandum to: Board on Overseas Training and Research 5/2/52
Subject: Proposed Administration for 1952 Overseas Fellowship Program

In my judgement, despite the obvious hazard of requiring non-expert and non-professional personnel to pass judgment on qualitative professional matters, a better group of fellows would be likely to be selected in the long run if some preliminary screening could be effected in the office. I should stress again, however, that this is certainly a matter on which the Board's judgment will be invaluable.

If the preliminary screening is carried forward in the staff office, it is then proposed that a "survivors" duplicated list of the abstracted projects will be immediately prepared and distributed as follows: to all members of the Board, to the SSRC, to the ACLS, to the Middle East Institute, to the Asia Institute, to the Foreign Policy Association, to the Institute of Current World Affairs, and to several offices in the State Department. Representatives of the various groups listed above have all volunteered to go over such a list immediately, indicating about which--if any--of the applicants they have specific information and suggesting "experts" who would be appropriate persons to review the projects described.

Where adequate suggestions are available and time permits, it is hoped that at least two--and perhaps three--"experts" can read the application and submit comments thereon. In some cases, it may be advisable to get additional comments, while in others, it may be exceedingly difficult to find knowledgeable persons who are available at the required time to screen the applications.

When these comments are received, another staff screening can be accomplished if desired to eliminate those applications upon which the experts have reported unfavorably. This, it is anticipated, would be a

fairly routine operation.

Finally then, it is presumed not more than 250--and possibly not more than 100--applications will have survived this process and so be available for Board review. This review and final disposition, it is suggested, may take place at a two-day meeting late in June, thus permitting the awards to be made by July 15 as initially announced.

I particularly point out that no provision has been made in the procedure suggested above for a personal interview with the candidates. I am certain that an interview would be most useful, but in view of our particularly stringent time-table this year, it appears to be impossible unless the awards are to be delayed until the fall.

On two other points brought out at the last Board meeting, I am more hopeful. First, the State Department has agreed to help us coordinate proposed foreign projects with the Washington representatives of the countries concerned. We are also attempting to build up our own roster of foreign nationals in whose judgment the Board may have confidence, but this is obviously a slow business. Secondly, the State Department has informally agreed to assist in every possible way in security checks and clearance for all persons who might be leaving the country. I have not considered how to meet the problems of political orientation of those who propose to stay in this country, other than to presume that a reasonable amount of sophistication and candor on the part of the references will keep us out of too much hot water. Perhaps I am too hopeful here.

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Gordon Gray
8P

CONFIDENTIAL
FOR INTERNAL STAFF ONLY

TO: Gordon Gray and Other Officers

FROM: John K. Weiss

SUBJECT: Staff Activity Report -- May 1 - 15, 1952

Fellowship Applications

As of the close of business May 15th, 425 application forms had been returned to this office. Of this number, 72 were complete with supporting documents. It is anticipated that the reference forms and transcripts will be coming in all next week, as well as additional applications which are mailed from distant points. Requests have been received from offices of the Mutual Security Agency in the Philippines, Greece and Italy for acceptance of late applications. These will be held for decision by the Board as to acceptance. The office will be open Saturday and Sunday for mail deliveries and the BOTR staff will be on hand to process it. Four persons are now working full time, 2 half time, and everyone is working overtime to handle the mechanical operation. Two additional persons will report for work on May 16th.

Screening of Applications

After discussions with Mr. John Gardner, Mr. Carl Spaeth and Mr. Gordon Gray regarding the screening procedure to be used in this office, it was decided to enlist the aid of Mr Elbridge Sibley of the SSRC in Washington. Mr. Sibley has been going over the applications received and as of Thursday evening, May 15th, had made preliminary evaluations of 106 applications.

Guggenheim & Rockefeller Foundation

Miss Soderlund had conversations with the staff of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation on Wednesday, April 30th to discuss the BOTR program and obtained a good deal of information from them as to the procedure they use in handling their applications. Mr. Weiss had lunch with Mr. Mathias on May 13 and discussed further our relations with the Guggenheim Foundation. On May 12, Mr. Weiss also met with a group from the Rockefeller Foundation to discuss the BOTR fellowship program.

Institute of International Education

On May 7th, Miss Soderlund visited the IIE offices to discuss some problems with respect to the handling of applications. Mr. Wadlinger and Miss Dinwiddie were most helpful .

Interviews and Conferences, May 1 - 15, 1952.

May 1

Miss Betty Kirtley . . . . . Turkish Embassy, Washington
To request assistance in completing application. (DS)

May 1 (cont.)

Mr. Walter S. Rodgers . . . . . Institute of Current World Affairs
Came in at the suggestion of Mr. Carmichael of Carnegie to review their fellowship program and to offer to make available to us any information they have. (ACE)

Mr. David Jones . . . . . Bennett College
To request information regarding BOTR fellowship program. (DS)

A. J. Meyer . . . . . Asst. to Pres., American University, Beirut
To endorse fellowship application and proposal of Miss Elizabeth K. Nottingham in which the American University at Beirut is very interested. (JKW)

Dean Martin Catherwood . . . . . .State Univ. of New York, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University
To inquire into operation of the BOTR and whether now was propitious to submit a project for a world-wide summary of labor relations. (JKW)

May 2

Mr. Robert Gelston . . . . . .To request information regarding BOTR fellowship program. (DS)

Mr. Robert B. Moody . . . . . To request information regarding BOTR fellowship program. (DS)

May 8

Mrs. Nell Hutchinson . . . . . .To discuss possibility of employment in staff capacity for BOTR. (JKW)

Mr. Edward Stanforth . . . . . .Program Director for CARE
To inquire into possibility of staff employment. (Referred by Stanley Gordon). (JKW)

Dr. Perlman . . . . . New School
To inquire into some of the requirements in connection with the fellowship program and the possibility of an institutional grant to the Middle East Center at the New School for Social Research. (JKW)

Mr. Samuel Pippit . . . . . Second Vice Presidents of Chase National Bank
Mr. Arthur Murray
To inquire into fellowship application procedure in behalf of Mr. Murray's son. (JKW)

May 14

Mr. Arved Teleki . . . . . .To inquire into possibilities of employment. (DS)

May 15

Mr. David Engle . . . . . At suggestion of Professor Mosely of Columbia to get application for fellowship program. (DS)

Ford Found
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BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

CONFIDENTIAL
FOR INTERNAL STAFF ONLY

TO: Gordon Gray and Other Officers

FROM: John K. Weiss

SUBJECT: Staff Activity Report -- March 21 - April 30, 1952

Interviews and Conferences, March 21 - April 30

March 21

Paul Webbink . . . . . V. P. of Social Science Research Council.
To discuss specific problems in connection with BOTR program which were raised by SSRC. (JKW)

March 31

Avrea Ingram . . . . . Intl. V.P. of National Student Association.
Came in at suggestion of Harold Taylor, Pres. of Sarah Lawrence, to discuss work of NSA. Requested he seek likely applicants for our program. (JKW)

April 3

Walter S. Rogers . . . . . Institute of Current World Affairs.
Discussed overseas program and administration of Fellowships. (JKW)

April 4

John Dickey . . . . . Board Member.
Discussed operations of Board and reviewed substance of last meeting. (JKW)

April 7

Francis F. Bradshaw . . . . . Pres., Richardson, Bellows & Henry.
Discussed nature of the BOTR program. Inquired if his experience would be useful to us on a consulting basis. (JKW)

April 8

J. J. L. Duyvendak . . . . . Institute of Social Studies, The Hague
To discuss possibility of attracting several BOTR Fellowship winners to his institution. (JKW)

April 11

Robert Gulick . . . . . Univ. of California, Berkeley.
To inquire into nature of the BOTR Fellowship Program. (JKW)

April 16

Sanford Kravitz . . . . . College Secy., New York area, American Friends Service Committee
To discuss establishment of a graduate curriculum in technical and social assistance to be sponsored by the major universities in New York area. (JKW)

April 21

Dean Philip Warren Thayer . . . . School of Advanced Intl. Studies, Johns Hopkins Univ.
To advise us that he was recommending a number of rejected applicants for fellowships at Johns Hopkins apply to us. He is sending all documentation. (JKW)

April 22

Elbridge Sibley . . . . . Exec. Assoc., SSRC, Washington
Reviewed overall situation and requested possible assistance from them. (JKW)

April 23

Prof. Wesley Maurer . . . . . Head, Dept. of Journalism, Univ. of Michigan
To discuss their graduate program in journalism and inquire as to possible support of Foundation. (JKW)

April 24

David Dodge . . . . . Arabian-American Oil Company
To inquire into nature of BOTR program. Offered his cooperation to make program successful. (JKW)

Ward Morehouse . . . . . .(Not the dramatic critic)
To inquire into BOTR Program. (JKW)

Joseph Klapper . . . . . .Research Analyst, Voice of America
Discussed proposed research center for Intl. Communications. Is thinking matter over and will meet again to discuss problem further. (JKW)

E. Shauby . . . . . To discuss BOTR Fellowship Program and, as he is an expert in the Arab areas, to offer his assistance in reviewing applications. (JKW)

April 24 (cont.)

Harold Seidman & Rolland Severy . . . Office of Management & Org., Bur. of the Budget, Washington, D. C.
To discuss Fellowship Program and screening process used in Government. (DS)

Robert Persons . . . . . Div. of Departmental Personnel, Dept. of State
To discuss program and arrange for application forms to be sent. (DS)

April 25

Mrs. Juanita De wberry . . . . . Prof. Activities Branch, Dept. of State
Discussed BOTR program and relationship with Fulbright Program. (DS)

Mrs. Helen M. Lee . . . . . Conference Board Committee of Associated Research Councils.
To discuss administrative operation of handling Fulbright Applications. (DS)

April 24 and 25

S. Shepherd Jones . . . . . Public Affairs Officer, Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, Dept. of State.
To request information and assistance on possibilities of aid in screening, security checks, relations with foreign embassies. (DS)

April 29

Arthur Upham Pope . . . . . Chancellor, The Asia Institute
To discuss changes in the Institute and possible assistance in the screening of applications. (JKW)

April 30

John Howard . . . . . Ford Foundation
To discuss BOTR program and relationship to overseas activities of the Foundation. (JKW)

A. J. Meyer . . . . . Asst. to President, American Univ. of Beirut
To endorse application of Miss Elizabeth Nottingham of Queens College. (JKW)

Summary of Activities as of April 30, 1952

Meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research

The next meeting of the Board will be held in New York on May 22nd, at 9:30 a.m. in the conference room of the Fund at 575 Madison Avenue, and luncheon at 12:45 p.m. at the Drake Hotel.

New York Herald Tribune

Mrs. Theodore Waller, Forum Director of the New York Herald Tribune forwarded a request to the Board for support of a plan to exchange students for the summer months to visit the families of Asian boys and girls who had previously visited in the United States. After circularizing the members of the Board, the decision was that no support of this kind could be attempted at this time, and therefore we would be unable to render assistance on the project. However, the question of grants generally will be considered at the next meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research.

Visit to Washington - April 24, 25

Miss Soderlund spent April 24 and 25 in Washington talking to people in the Dept. of State, Bureau of the Budget, the Conference Board, which does the administrative work on the Fulbright Program, and the Fulbright people. Everyone had heard of the program and commended the Board on its broad policies. A request was made by the Departmental Personnel office of the Dept. of State for permission to circularize the State Department employees with a special bulletin announcing the program, and they are also sending us names of additional people who have indicated interest in this type of program.

Christian Service Training

Mr. Samuel Higginbottom, President of the Christian Service Training Center, Inc. at Babson Park, Florida, submitted a request for financial support to be used for his institution to support missionary training as well as others who plan to do rural extension work. After inquiring also with the Foundation, he was informed that as a matter of general policy, it was not possible to grant him support for his purposes.

Fellowship Applications

As of April 30, 2,151 application forms had been mailed out to individuals, Committees, Universities, Corporations and the U. S. Government. In addition, announcements were mailed to an extensive mailing list, including the presidents of all institutions of higher education in the United States.

A total of 65 applications have been returned to this office, of which 6 are complete with supporting papers.

Time Schedule

Deadline for filing applications:	May 15, 1952
Meeting of the Board:	May 22, 1952
Announcement of Awards:	about July 15, 1952

Personnel

At the present time, 3 persons are working full-time on the Fellowship Program and 2 additional part-time. Applications have been received from six individuals indicating they would like to join the staff of the Board but their qualifications do not apply to the type of work required to be done. Search is going on for additional temporary clerical workers to handle and assist in the processing and screening of applications.

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Date: 4/30/52

TO: MR. EDWARD R. MURROW

FROM: JOHN WEISS

..... Appropriate action

..... Comments or recommendations

..... Please discuss with me

.....X..... For your information and files

..... Please note and return

..... Please attach previous

..... Prepare reply for my signature

Letterhead of
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

COPY

Mr. John Weiss

Dorothy Soderlund April 29, 1952

Memorandum on Results of Visit to Washington, April 24-25, 1952.

The announcement of the Overseas Training and Research Fellowship Program seemed to have had wide circulation in Washington and everyone with whom I talked knew of it and indicated great interest. A number of people stated that when they read the announcement, they were amazed at the breadth of the program and felt that the Board's policy of keeping the requirements so broad would enable us to obtain the very best people.

The persons with whom I had interviews in the Department of State were all most enthusiastic and very helpful. At the present time, however, they were anxious that any discussions be kept confidential, but assured me of their cooperation as far as their policies would allow. It was indicated that they would be very interested in seeing the types of projects of persons who reached the final screenings and, for our general guidance, will send the Board a letter indicating generally the policies and projects in which they are interested.

It was also felt that at such time as we are ready to send persons abroad, it would be most helpful if we would communicate with the embassies of the countries concerned in order to inform them of the individual and the subject of his project. They felt this would not only pave the way for the fellowship winner, but also would create an atmosphere of helpfulness and cooperation, in that we wished to cooperate by not sending persons who might be persona non grata or whose project might not be acceptable.

Although no definite arrangement could be made at this time, it was indicated off the record that the State Department would consider giving us assistance in the final security clearance of any individual whom we wished to send abroad. They recognized the importance of this problem and appreciated our concern, and wanted to take the matter up informally with the administrative sections charged with this function. The problem seems to be one not so much of policy as one of ability to handle administratively. We will get a more definite reply on this question in a few weeks.

In discussions with the Office of Management and Organization of the Bureau of the Budget, information was obtained as to the extent of interest of agencies throughout the Government in the screening of personnel for overseas work. The Civil Service Commission, together with the Budget Bureau, is doing considerable research on this problem.

The suggestion was made that these groups would probably be most interested in our program and might possibly assist us in our final screening. If we wish to request such assistance, the Bureau of the Budget offered us their assistance and cooperation.

The Overseas Fellowship Program cuts across the areas of interest of the Fulbright Program which gives grants for advanced research and special categories. This caused them some concern from an administrative standpoint and they requested that we work together as much as possible to eliminate this problem.

Applications under this phase of the Fulbright Program go through three different screenings: First, by specialists in the field of study; second, by specialists in the area of activity; and, third, by the Conference Board Committee, after which a panel is made up and submitted to the Board of Foreign Scholarships. Both the Conference Board and the section of the Department of State administering the Fulbright Program were extremely cooperative and helpful in describing the administrative systems they use in handling applications and preparing information for the use of the screening committees.

In informal conversations, both an official of the Department of Commerce and of the United Nations office of the Department of State, expressed interest in our program and offered to be of any assistance they could in their areas of interest.

Everyone with whom I spoke expressed great interest in the fellowship program and particularly commended the Board on the wide range and scope of its policies. They unanimously offered their help and assistance.

ds

cc: Mr. Carl B. Spaeth

COPY

April 28, 1952

Mrs. Theodore Waller
The New York Herald Tribune
230 West 41 Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Waller:

Since speaking with you on the telephone, I have had an opportunity to discuss your proposal of exchange fellowships for the host students of the Herald Tribune Student Forum with Mr. Gray and the other members of the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research.

The general sense of the Board at this time is that your suggestion is a most interesting one, but that the Board will have to consider its over-all position vis-a-vis such proposals before taking action on any specific ones. With this thought in mind they feel it advisable that we defer any action upon your request for this year, but that the matter be discussed at our next Board meeting in terms of possible action another year.

I know this will not be wholly satisfactory to you, but I do not think it advisable to try to push the matter any more before our next Board meeting, which is late next month.

Mr. Gray asked that I remember him kindly to you.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

April 28, 1952

Dear Mr. Weiss:

I know Mrs. Waller and her work, but her request raises an old issue with which I am familiar as a result of my association with the Institute of International Education. I am rather inclined to the view that the exchange of persons at the high school level does not represent the best employment of funds available for such activities.

It seems to me that this general subject might usefully be placed on the agenda for the next meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. John K. Weiss
The Ford Foundation
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Gordon Gray, *Chairman*
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Milo R. Perkins
Consultant

Carl B. Spaeth
Director of Overseas Activities
The Ford Foundation

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

April 17, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The attached correspondence is I think self-explanatory. Would you please let me know if your reaction to Mrs. Waller's request is in line with Mr. Gray's or not. If the Board appears to be unanimous in its judgment, I will advise Mrs. Waller accordingly without waiting for formal action at the next meeting.

Sincerely yours,

John Weiss

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

Enclosures

Letterhead of
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

April 10, 1952

COPY

President Gordon Gray
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Gray:

I apologize for seeming to bother you with what is obviously an administrative concern of the Board, but because the person making the application indicated she was a personal friend of yours, I felt it would be better to keep you in touch with this situation.

Mrs. Theodore Waller (Helen Hiett), the Forum Director of the New York Herald Tribune, has called several times to make an appointment with you. She discussed with me, however, what she has in mind, which is roughly this: a number of the foreign students whom the Herald Tribune invited to its Student Forum have invited some of their American hosts at whose homes they stayed while here, to visit them in their own native countries. I gathered from her over the telephone that this is largely a Southeast Asia group. Mrs. Waller would like the Board to appropriate $5,000 or $10,000 to enable some of these American students, who are all high school students, to make a summer trip and visit their foreign counterparts in India, Pakistan, etc.

I indicated to her over the telephone that I felt this was somewhat far removed from the program of the Board, but that I would certainly bring her suggestion to the Board's attention and if there was any possibility of obtaining even a small grant in this area I would let her know.

She has also ascertained that you are planning to be in New York later this month, and I know would like to see you to make this request in person.

Would you give me your judgment, please, on what the next move is now? Best regards.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

JKW/jlj
cc: Carl B. Spaeth

Carbon Copy

THE CONSOLIDATED UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Chapel Hill
April 15, 1952

Mr. John K. Weiss
The Ford Foundation
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Weiss:

I have your letters of April 10.

With regard to Mrs. Theodore Waller, I don't know exactly what to say. I don't believe that I am personally well acquainted with her. As a matter of fact, the only times I have seen her were on two occasions when I was working on my economic report to the President when she requested appointments with me. Also, she has several times invited me to speak at the Herald Tribune Forum.

Offhand, I would not think that a grant of the sort she is interested in would be approved by the Board. However, it should clearly be a Board decision.

I don't know whether I will have time to see her in New York or not.

I don't know how urgent her request is, and I am afraid I don't know what the plans are for a Board meeting. If we don't have to give her an answer immediately, I would be inclined to hold it as an item for the next Board meeting agenda. If there is urgency, I would like to request that you pass along the information to the members of the Board and ask their judgment. I would have no objection to your saying that my offhand reaction was against the request.

Sincerely,

Gordon Gray
President

THE FORD FOUNDATION
~~575 MADISON AVENUE~~
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Gordon Gray, *Chairman*
President, University
of North Carolina

John S. Dickey
President, Dartmouth College

Alvin C. Eurich
Vice President, The Fund
for the Advancement of
Education

John W. Gardner
Vice President, The Carnegie
Corporation of New York

Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting Company

Milo R. Perkins
Consultant

Carl B. Spaeth
Director of Overseas Activities
The Ford Foundation

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

April 22, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is to confirm that the next meeting of the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research will be held at 9:30 a.m., Thursday, May 22, at 575 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. The Board will meet at the offices of the Fund for the Advancement of Education on the fifth floor. Arrangements have been made to have the Board lunch together at 12:45, and it is expected that the meeting will continue until approximately 4:30 or 5:00.

If you have any particular matter other than the fellowship program and the proposed research activities which you would like to have included on the agenda of the May 22 meeting, I would appreciate it if you would let me know by the end of this month. I expect that the tentative agenda plus accompanying background data will be available for distribution by approximately the tenth of May.

Mr. Spaeth's present thinking is that the Board should probably meet once more before the summer after the May 22 meeting in order to take final action on the fellowship awards. He is hopeful that the Board will be able to get together for a two-day meeting, perhaps in Princeton during the last week in June.

Sincerely yours,

John K. Weiss

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

Ford Foundation
80

THE CONSOLIDATED UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

University of North Carolina at CHAPEL HILL • *North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering at* RALEIGH • *The Woman's College at* GREENSBORO

GORDON GRAY, *President*
WILLIAM D. CARMICHAEL, JR.
Vice-President and Controller
LOGAN WILSON, *Vice-President*

Chapel Hill
April 8, 1952

Mr. Carl Spaeth
Ford Foundation
Pasadena, California

Dear Carl:

I have given a good deal of thought to Milo Perkins' point that our screening process for fellowships should seek to eliminate Communist Party members and fellow travelers. I think that our Board made a sound decision when it was agreed not to make any reference to this in either the application form or in the public announcements. On the other hand, I think we cannot ignore the problem as a matter of internal operation.

I don't have any procedure to suggest at the moment. However, I wanted to let you and the Board members know that I feel that it should be a matter for our attention.

Sincerely,

Gordon Gray
President

cc: John A. Dickey
Alvin C. Eurich
John W. Gardner
Edward R. Murrow
Milo R. Perkins

COPY

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Director

31 March 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Consultant on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

At our last staff meeting, Carl Spaeth gave us a full report on the first meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research. He also reviewed the fellowship program and the Board's plans for its administration.

We must find ways to improve our training for international service. And we all feel the need for a comprehensive effort to fill the great gaps in our knowledge concerning so many peoples of the world. No part of the Foundation's international program is, therefore, more important than the one in which the Board is engaged.

I am delighted that you are off to such a prompt and encouraging start, and I want you to know how grateful we all are for your help in this important part of the Foundation's program.

In expressing my appreciation I know that I speak for all of my colleagues.

Sincerely yours,

Director

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

March 28, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

rec'd 3m

I am enclosing herewith copies of Mr. Hoffman's statement released on March 24 to announce the establishment of the Board on Overseas Training and Research, as well as Mr. Gray's statement announcing the fellowship program for the current year. In addition, I am sending you one copy of the formal announcement of the program which we have had printed.

In accordance with John Gardner's request, I have drafted a most general letter which you might want to use as a model in order to get in touch with persons you know who might be able to spread the word about this program still further.

rec'd 3m

Under separate cover I am also sending you 50 additional copies of the announcement which you may want to use in the event you decide to utilize either the model letter I have drafted or something other. I will be happy to send you as many additional copies of the announcement as you may want and also as many sets of the application forms as you have use for at any time.

I had delayed sending this out till now in the hope that I could also send along some Board stationery which I have ordered but since this will not be ready for another two weeks or so I thought it best to move ahead because of our difficult time schedule.

If I can be of any further assistance to you in this regard, I shall be happy to do so.

Sincerely yours,

John Weiss

John K. Weiss
Assistant Vice President

Enclosures:
Paul Hoffman press release (5)
Gordon Gray press release (5)
Announcement (1)
Draft letter (1)
Separate mailing:
50 additional announcements

FROM:
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.
TEmpleton 8-2915

FOR RELEASE
A. M. Newspapers
Monday
March 24, 1952

Paul G. Hoffman, Director of The Ford Foundation, announced today the establishment of The Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research, under the Chairmanship of Gordon Gray, President of the University of North Carolina.

In making this announcement, Mr. Hoffman said:

"I am extremely happy to be able to announce today that a distinguished group of Americans of long and varied experience in education and international affairs have accepted membership on the Foundation's Board on Overseas Training and Research. The Board will be concerned with the nation's urgent need for greater numbers of better trained and qualified people to serve in educational, governmental, and technical capacities throughout Asia and the Middle East.

"In addition to Mr. Gray, membership of the Board will include: John A. Dickey, President of Dartmouth College; Alvin C. Eurich, Vice-President of The Fund for the Advancement of Education; John W. Gardner, Vice-President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York; Edward R. Murrow, radio commentator and Consultant on Public Affairs to the Columbia Broadcasting System; Milo R. Perkins, foreign trade consultant with a wide experience in business and government; and Carl B. Spaeth, Director of The Ford Foundation's Division of Overseas Activities.

"The Board will investigate the requirements for informed and skilled Americans in the various fields of service abroad and

in so doing will consult with private and governmental groups in this country and will seek the counsel of informed nationals of other countries. It will evaluate the adequacy of educational facilities within the United States and elsewhere to provide training of a kind and quality required by the present complexities of world affairs. It will appraise the principal needs for basic research concerning major world areas and general problems of world affairs, and will assess existing or potential facilities for the conduct of such research.

"The Board will direct its attention initially to training and research programs in Asia, the Near and Middle East. One of the first responsibilities of the Board will be the administration of a fellowship program, recently authorized by the Trustees of the Foundation and to be announced shortly. This program is expected to permit the granting of approximately one hundred fellowships to enable recent college graduates to deepen their understanding of these areas, to afford advanced training to specialists, and to enable professional men and women to study, work and live in Asia, the Near and Middle East."

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 Madison Avenue, Room 534
New York 22, New York
PLaza 5-4600
John K. Weiss

For Release
AM Newspapers
March 28, 1952

Gordon Gray, Chairman of the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research, today announced the establishment of a new foreign fellowship program designed to stimulate increased knowledge about Asia and the Near and Middle East. The funds appropriated for this program are adequate to provide 100 fellowships of from one to three years.

The fellowship program will be administered by the Board on Overseas Training and Research. In addition to Mr. Gray, who is President of the University of North Carolina, the members of this Board are: President John S. Dickey of Dartmouth College; Alvin C. Eurich, Vice President of the Fund for the Advancement of Education; John W. Gardner, Vice President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York; Edward R. Murrow, radio commentator and Consultant on Public Affairs to the Columbia Broadcasting System; Milo R. Perkins, foreign trade consultant and former government official; and Carl B. Spaeth, Director of the Ford Foundation Division of Overseas Activities.

The complete text of Mr. Gray's statement follows:

"The Ford Foundation is offering at this time fellowships to American men and women who wish to initiate or continue training or research pertaining to Asia, the Near and Middle East. The funds appropriated for this program are adequate to provide substantial assistance to as many as 100 qualified applicants. This program is

intended to stimulate increased knowledge of these critical areas and to help meet the urgent need for large numbers of men and women well qualified in business, education, government, agriculture, labor relations and the professions throughout Asia and the Near and Middle East.

"The program has a threefold purpose. It is intended to aid young college graduates to deepen their general understanding of Asia and the Near and Middle East, to afford advanced training for specialists, and to enable men and women of promise, already launched upon their careers, to study, live and work in these areas.

"The Foundation has established these fellowships in keeping with its concern for reducing present international tensions and furthering world peace. The program is based upon a conviction that the development of mutual understanding and respect among the peoples of the world is essential to these ends. A necessary step toward such understanding and respect is to increase the number of competent Americans who have achieved sympathetic insight into the cultures, histories, institutions, aspirations, and current problems of peoples and governments of vital regions of the world.

"The fellowship program will be administered by the Foundation's Board on Overseas Training and Research.

"The conditions of the fellowships are:

"1) Candidates must be United States citizens who will ordinarily not have reached their 35th birthday. Subject to this general age

(MORE)

limitation, fellowships are available to:

"Students completing their undergraduate studies this year;

"Men and women who have done graduate work relating to the specified areas;

"Persons who have had experience or are now engaged in business, government, agriculture or labor relations, or training in economics, education, engineering, journalism, law, and other fields, regardless of whether they have lived and worked in the areas.

"2) Awards will be made for periods of from one to three years, and in amounts that will be determined by reference to the applicant's academic qualifications and experience, and the program for his individual training and research.

"3) Candidates may propose programs to be carried out in the United States or abroad. Programs need not be limited to work in colleges or universities. It is suggested, however, that students completing their undergraduate work in 1952 should plan to spend at least a year in an American institution that offers language training and courses pertaining to some part of Asia and the Near and Middle East. Applications for support of traditional graduate work in pursuance of graduate degrees will be considered, provided such study contributes to the objectives of the fellowship program.

"4) Each fellowship application must be accompanied by a comprehensive statement of the applicant's proposed plan of work and

study, including his purposes, the institutions or groups with which he hopes to be associated, his travel requirements, and similar information. To this statement should be attached an estimate of the funds required to undertake his program.

"5) In a limited number of exceptional cases the Foundation will consider providing funds to enable the immediate family of the applicant to accompany him.

"6) Application forms may be obtained from the Board on Overseas Training and Research, The Ford Foundation, 575 Madison Avenue, Room 534, New York 22, New York. Applications must be completed and returned on or before May 15, 1952. The awards will be announced on or about July 15, 1952."

WA ask me

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE
ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT

March 12, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

At the request of Dr. Carl Spaeth, I am writing to confirm that the first meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research of the Ford Foundation will be held at twelve noon on Tuesday, March 18, 1952, at the Hotel Drake, 56th Street and Park Avenue, New York City. I cannot now tell you the exact room number but this information will be available at the desk on Tuesday.

The tentative agenda for the meeting will include discussion along the following lines:

1) General objectives of Ford Foundation and role of Board on Overseas Training and Research;

2) Specific responsibilities of Board and relationship to Ford Foundation operations;

3) Consideration of general program of Board;

4) Proposed fellowship program:

   4.1) Purpose,
   4.2) General policies,
   4.3) Announcement,
   4.4) Administration;

5) Organization of staff;

6) Date of next meeting.

Arrangements have been made to serve luncheon in the meeting room, and we expect that the agenda can be completed by approximately three o'clock.

Sincerely yours,

John K. Weiss
Assistant Vice President

Price, Don
Ford Foundation
Internatl Training + Research

February 5, 1959

Dear Don:

This is to thank you for your letter of January 29 and to wish you well at Harvard. If a tired old guy named Murrow applies for admission to your graduate school, I hope you will overlook his obvious lack of qualifications. Much luck to you.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Don K. Price
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DON K. PRICE
VICE PRESIDENT

January 29, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

By now you may well have forgotten, in view of its comparative inactivity for the last two years, the Advisory Committee on International Training and Research, through which you and your fellow members gave so much help to The Ford Foundation as it developed its program in international training and research activities a few years ago.

Nevertheless, since I am about to wind up my responsibilities here and transfer to my new job as dean of the Graduate School of Public Administration at Harvard, I want to write to express my thanks to you for the help that you gave to the Foundation as a member of this Committee.

Our annual review of the International Training and Research Program and of its future opportunities provided a great stimulus to all the members of the staff, as well as to me, and the ideas that these meetings generated have been reflected in the steady development of that program.

The role and function of any advisory group, of course, depend on the basic organization of the institution which receives the advice. The changes that took place here in 1953 and 1954 made necessary a sharp change in the kind of help which the Foundation needed from the old Board on Overseas Training and Research, and I particularly appreciated, at that time, the way in which you were willing to continue your counsel to the Foundation and to me on a new basis.

When last spring I decided to accept the position at Harvard, Mr. Heald asked me to continue my responsibilities here at the Foundation on a part-time basis until February 1, 1959. During this interim period it was obviously useless to call the Committee together in view of the uncertainty with respect to the way in which the International Training and Research Program would be continued -- although there was never any doubt about the Foundation's desire to continue it. Indeed during the last nine or ten months we have been more than busy enough trying to push through some ideas which we discussed with the Advisory Committee in 1957. In particular, the talks that we had at that time led to the development of our African activities, and to the extensive program which has just been launched by a series of grants in the field of teaching English as a second language throughout the underdeveloped countries. The enclosed

release, together with the section beginning on page 66 of the new Annual Report which has gone forward to you under separate cover, indicates the ways in which the program has been advanced.

As I leave the Foundation, Mr. Heald has decided that henceforth the ITR program should report to him through Clarence H. Faust who, as you know, is the Foundation's Vice President in charge of its Education Program, as well as President of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. This assignment is particularly fitting because of Mr. Faust's other responsibilities for aid to American universities.

While under the new organization it will not be appropriate to continue a special Advisory Committee on International Training and Research, the Foundation wants me to thank you most warmly for all of your past advice and counsel and I, of course, want to add to that official word a very warm note of personal gratitude for all your stimulating suggestions, your helpful criticism, and your support. I hope that in my new position I will have a chance to keep in touch with you.

Yours sincerely,

Don K. Price

Don K. Price

Enc.

NEWS FROM THE FORD FOUNDATION

477 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK OFFICE OF REPORTS PLAZA 1 2900

FOR RELEASE TUESDAY P.M., DECEMBER 30, 1958

For further information: Richard Magat or Willard Hertz, PLaza 1-2900

NEW YORK, Dec. 30 -- The Ford Foundation today announced grants totaling more than $600,000 to help expand and improve the teaching of English in foreign countries, mainly in Asia and Africa.

Five American institutions and organizations received a total of $580,000 to increase the nation's ability to assist foreign countries in teaching English as a second language. In addition, the government of Kenya, in Africa, received $21,000 for research on English-language teaching methods.

Among other actions announced today were grants to assist American research on Asia, the Soviet Union, and East Europe; to support an exchange of graduate students with the Soviet Union; to enable foreign cultural leaders to visit the United States; to establish general-education centers at two universities in India; and to expand technical education in Pakistan.

(MORE)

The English-language grants in the United States reflect the growing importance of English as an international language, Don K. Price, Foundation vice president, said.

"English has become the leading language in international communications, diplomacy, science, and scholarship," he explained. "As a result, most countries have made English the most widely taught foreign language in their schools and colleges."

The new grants are designed to help meet increasing foreign requests for American assistance in strengthening English-language instruction and teacher-training programs. Efforts by the United States government and private organizations like the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations to give this help have been handicapped by a shortage of Americans trained in teaching English in foreign countries. The grants will expand training in the field and support research by experts in foreign languages, linguistics, and language teaching.

The University of Michigan received $140,000, American University in Washington, D.C., $100,000, and the University of Texas, $40,000, for graduate training, fellowships, and research for four years. Michigan's English Language Institute will experiment with closed-circuit television and other new methods to train teachers. American University will establish a master-of-arts course in English as a second language, and Texas will expand an existing course.

With a three-year grant of $200,000, the Modern Language Association will establish in Washington, D.C., a Center for Applied Linguistics to

(MORE)

disseminate research findings and information on training methods. Finally, the American Council of Learned Societies was given a four-year grant of $100,000 for the Linguistic Institute, an eight-week summer training program in theoretical and applied linguistics.

In Kenya, the diversity of languages requires the use of English as the medium of instruction in primary schools. The Foundation's grant will finance technical assistance and equipment to evaluate English-language teaching and teacher-training methods.

The Foundation's other actions included a three-year grant of $200,000 to the American Council of Learned Societies for grants-in-aid to researchers in the social sciences and humanities related to South and Southeast Asia. The program will be administered through a joint committee with the Social Science Research Council.

The Social Science Research Council received a similar grant of $144,000 to continue for two years grants-in-aid for research on the Soviet Union and East Europe. The Council also received $20,000 to enable its Joint Committee on Slavic Studies to evaluate American research in this field.

An inter-university program, administered by Columbia University, enables American graduate students to study in the Soviet Union and East Europe. A $200,000 grant will help finance the program in the 1959-60 academic year when the American and Soviet governments have agreed to exchange thirty students.

A grant of $125,000 to the Institute of International Education (IIE) will finance visits to the United States of about seven foreign cultural

(MORE)

leaders each year for four years. The visitors, from twenty-five to forty years in age, will spend five months here.

In India, Aligarh Muslim University received $465,000, and the University of Baroda, $430,000, to build and equip general-education centers. The centers are intended to broaden undergraduate education and stimulate student participation in the classroom.

A $446,000 grant will help the Pakistani government continue development of polytechnic institutes at Karachi, Rawalpindi, and Dacca, with technical assistance from Oklahoma State University.

Following is the complete list of grants announced by the Foundation today under three international programs:

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Athens Technological Organization -- $25,000, to finance services of American and West European consultants and collection of data not available in Greece for a research and planning project on Greek economic development.

Foundation for Productivity Research, Helsinki -- $75,000, to strengthen advanced training in public and private management in Finland through an exchange of professors with the United States.

Institute of Economic and Social Research, University of Louvain, Belgium -- $60,000 to support research on immediate industrial and commercial problems arising from European economic integration.

Institute of International Education -- $125,000, for visits to the United States by younger cultural leaders.

Institute of Social Studies, The Hague -- $25,000, to finance a study, culminating in a five-day international round table, of problems facing European parliamentary assemblies and individual parliamentarians.

(MORE)

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH

American Council of Learned Societies -- $100,000, for the Linguistic Institute; $200,000, for grants-in-aid to researchers in the social sciences and humanities related to South and Southeast Asia.

American University -- $100,000, to establish a master-of-arts course in English as a second language.

Columbia University -- $200,000, for partial support of an inter-university program to enable American graduate students to study in the Soviet Union and East Europe; $25,000, to support the African Studies Association in assessing and disseminating American research on Africa.

Hokkaido University, Japan -- $50,000, to help establish a student center to create closer relations between students and faculty and between Japanese and foreign scholars.

University of Michigan -- $140,000, for graduate training and research in English as a second language.

Modern Language Association of America -- $200,000, to establish a Center for Applied Linguistics.

Social Science Research Council -- $144,000, for grants-in-aid to researchers on the Soviet Union and East Europe; $20,000, for support of its Joint Committee on Slavic Studies.

University of Texas -- $40,000, to expand its master-of-arts course in English as a second language.

OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT

AFRICA

Government of Kenya -- $25,000, for research on English-language teaching methods.

University College, Ibadan, Nigeria -- $46,000, for housing for visiting research workers and scholars.

(MORE)

BURMA

Government of Burma -- $58,100, for participation in the International Farm Youth Exchange of eight Burmese and two Americans each in 1959 and 1960.

Kambawsa College -- $106,000, to strengthen science teaching through a visiting instructor, books and equipment, and training abroad for a Burmese teacher.

INDIA

Administrative Staff College of India -- $60,000, to strengthen its management-training program through additional books for its library, participation of small businessmen and labor-union leaders, and supplementary faculty training.

Aligarh Muslim University -- $465,000, to establish a general-education center.

University of Baroda -- $430,000, to establish a general-education center.

Government of India -- $94,500, to help establish centers at six engineering colleges to design attractive, sanitary village homes and train extension workers in their construction.

INDONESIA

Government of Indonesia -- $162,000, to help improve technical education and teacher training through foreign consultants, books, and materials; fellowships and study tours abroad; seminars; and a study committee.

PAKISTAN

Government of Pakistan -- $446,000, to continue development of polytechnic institutes.

TURKEY

Government of Turkey -- $101,000, for foreign consultants and other expenses in establishing a National Commission on Education.

(MORE)

GENERAL

Institute of International Education -- $62,360, for public-service fellowships at Harvard University for twelve government officials from Asian and African countries.

PROJECT SERVICES

In addition to the above grants, a total of $73,275 was provided under the Overseas Develcpment program for the services of expert consultants.

# # #

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

P. G. HOFFMAN
Director

February 27, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Vice President
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

While I am still President of the Ford Foundation, I want to express to you my deep appreciation for the devoted service you have given to the Overseas Training and Research Board as a member of its Advisory Board. The careful planning and administration of the various scholarship programs will result, I am sure, in a building up of a cadre of informed individuals who will contribute much toward international activities in the years to come.

Even though I will not be directing the Ford Foundation after March 1st, I do want you to know that my interest in the Board will continue. With your counsel and guidance, I am sure that Mr. Spaeth and his staff will make an even greater contribution in the future than they have in the past.

With warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Director

PGH:MLC

THE FORD FOUNDATION

MEMORANDUM Date June 23, 1954

TO: Edward R. Murrow

FROM: CLEON O. SWAYZEE

Attached is a resume of the recent conference on Training and Research in Southeast Asia which will, I think, be of interest to you.

With all best wishes from the staff

RESUME OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE FORD FOUNDATION STAFF CONFERENCE

ON TRAINING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

March 5, 1954

Prepared by John M. Thompson

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LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Mr. Russell Andrus, Foreign Operations Administration
Professor Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Bureau of International Relations
University of California, Berkeley
Mr. M. Cecil Hobbs, Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress
Professor George McT. Kahin, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell
Dr. William Lockwood, Woodrow Wilson College of International Relations,
Princeton (Chairman of Conference)
Dr. Douglas Oliver, Department of Anthropology, Harvard
Dr. Karl J. Pelzer, Department of Geography, Yale
Dr. Stephen W. Reed, Director, Department of Sociology, Yale
Dr. Lauriston Sharp, Director, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell
Dr. Charles Wolf, Department of Economics, Cornell

John Everton, Foundation Representative in Burma
Elmer Starch, Foundation Representative in Indonesia

Foundation staff members

RESUME OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE FORD FOUNDATION STAFF CONFERENCE

ON TRAINING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS, MARCH 5, 1954

I. Summary of the Issues To Be Considered - (By Chairman Lockwood)

A. Training and Research in the United States

What should be the goals in developing an adequate American program of training and research on Southeast Asia? How many institutions should be involved; how should they be distributed? What kind of training and research facilities should each offer? What kind of discipline and country coverage of the area should be provided? What kinds of inter-university cooperation can be utilized and what role should it play? How should work on Southeast Asia be related to Indian studies on the one hand and Far Eastern studies on the other?

Once the objective is defined, what procedures and policies should be followed in order to reach it? How can an adequate minimum program be developed? What are the principal priorities and principal opportunities for effective action in developing such a program? What are the chief approaches which should be explored? Where and how can the Foundation most effectively support the leadership and initiative of the universities in this developmental process?

B. Training and Research Problems and Opportunities in Southeast Asia (Especially Burma and Indonesia)

What are the major resources of the area in social science training and research? How can they be utilized and strengthened so as most effectively to support both indigenous developments in this field and the nascent United States program of Southeast Asian studies? What are the principal priorities in developing training and research facilities within the area? What should be the chief channels of effective action and assistance? Specifically, what procedures and policies should the United States follow in order to encourage the development of local resources in Southeast Asia, especially in Burma and Indonesia?

II. Training and Research in the United States

A. The Present Status of Southeast Asian Studies

1. Programs and Courses

The discussion was directed toward supplementing and bringing up-to-date the excellent brief survey of Southeast Asian studies in American universities which Mr. Kahin made in 1952. At present, there are still only two full-fledged area study programs on Southeast Asia, one at Yale and one at Cornell. Only two other universities (California and Minnesota) provide substantial course offerings in the field. Training in the languages of Southeast Asia is concentrated at California, Cornell, and Yale.

A letter from Minnesota revealed that they have course offerings, primarily in geography and political science, but no language training. California at Berkeley is offering Indonesian and a general course on Indonesian culture this year, but this work is specially designed to train a small group of students slated to go to Indonesia this summer under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. It is hoped that these offerings on Indonesia will be continued in subsequent years, at least on a small scale, and it is expected that major language training in Thai will continue as before.

Harvard was reported as having no intention of establishing a special Southeast Asia program there, but would prefer to work out a cooperative arrangement with Yale, utilizing their personnel in both language and other fields as the need arises. However, Harvard's general teaching resources for the area are being strengthened by the appointment of Cora DuBois to a chair at Radcliffe. So far Harvard has not been able to increase its course offerings on Southeast Asia by drawing on M.I.T.'s recent interest in the area because M.I.T.'s program and personnel have been focused almost exclusively on the research side.

For the past few years Yale has been stressing Burma, offering elementary, advanced, and super-advanced Burmese plus courses in Burmese history by a Burmese historian. This emphasis has been opportunistic in part, Yale capitalizing on the presence of a highly qualified person in the field, who has attracted a considerable number of people into Burmese studies. In developing its program Yale will have to continue to operate on such an ad hoc basis, stressing the disciplines and countries in which it happens to get good men and always being handicapped in building a rounded area program by the shortage of qualified personnel. Even now, Yale feels it has some way to go in order to achieve the minimum program they would like to have.

2. Research

Considerable research work is going on at Cornell and the Carnegie Corporation is backing a large research effort on the Philippines at Chicago. In addition, the Carnegie-supported Pacific Research Program undertaken by Yale, Hawaii and the Bishop Museum, which is now studying cultural change in the Pacific area generally, has plans to reach into parts of Southeast Asia. Finally, M.I.T., although it has no teaching program on the area, is engaged in concentrated research on Indonesia on a large scale. Also M.I.T. gives nominal support to the University of Rangoon where the chairman of the economics department directs an economic research center.

3. Students

It was estimated that roughly 100 to 150 graduate students are specializing in Southeast Asian studies in the United States at this time. However, if those working only for an M.A. and those without language training are eliminated, the total figure would probably be cut by at least two-thirds. For example, at Yale where language training is required and the terminal M.A. is discouraged (except for government and business people), they have been averaging about five Ph.D. trainees a year over the last seven years. Ph.D. students at Cornell probably average about ten a year in a total student enrollment of 35-40 while California now has five Ph.D. candidates who have a language of the area but who even so are not classed as Southeast Asian majors or specialists. Harvard now has nine Ph.D. candidates in this field, most of whom are anthropologists.

In regard to numbers of trainees, two further observations were made: first, that in trying to estimate the pool of Southeast Asian specialists now being trained in the United States, those people from government and business who take intensive training on the area for a year and who will later have field experience in the area should be included. Second, it was pointed out that since the field of Southeast Asian studies is still a very young one, not many students have completed their full training and the number of end-products in this field will probably increase considerably in the next few years.

B. Major Problems and Needs in the Development of Southeast Asia Studies in the United States

1. Language Training

The conferees agreed that the problem of providing adequate language training for the whole area was a major one. The heart of the problem is how to finance the teaching of the varied language courses needed when the university's cost per student for each separate language offering is so high. On the student's side is the difficulty of paying for the many different language courses which the trainee needs if he is to do serious scholarly work in the area.

One approach to the first part of the problem would be the setting up of special summer institutes for intensive training in the languages of Southeast Asia. However, the additional heavy financial burden to participating students has to be met with generous scholarship assistance. Yale and Cornell have experimented on an ad hoc basis with the summer institute solution to the language problem and have enjoyed some success. For example, last summer Cornell offered special training in Indonesian and Thai while Yale is planning to do the same thing during the coming summer.

It was pointed out that the cost of maintaining diversified language instruction was connected with the larger problem of the general financing of low-enrollment Southeast Asia area programs by the universities. Even though the university may fully recognize the national importance of supporting training and research on such a vital area as Southeast Asia, such programs, which attract few students, strain the resources of the university very gravely.

In conclusion, the conferees agreed that language courses are usually the most difficult to defend before university administrations because there the financial burden is most obvious and shocking. More general courses on the area, e.g., economics, culture, political science, meet with somewhat less opposition because they can sometimes draw enough students to carry themselves. Even so the problem of full university financing for courses on Southeast Asia remains a major one.

2. Materials for Teaching and Research

The participants agreed that teaching in the Southeast Asian field is handicapped by the shortage of English translations of both literature and government documents written in the vernacular. On the research side, it was pointed out that beyond the translation problem lay two vital areas in which much work needed to be done. First, the acquisition and processing of basic materials from Southeast Asia (in both native and Western languages) needs to be speeded up, better organized, and more generously financed. Care must be taken as to where the material is gathered and through which channels it comes. Secondly, once the material arrives in the United States, the important problem of locating it

and of making it readily available to researchers arises. In this connection, one of the chief needs is the production of adequate bibliographic tools so that scholars can easily find out where materials on Southeast Asia are available and in what different fields and languages. During the last ten years the Library of Congress has been developing a subject catalogue for materials on Southeast Asia; and it would be possible from the thousands of cards now entered in this catalogue to prepare country or subject bibliographies which would be most useful to students of the area. Naturally, a great deal of time and money, as well as adequate staffing, is necessary to continue and develop this type of work. It was suggested that a partial solution to the staffing problem might be the utilization of graduate students on Southeast Asia for the preparation of bibliographic tools. They, and perhaps they alone in the country, have the language and country competence necessary for the task. Scholarships and assistantships would be needed to finance the job, but such a system would serve the double purpose of speeding the completion of bibliographic tools and of providing the students with some excellent training.

The further suggestion was made that the materials collected by such institutions as M.I.T. and Chicago, which are concerned primarily with research rather than training, should not be overlooked. These materials might well prove most useful both in teaching and to independent researchers in this field. Perhaps, with a little organization, this type of data could be collected, catalogued and made available for training and other purposes.

It was noted that a corollary to the problem of acquiring and making available the necessary materials is the question of organizing and collating the raw data gathered so as to produce basic research evidence in the most usable and useful form possible. This kind of handling of primary data has been successfully tried in the compilation and utilization of census materials from Latin America, and a similar effort aimed at the development and integration of raw material bearing on Southeast Asia might well be undertaken, building on the work of the Dutch in Indonesia and the British in Malaya and relying on foundation assistance and the cooperation of the governments concerned.

In conclusion, it was observed that the general problem of providing the materials and sources necessary to high-quality training andresearch on Southeast Asia in the United States is certainly one on which foundation interest and support would be especially helpful.

3. Training Requirements

On this point the consensus seemed to be that area training on Southeast Asia must go hand-in-hand with full and rigorous discipline competence. In terms of placement, whether it be academic, business, or even goverment, the disciplinery or professional side of a man's training often takes precedence; a trainee usually secures his job primarily as a political scientist, anthropologist, or business expert and secondarily as a specialist on Southeast Asia. It was generally agreed that from the standpoint both of equipping the student with the tools necessary for scholarly and effective work on the area and of increasing his job opportunities, discipline training should play a large role in area study programs.

The question was raised as to whether, because of the limited market for Southeast Asian specialists, trainees in such programs and the programs themselves should not be linked to corollary area study on either India or the Far East. It was felt that while any additional work a student might get on a related area would be beneficial both academically and in placement to require such work would be too demanding

when the trainee must first ground himself in a discipline, then in Southeast Asia in general, and finally in a particular country of the area, including its language. At Cornell, for example, students of Southeast Asia are expected to know something about either China or India, but obviously their study of the corollary area cannot be very intensive.

Connected with the problem of training requirements is the question of providing adequate discipline and country coverage in this balkanized area.

4. Country and Discipline Coverage

There was general agreement on the magnitude of the problem involved here. In some respects the conception of the geographic area of Southeast Asia as a unit is artificial since points of homogeneity are almost equally balanced by points of disparity. The difficulties of developing training and research facilities in half a dozen different disciplines, countries and cultures are obviously overwhelming. (See section 3 of part II C for suggestions for meeting this problem in part.)

In regard to discipline representation, it was pointed out that the situation in economics, an aspect of Southeast Asian training and research seriously underdeveloped in the past, was now much improved since the government's recent release of specialists has made some Southeast Asia economists available to the universities.

All the conferees agreed that one of the most serious deficiencies in Southeast Asian studies has been and still is the neglect of the humanities (outside of language work). Everyone felt that in the interests of a better balanced and more rounded study of the area, an effort should be made to build up this field. It was suggested that a partial step in this direction might be the greater utilization of personnel from the area and from the Asian universities even though they are seldom satisfactorily equipped for the teaching of American students.

5. Shortage of Trained Personnel

Part of the problem of providing adequate discipline and country coverage in the United States' programs on Southeast Asia lies in the difficulty of finding and holding qualified scholars and teachers competent both in a discipline and on the area. This personnel shortage is both a reflection and a cause of the relatively underdeveloped state of Southeast Asian studies in the United States and of previous American disinterestedness in the area. As a result of this situation, American programs on Southeast Asia have great difficulty in providing the fully-rounded training on the area which they would like to offer and must often construct their emphasis opportunistically, on the basis of what good men they can obtain. (See the example of Yale, section 1 of Part II A.) Naturally it is expected that this situation will improve as trained people emerge from the programs now in being.

It was suggested that in the interim this gap might partially be filled by utilizing visiting Asian professors in the American programs and also by bringing in for a year American specialists on the area who are in teaching or other positions where their expertise is not being put to full use (as at Cornell where a visiting professorship designed for these purposes does exist). The point was made that there would be decided advantages to broadening the concept of utilizing Asian specialists to encompass exchange arrangements whereby Asian professors could come here for a year while American scholars could go there, the latter benefiting by a renewed acquaintanceship with the area. Several difficulties in the utilization of visiting Asian experts were indicated.

First of all, not too many qualified people, especially in the social sciences, are now available in Southeast Asia. Moreover, when a top quality man can be located, he often does not possess the skills and attitudes needed if he is to contribute effectively to the teaching and training side of our programs. While the bringing to the United States of a man of considerable prestige from an Asian university undoubtedly helps to build the individual's and the country's self-assurance and makes him a useful influence in improving American-Asian relations upon his return, this type of man often tends to be somewhat of a prima donna in the academic community and not too helpful in American training programs. More effective and more useful are younger scholars at the post-doctoral level, but unfortunately these are seldom the men the Asian universities recommend. (See section 1 of Part III C for further discussion on this point.)

6. The Fellowship Problem

The need for scholarship assistance for intensive language training has already been noted (See section 1 of Part II B.) Beyond that, the consensus of the conference seemed to be that there was an urgent need for field research fellowships, for faculty periodically and for advanced graduate students regularly. The universities are unable to meet this need and it must be covered by outside support. It was felt that such field experience is an essential ingredient in the training process, necessary for research and language competence as well as for rounded understanding of the area.

In connection with the fellowship question, the point was made that present fellowship practice, which returns the grantee to the United States jobless and with no support during the time needed to write up his findings should perhaps be revised. The provision in fellowship grants of a terminal period of four months to a year for placement negotiations and for the organization and presentation of the research data collected would have several major advantages. First of all, it would help to alleviate the sense of insecurity about their immediate future beyond training and field work which most graduate students now have. In this way, more able people might be persuaded to enter the field and continue through the whole course of training. Secondly, provision of such a period would give the fellow enough time to contemplate and assess his experience and findings calmly, thereby enhancing the value of the field study as part of his personal development and self-education. Thirdly, such post-return support would permit the individual properly to organize, analyze and present his findings, thus making them quickly available to the scholarly community concerned with that area in accessable and useable form. Fourthly, the opportunity for the fellow to produce some solid work based on his field research would have indirect but important beneficial effects on Asian-American cultural relations and on the future operation of fellowship holders in the field. Some Asians apparently have the impression that American fellows come to the area, carry on lengthy investigations, draw heavily on the resources and time of local scholars and institutions, and then disappear without a trace and without any results ever being shown. Published data or studies which get back to the field and to the men who have assisted fellows would go a long way toward dispelling this impression and toward smoothing the path for future American researchers. Fifthly, men returning with such terminal support could make a substantial contribution to the training programs in American universities, participating in seminars, reporting on current conditions and opportunities, and advising graduate students as to the field situation. Finally, of course, the provision of this secure time would increase the fellow's chances of successful job placement, both by permitting him to explore the possibilities more fully instead of having to grab the first offer and also by allowing him to complete his degree and to publish, thus enhancing his academic value.

7. Placement Problems

Part of the argument in favor of the terminal fellowship grant obviously revolves around the larger question of job opportunities generally available to Southeast Asia trainees. On this score there was some feeling that both the employment situation and the national need for Southeast Asian specialists are important but often distinct factors tending to condition the size, type, and rate of development of Southeast Asian studies in the United States (See section 1 of part II C for further discussion on this point). It was strongly suggested that in the short run the present uncertain job picture might be adversely affecting student quality, interest and enrollment in Southeast Asian programs and that, if continued over the long run, it might serve to stunt the growth of this field in the United States.

On the government side of the hiring picture, it was pointed out that the recent sharp drop in the demand for area specialists presented a basic and serious problem. Most area training programs in the United States grew out of our World War II experience and were established primarily to meet the government's current or anticipated needs for area-trained personnel. If this demand no longer exists, and placement opportunities with the government continue to shrink, the impact on area programs will be extremely deleterious. Students and teachers, deprived of one of their basic motivations for entering upon area training and with their career prospects limited, may gradually be forced to leave the field. Even if one assumes that the present difficult job picture represents only a cyclical phenomenon, several vital questions remain: how can area specialists, who may be desperately needed in a time of crisis or in years of expansion, be nurtured and supported over the lean years? How can their highly developed skills be utilized in periods of government retrenchment? Can alternative sources of demand be stimulated in such periods? It was suggested that this whole problem is one on which Ford Foundation study and assistance might be most helpful.

The question of government openings for area specialists was also depicted more optimistically. It was reported that the recent firings and the "freeze" on hiring did not mean that the government's need for area-trained men had either been filled or had evaporated. Rather it was suggested that the situation of the last eighteen months should be considered as a slackening-off process and a temporary dip in government hiring which can not and will not last. In the long-term picture, the government demand for Southeast Asian and other area specialists will probably be at a relatively high level; for example, the State and Defense Departments and even a reduced technical assistance program will undoubtedly require more and more area-trained people over the years. Already FOA is hiring specialists again, with the educational division looking for about one hundred people, of whom fifteen or twenty would be destined for Southeast Asia.

Two special factors conditioning government careers for area specialists were noted. First, the university-trained area specialist is often at a disadvantage in competing for government posts since some personnel and recruiting officers in the government allot priority in hiring to "generalist" candidates who seem to have good qualifications for the over-all tasks of the department concerned. Some agencies apparently prefer to train their own area specialists later, selecting them from among the "generalists" who have already proven themselves. Secondly, the point was made that American area specialists aiming toward a career in government service have little assurance that in fact their life work will center about the area of their interest. Unlike the British civil servant or the American missionary or oil man, who is trained intensively in the language and culture of his area of destination and who then is

generally rooted in that area for the rest of his career
the American area specialist is very likely to be shifted among a variety of jobs and places during his government service. This is partly a reflection of the peripatetic nature of American life, but in the past it has also stemmed from considered government policy, which frowned on leaving a man in an area for too long lest he lose objectivity by becoming strongly identified with the interests and outlook of that area and its people. This policy is gradually changing and it can be hoped that careers for area specialists will become increasingly attractive and stable as greater national awareness of our world responsibilities develops. Even so the graduate student of today must look upon an area career in government with some degree of faith, trusting that as one particular job in his speciality closes up, another, which provides an equal opportunity for the effective utilization of his special skills, will appear.

On the business side of the placement question, it was suggested that since the interests of American trade, banking and investment firms in Southeast Asia would probably increase over the next few years, an aid in the solution of the employment problem might be a thorough canvassing of the present or prospective job opportunities open to the area-trained man in business firms dealing with that area. At the same time an attempt could be made to obtain some indication from private business of the type of problems which they would like to see research and field work in that area tackle. Thus a student in Southeast Asian economics, for example, by doing Ph.D. research and field work on a topic of interest to business, could be preparing himself for a specialized business opportunity in the area all through his training years.

On the academic side of the hiring picture, it was stressed again that the chief factor in academic placement is always the man's competence in his discipline, with his area speciality playing a secondary role. While this is also true to some extent of government and business, it is inescapable in university hiring where the new teacher must first of all be acceptable to his disciplinary department. There was some feeling that opportunities for this type of "double-threat" man are increasing as colleges and universities broaden their undergraduate curricula and devot more attention to different world areas. In reviewing the whole employment picture, two lines of action on which university-foundation cooperation might prove most helpful were suggested. First, it might be possible to undertake a kind of market survey aimed at identifying the needs of government, business and the academic world for trained men, primarily with sound disciplinary training and secondarily with Southeast Asian area training. Admittedly there would be large variable and some unknowns in the results of such a survey, particularly where future government demand and academic insistence on disciplinary acceptability were involved, but even so, such action might help to clarify the present murky employment picture. Secondly, the idea was advanced that the present rather helter-skelter, personal-association method of hiring specialists could be improved by the establishment of a central clearing house where the names and qualifications of available area specialists would be listed and where prospective employers could go to find the right man for a particular slot.

(The question of stimulating job opportunities in the academic field forms part of the discussion in section 3 of part C below.)

C. Policies for the Development of Southeast Asian Studies in the United States

1. Criteria and Overall Objectives

There was no consensus on this point. First, it was noted that a balanced evaluation of Southeast Asian studies required that priorities in the development of this field in the United States be carefully weighed against the needs of the area's own universities and resources before an overall pattern of development could or should be defined. In regard to the build-up of strictly American facilities in this field, it was pointed out that the objective of increasing undergraduate acquaintanceship with the Southeast Asia area in our liberal arts courses was highly desirable and acceptable to all, but that the problem of setting specific objectives for graduate and specialized programs on Southeast Asia was a quite different and infinitely more complicated question. In fact, some conferees felt that no definite goals or criteria for the development of specialized training and research in this field could be established. It was suggested that clear definition of the ideal number of Southeast Asia area programs required in the United States depended partly on a reasonably accurate assessment of the present and prospective national need for area specialists and partly on the capacity of government, business, and the academic community to absorb the end-products of such programs. Without accurate data on these points, the outlining of fixed objectives would be a difficult task, especially since Southeast Asia studies here are still in the early stages of development.

Some participants felt that current conditions militated against the expansion of Southeast Asia studies in the United States at the present time; others believed that not only was expansion not indicated, but that it would be all we could do to maintain and implement our current resources. Still others declared that, without changing the existing pattern, our present facilities could and should be more fully developed and effectively utilized, especially through better overall planning, through an improved division of labor among current resources, and through operation of established programs at closer to capacity. Some conferees accepted this viewpoint but argued that concurrently with a more efficient use of what is now in being, the universities and foundations should undertake a limited expansion and broadening of United States' facilities in this field on the basis of priority needs as presented by the institutions and individuals most directly concerned with Southeast Asian studies here.

2. Developmental Planning

The question was raised of whether the development of a Southeast Asia program for the United States could not be planned along rational lines and according to some kind of a rough blueprint, either on a national or at least university scale. It was suggested that instead of leaving this development to chance interest of an individual, department, or university, specific approaches and lines of action should be mapped out. If economists who also know Southeast Asia are in short supply, couldn't steps be taken to encourage the training and placing of such men in a given university or group of universities? Or couldn't an individual university be stimulated to make long-range plans to acquire several area specialists in order to round out coverage of an area in which it was interested?

There was some feeling that this type of planning, while desirable, must adjust itself to the administrative patterns already established in most large universities. It was reported that California, for example, certainly was interested in developing a rounded, cross-disciplinary area program on Southeast Asia, but that the build-up toward that objective had to be undertaken gradually and through an inter-departmental approach. Qualified area specialists must first be placed in the department of their discipline where their university status, tenure, and promotions are rooted (except for language specialists and possibly humanities people who can be added on an area basis). Once such men are placed in various departments, then it is expected that the slot will be maintained and that an area specialist in a department will be replaced by another area specialist. This type of operation has met with some success at California, which has a special fund designed to facilitate the hiring of good men in fields which the educational planners of the university wish to strengthen and develop. On the other hand, a place like Columbia, while basing the area specialist in the department, has established autonomous but closely connected institutes instead of relying simply on a loose inter-departmental program for area coverage. It was concluded that the field would undoubtedly benefit in its development from some arrangement for overall planning, but that such planning would have to be closely coordinated with university policies and structures.

3. Lines of Action

Several ways in which the development of Southeast Asia studies in the United States might be furthered were suggested. It was recommended that some already well established programs embracing Far Eastern or Asian studies in general might be encouraged to extend their coverage to include more on Southeast Asia even though the language diversities involved would admittedly present something of an obstacle in such expansion.

It was also suggested that foundation support might be utilized to stimulate the hiring of area-trained teachers on two levels: First, financial assistance could be used to encourage universities and liberal arts colleges to take on disciplinary-area specialists for the purpose of enriching their present general offerings or in order to add some special area courses, but not with any view toward their developing a full and diversified program on the area. Second, selected universities might be encouraged either to develop or to round out a complete program on Southeast Asia by a foundation providing funds for the hiring of area specialists in specified disciplines, with the university later assuming responsibility for maintaining and financing these area slots. For example, present or future programs on Southeast Asia might be stimulated to include coverage of the relatively underdeveloped field of Southeast Asian humanities in this fashion. On both the undergraduate and graduate levels, such action would go beyond the obvious benefits stemming from local stimulation of interest and would produce other highly desirable results of a more general nature: the expansion of job opportunities for trained men in the field and the broadening of general American understanding and knowledge about Southeast Asia.

The successful experience of the Rockefeller Foundation in stimulating Far Eastern studies in the 20's and 30's was cited in connection with this technique of "pump-priming" university interest in area programs. By fostering Chinese and Japanese studies through fellowships, through the acquisition of materials, and through financing three-year appointments of area specialists in the universities, the foundation succeeded in getting the study of Far Eastern affairs fairly well established in the academic structure. Some universities took over the interim appointees and gradually developed a long-term investment in the field, in terms

of library resources, tenure positions, and prestige, which they then had to maintain. As a result, Far Eastern studies are today a permanent feature of the American academic scene.

Several difficulties inherent in this type of operation were pointed out. Some conferees felt that university administrations are most reluctant to commit themselves to the permanent support of men who are temporarily infused into the university set-up by outside financing. It was suggested that this reluctance might be partially overcome if the foundations directed their line of attack primarily toward financing area specialist replacements for regular departmental loss during the normal turnover process. The universities probably could be more easily convinced of the advantages of broadening their interests and developing some degree of attention to a particular area or to a field within an area if outside financing were used to fill a vacancy instead of to create an additional budgetary slot.

It was also suggested that a university's opposition to committing itself to a permanent additional man on the basis of short-term financing might be circumvented by having the foundations endow a chair in an area speciality, but others pointed out that such an endowed chair would not benefit younger faculty and would leave the university little flexibility if its interests or the national interest should shift. The possibilities either of a visiting chair or of a roving chair among several interested departments were also noted. It was observed that a roving chair in German affairs exists and has worked well at Wisconsin and that such a chair might stimulate not only greater area interest but also greater inter-disciplinary and inter-departmental cooperation. The alternatives of endowed but flexible lectureships or simply of a fixed sum to be used by the university's educational planners to acquire good men who will bolster long-run area interests were also put forward as ways of meeting this problem.

The role that inter-university cooperation might play in the rationalization and improvement of Southeast Asia studies in the United States was discussed briefly. There was some feeling that a division of labor among the universities interested in Southeast Asia might be a most effective, and perhaps the only, solution to the problem of providing adequate language and discipline coverage for an area embracing five or six diverse countries. One institution might specialize on training and research for two or three of the countries involved, another would take the remaining. Difficulties involved in this kind of operation were pointed out. A university which tries to leave coverage of one or several countries to other institutions is soon harassed by students who come to its program to work under a particular man or in a particular discipline but who also want to know, and in fact insist on knowing, something about the omitted countries, which they rightfully feel form part of the whole area of their interest. Cornell, for example, began by deemphasizing the Philippines but soon found student interest demanding coverage of that area too.

It was suggested that as long as no one program can provide full coverage on each country, the exchange of students among programs might help to meet the problem of having every student trained on all of the area. It was felt that the administrative problems connected with tuition payments and residence and degree requirements could probably be met, but that the students themselves might well object to commuting between institutions with the resultant disruption of their living arrangements, the breaking of personal friendships and professional contacts, and with part of the students' academic year wasted in new orientations. It was also suggested that either faculty exchanges or joint faculty appointments by two institutions might be a more realistic answer to the coverage problem than each separate institition trying futilely to spread itself over the whole area. However, it was felt that the

same personal problems as apply to student exchanges, as well as difficult questions of promotion and tenure, might make this type of cooperation impractical.

The possibility of broadening inter-university cooperation to include relationships among English, American, and Asian universities was also mentioned. For example, Dr. Hla Myint has suggested the idea of establishing a research center in Southeast Asia which he feels ought to have close ties and perhaps exchange arrangements with Western universities. (See section 4 of part III C)

In concluding the discussion concerning possible lines of action for the universities and the Foundation to pursue in developing Southeast Asia studies in the United States, two procedures which might carry forward and multiply the benefits of the conference were suggested. First, it was recommended that a permanent inter-university liaison committee to consider and discuss the general development of the field and to act as a clearing house for ideas and suggestions in the field be established. Secondly, it was suggested that the Foundation could perhaps best construct a clear picture of the national needs in this field if each of the conference participants, plus representatives from a selected sampling of other universities, colleges, and institutions potentially interested in the Southeast Asian area, would submit to the Foundation a summary statement, listing in priority order their own chief deficiencies and requirements in developing this field and describing potential lines of action which they consider desirable in achieving an ideal program but which can be followed up only with outside support. A collection of such down-to-earth assessments would help crystallize the conference discussion and the conferee's thinking and ought to assist the Foundation in identifying the major gaps and the most pressing needs in Southeast Asian studies in the United States, at least as seen by the institutions and individuals chiefly concerned with this field. Such action might also have the residual effect of providing indirect evidence on such broader questions as the establishment of general criteria and the setting of overall objectives and priorities in the field. It was agreed that the Foundation would be very pleased to have the conferees submit such statements of specific needs and plans.

III. Training and Research Developments and Needs within Southeast Asia (especially Burma and Indonesia)

A. Present Status of Southeast Asian Studies in the Area

Attention was first called to Richard Morse's report on the status and potential of Southeast Asian training and research in England and to Raymond Firth's letter summarizing the resources of the London School of Economics and Political Science in this field.

1. Burma

Mr. Everton then reported on past, present, and prospective achievements in Burmese research, basing his report in part on a survey of research progress in business and the universities made by Tun Thin, chairman of the Department of Economics at Rangoon University. (Tun Thin's survey will be kept on file at the Foundation.) In general, Mr. Everton indicated that an evaluation of Burmese training research resources revealed considerable opportunities for American trainees, who were first well-grounded in an American university area program and in a discipline, profitably to pursue further study and research in Burma.

Mr. Everton reported that the Center for Economic Research at Rangoon University, founded with initial support from M.I.T., had originally concentrated on research-training, on the study of research techniques, and on pure research problems, but that its director, Tun Thin, had expanded this concept to embrace the objective of providing concrete data and results which would be useful to the Burmese government and other groups concerned with economic development in Burma. Tun Thin has indicated his interest in seeing the work of the Center extended to include study in other social science disciplines besides economics. Mr. Everton suggested that on the basis of this interest and of the potential resources it possesses, the Center might will form the nucleus for an expanded institute of social and economic research, not only on Burma but on other parts of Southeast Asia as well. This kind of expansion could perhaps be coordinated with Hla Myint's suggestion for a Southeast Asian research center which would establish close relationships with British and American universities. (See section 3 of part II C and section 4 of part III C on this plan.)

Mr. Everton pointed out that in terms of Burma's own developmental needs more emphasis on social science research, especially in anthropology and sociology, was indicated. Such research would serve two important purposes: it would provide the concrete informational data necessary for the accurate planning and effective execution of proposed action programs and it would also help to train qualified native personnel who could assist and participate in the carrying out of these large-scale social and economic schemes.

Mr. Everton reported that at present work in the fields of political science and public administration is very limited. Scholars in those fields at the University of Rangoon are weighed down by heavy teaching loads and have little time for research. In addition, political science is often regarded either as an offshoot of Marxian economics or as a minor adjunct to history and it is seldom developed as an independent discipline. Moreover, the study of modern or contemporary political developments is a very sensitive field. The government discourages too much attention to these problems and native scholars are somewhat reluctant to embark on research in such dangerous waters. As a result, political science work in Burma, as in India,

tends to be directed largely to the study of theoretical and legal issues arising from Western thought and experience.

In conclusion, Mr. Everton pointed out that one of the chief deficiencies in training and research activities in Burma, one that is certainly a more serious problem than specific gaps in disciplines or the paucity of research results, is the failure of the Burmese to understand the general propositon that social science research techniques can be applied successfully to an analysis of the background and data of current problems and that such a practical application of the social sciences would be most useful in the planning and execution of their development programs. Most Burmese do not see the tie between university research and government action. For example, training and research in agricultural economics is very little developed despite its clear application to rural improvement programs. And even an engineering firm such as Knappen, Tippetts, and Abbett (KTA), which provides background data and specialized leadership for national planning and for the drafting of major economic and other development schemes, does not really bridge the gap. That firm furnishes basic information and analyses on certain current problems for the government's use in programming, but the data is very superficial and generalized. It is not really primary research work and it should not take the place of fundamental research that the universities must carry out.

It was suggested that the linking of scholarly research with its practical application might be encouraged in Burma if cooperative arrangements between Tun Thin's ongoing economic research program and the economic planners in the Burmese government could be worked out along the lines of the Indian plan. In India the universities and the Indian Planning Commission consult together in an effort to relate particular university research projects to specific current or future problems which the country's economic administrators recognize or foresee.

It was also suggested that the gap between research and action might be narrowed if the American engineering or economic specialists called in to assist in planning Burmese development were to utilize American experts on Burma in their work. As things now stand, an uneasy marriage exists, in which the outsiders, highly competent in their technical field but with little knowledge of Burmese history and culture or of current conditions in Burma, are wedded to local experts who are supposed to provide the country knowledge necessary for intelligent research and effective planning. Utilization of American specialists on Burma on the technical analysis teams might improve the whole operation immensely. The difficulty is that most Burmese are satisfied with the present set-up and might resent the importation of outside country specialists.

The point was made that under any circumstances bringing scientific research and practical planning together involves certain involves certain inherent difficulties because of the different outlooks with which these two fields approach the same problems. The outside expert under contract, and sometimes even the native planner, are thinking primarily in terms of short-run approaches and solutions while the university scholar is more often concerned with theoretical and long-range techniques and answers. While it was agreed that the two groups tackle problems with different time perspectives and on the basis of different assumptions, there was some feeling that this does not represent a fundamental dichotomy and that planning bodies and universities could well coordinate their separate efforts. For example, universities could certainly profit by the experience and data gathered during practical planning work while the planners could turn over to the universities basic problems for whose study they have neither the time nor the people.

2. Indonesia

Mr. Starch reported that Indonesian training and research facilities are concentrated in the University of Indonesia and its branches. In general, the people concerned with social science research and training in Indonesia are of the highest calibre and are highly respected for their judgment and ability. Moreover, the Indonesians, perhaps more so than the Burmese, are intensely interested in the application of research results to concrete situations and planned programs. The difficulties and problems involved in establishing an independent economy, culture, and state provide plenty of raw material for social science analysis, and the Indonesians are quick to see that in a fluid situation in which every governmental act or decree has almost immediate repercussions on the social, political, and economic structure, it is terribly important to construct their programs and policies as scientifically as possible and on the basis of accurate data and study. Therefore, the country is as much interested in the social sciences as in any other field with the possible exception of medicine.

Since economic and social discontent is so strong and since there is such a compulsion to progress and develop rapidly, Indonesia is troubled by the unique problem of having many of its potentially most able scholars leave the academic field for government or administrative jobs before their specialized training is completed or before they begin to produce. The demand for trained personnel is so great that the ranks of the university's faculty and studenty body are constantly being raided to fill the government needs for planners and administrators. Many academic and professional men are working in practical jobs throughout their training and assume very responsible positions immediately upon its completion. As a result of this whole situation, long-term scholarly research and the intensive training of skilled personnel in the social sciences are not being developed in Indonesia as they should. It was suggested that this problem might be one on which foundation or other outside support could be helpful; if endowed chairs or other financial enducements were available, perhaps more men could be persuaded to stay in academic work.

Content-wise, Mr. Starch stressed that the social sciences should do their best to examine Southeast Asian problems in a new, post-colonial framework. Many of the old assumptions, techniques, and even data simply have no relevance to the new situation that is emerging. Moreover, since many of the countries involved have achieved or are acquiring post-colonial status, such a fresh viewpoint on the area would stimulate examination of its problems on a regional basis. It was also pointed out that many of the difficulties and obstacles each country faces in its development are similar and since inter-relationships among all of them are growing, there are many other advantages to regional study of contemporary Southeast Asia. While country diversities should never be minimized, comparative analyses and the identification of common problems and common solutions can and should be attempted.

3. Other Areas

It was reported that the University of Malaya is apparently developing rapidly as a fairly strong training and research resource within Southeast Asia. The new vice-chancellor is a very able British economist with strong interests and good experience in the field of economic development. The university also has some good people in geography and anthropology and is beginning to develop a research program which includes considerable attention to both Malayan and Chinese studies. It was agreed that this type of resource should certainly be encouraged.

In addition, the proposed Chinese university at Singapore, though still on paper, looks as if it might have considerable potential. However, the university needs more money and more realistic educational leadership to get off to a good start and to fulfill its promise. It was suggested that if the founders of this new university wanted to draw upon American college and university expereince, such assistance could be easily arranged for under FOA's recently established system of contracting with American universities for specific jobs in the foreign educational field.

It was reported that the University of the Philippines has just started to develop a social science research center under the guidance of Americans connected with the university. Such a resource is sorely needed in the Philippines where only about half a dozen natives are trained social scientists. It was also noted that FOA, through contracts with three American universities, is assisting in the general expansion and development of the University of the Philippines. It was pointed out that while FOA aid goes primarily to public, tax-supported institutions, Silliman University, a private institution in the Philippines, is equally needy and deserving and should be considered as a potential candidate for foundation or other private support.

As far as Thailand goes, it was reported that the native facilities there are very limited. The Bangkok universities are all very difficult and unrealistic and the development of the social sciences there will have to be almost from "scratch". For example, several years ago Cornell had hoped to stimulate some practical social science work in Siam by encouraging the study of agricultural economics. But the lack of trained personnel plus politics (the nephew of the chief of police became the head of the division of agricultural economics) and the failure of the agricultural university to develop an extension service which could convey research results to the countryside have blocked any real developments even in this field. It was noted that Oregon State recently signed an FOA contract to work in the field of agricultural education and development in Siam.

In assessing the limited social science facilities now available in Siam, it was felt that probably Chula Longham University was a little better off than Thammasat, at least in terms of prestige. It was also noted thatthe attempt of Hanks to organize a social science field research seminar with the cooperation of the universities, some government officials, and a social psychologist had not developed much professional cooperation and had met with only limited success.

B. Major Problems and Needs in the Development of Training and Research Within Southeast Asia.

It was pointed out that in many fields and on many problems Southeast Asian research priorities, in terms of the needs of the area countries themselves, would coincide with the research proiorites that United States' needs and interests might suggest. However, it was felt that the field of government and politics is probably an exception to this general rule. Whereas America's national interest undoubtedly requires both research and trained personnel dealing with Southeast Asian political history, political parties and conflicts, and foreign policy (so that intelligent situation estimates and reasonable policy forecasts can be made), Southeast Asians themselves consider such a political emphasis either irrelevant or dangerous and much prefer to concentrate their research on economic or technical subjects.

1. Bibliography

It was stressed that a serious problem in attempting to develop adequate training and research resources in Southeast Asia is the difficulty of finding out what publications are being issued and are available within the area itself. Most of the countries of the area have no national bibliography service or even anything approaching it. The provision of such a service would be of immense help not only to American students of the area but also to native scholars and teachers. It was agreed that adequate bibliographic knowledge is an essential tool for Southeast Asian studies and that steps should be taken to encourage the formation of some sort of a central agency in each country which would collect and list the names of all publications and expecially of research works issued by the universities, the government, research institutes, and national libraries.

2. The Question of Applied Research

The point was made that a serious deficiency of research undertaken within Southeast Asia has been its concentration on "pure research" to the almost total exclusion of "applied research" (See section 1. of part III A for earlier discussion of this phenomenon in regard to Burma). From the viewpoint of the area's needs, research bearing on specific problems connected with economic development, public administration and social change would have great utility and could be applied in the formulation of planning policies and in the execution of action programs. For example, research on aspects of rural development and land tenure might be most helpful in guiding the Burmese program of land nationalism. While it is true that such problems, and even individual facets of them, are so numerous and complicated that it is difficult to know where to begin, the fact remains that few scholars, either Asian or American, have tackled these questions. Almost no one, for example, has attempted to assess United States cultural and information programs in Asia and this year only one out of some fifty or sixty Ford Fellows in Asia is studying the problems of American technical assistance programs in the area. While some academicians would undoubtedly consider technical assistance not theoretical enough or respectable enough for a disciplinary topic, it certainly has disciplinary overtones and it should be studied before the impact of American aid programs is so submerged and blended with other trends and programs as to make a clear-cut analysis impossible.

In this connection, a serious problem and an important opportunity for American research on Southeast Asia were noted. FOA and other technicians returning from the field could provide, on the basis of their written reports and further statements and interviews, unique primary information on the operation and effect of American assistance programs. They could testify fully not only on the procedures and results in their technical specialty but also, and more importantly, on the impact of their work and of the whole aid program on general socio-economic developments within the country concerned. This kind of data represents a highly useful research source, which so far has been little exploited and which is now in danger of disappearing as the returned specialists scatter to their old jobs in various parts of the country. It was suggested that the Ford Foundation might consider the advisability of supporting the collection and analysis of this kind of experience and data before the passage of time diminishes its accuracy and pertinence. Such material, and research results based on it, should certainly prove useful in the planning and operation of future American technical assistance programs whether they ultimately develop on a large or small scale. In connection with such a proposed project, it was reported that so far FOA, for appropriation and other reasons, had not been able to do very much along these lines, but that over this summer the education division

would have a graduate research student analyzing their records pertaining to overseas educational programs. Presumably other divisions of FOA may be planning similar small studies.

As a corollary to the whole discussion of the importance of studying technical assistance, two further points were made. It was suggested that it would be very useful to have a complete case study of the birth, life, and death of technical assistance policies and programs in Burma and that this could be successfully accomplished if both the Burmese Government and FOA would agree to cooperate in such a study. It was also recommended that area training programs in this country might make effective use of the experience of returned Point 4 specialists in both their teaching and research activities.

3. Fundamental Social Science Research

As a counterweight to the lengthy discussion on the necessity of encouraging applied and practical research, several conferees argued that basic social science research on Southeast Asia along analytical and even theoretical lines is an essential and indispensable foundation for whatever special or applied research is undertaken and therefore should not be overlooked in assigning research priorities. For example, basic demographic research on the area is a prime requirement if applied studies of social change are to be made. Equally important is a careful investigation of basic social structures and relationships in Southeast Asia. In connection with this latter field, it was noted that the Burmese are beginning to awaken to the potentialities of such disciplines as psychology and social psychology. The Burmese are broadening their field of interest from the philosophic side of psychology, which is more closely related to their own cultural background, to the more technical and scientific aspects of psychology, such as experimental and clinical psychology. But in all these fields knowledge and trained personnel are both very limited and substantial assistance from outside scholars is desperately needed if quality training and research are to be developed. The related field of communications and public opinion analysis is also one of which Southeast Asia is becoming increasingly aware. In Burma our technical assistance operations left behind a well-equipped audio-visual center, which has enough technicians but not enough people trained in programming. In Malaya and the Philippines Columbia is undertaking an experimental study in public opinion polling. But in this field, just as in psychology, native interest is only beginning and substantial outside backing will be needed to nurture it.

On the overall question of research priorities for the area, the consensus seemed to be that the development of fundamental social science knowledge and training, without special attention to its immediate application, would undoubtedly have very important long-term benefits for Southeast Asia. For example, better and more thorough training and research in several social science and related cultural fields might well improve understanding on the part of the Burmese of their own heritage and of their position in the world and would certainly help to remove the insularity of outlook now so prevalent in Burma. Good opportunities for joint Burmese-foreign research in archeology now exist, waiting to be exploited. Archeological, artistic and other humanistic studies, by revealing substantial cross-cultural relationships and influences in Burmese culture, would certainly tend to broaden the Burmese citizen's concept of himself and his past. On the historical side, much spadework remains to be done. The majority of Burmese, including even the leaders, have a very inaccurate picture of Burma's past and very little conception of the historical process in general. More often than not, their historical ideas

are determined by emotion or political demagoguery instead of by facts. As a result, they sometimes base their decisions on completely false premises and initiate policies which prove detrimental to their own and the country's best interests. More historical study and knowledge might alleviate this situation, but in fact Burmese resources for training and research in history, particularly after the dismisaal of the Indian and Anglo-Burmese historians trained by Hall, are so weak that a serious student of Burmese history ought to go to London (and Hall) rather than to Rangoon. (Just as a student of Indonesian history must begin in Holland.)

In conclusion, it was agreed that the example of Burma indicated that the development of basic social science and cultural studies in Southeast Asia might go a long way toward softening that area's present preoccupation with its immediate social and economic development and toward improving Southeast Asian understanding of its own past and of its present position and role on the international scene.

Two additional points were made in outlining the major problems and needs of research within Southeast Asia. First, it was suggested that a study of the contemporary impact of religion on other institutions in Southeast Asia and especially in Indonesia is urgently needed. Secondly, the question was raised of whether both foreign and indigeneous scholars are not now rather wary of tackling research problems dealing with social change in Asia. In particular, younger Americans, who have seen a preceding generation of area specialists badly roasted in handling these explosive issues, may be becoming increasingly reluctant to enter the field. While there was some feeling that this consideration applied much more to Chinese than to Southeast Asian studies, it was noted that "host receptivity" is definitely a problem in some of the countries of Southeast Asia. Two highly promising candidates for Fulbright Fellowships to Burma were turned down by the Burmese members of the board, apparently because both men wanted to work on the touchy question of political developments from 1920 on.

C. Policies for the Development of Training and Research in Southeast Asia

1. Training Asian Students and Scholars in the United States

The conference agreed that one of the most effective ways to build up research and training competence within Southeast Asia would be to provide fellowships or other forms of financial assistance designed to bring Asian students and scholars to the United States for several years of graduate study. A Southeast Asian student who had received thorough training in the content and methodology of a social science discipline and who perhaps had also earned an advanced degree in an American university would have incalculable impact in developing teaching and research in his field after his return home. Such people would become centers of influence in the intellectual life of Southeast Asia and the indirect benefits of their work would affect ever-widening circles within each country.

It was noted that such a fellowship program would also possess certain secondary but important advantages for American programs on Southeast Asia. Native trainees studying in this country, especially when fairly young and not yet rank-conscious and when at least partially trained in a discipline, would be extremely useful in helping American students of the area to acquire a more realistic and personalized conception of Southeast Asia's peoples and problems. Such a utilization of Asian students in our area programs might be developed most effectively through their voluntary participation in seminars and discussion groups and through encouraging

them to have close informal contact with the American students. Or a more formal arrangement, such as the provision of special teaching fellowship, might be worked out. Still another alternative has been successful at California where Asian trainees compete for graduate assistantships on the same basis as American graduate students. But, whatever system is adopted, special precautions must be taken to contain and resolve the natural conflict that arises when the Asian student's subsidiary functions as a teacher and informant on the area begin to override and squeeze out the main purpose of his presence at the university, his own rigorous training in a discipline, on which, it should be remembered, he usually has to work harder than the average American student. (See section 5 of part II B for earlier discusssion of the use of Asians in the U. S. area programs.)

Two minor problems connected with the bringing of Asian trainees to this country were pointed out. First, it was noted that Asian students often ecounter considerable difficulty meeting the academic standards and demands of American university training. Although both American officials and educators and the Asian trainees themselves are sometimes too embarrassed to face up to this sensitive question, the fact remains that the level of Southeast Asian higher education is generally so far behind ours that the graduate of a native university often cannot profit by our graduate training. Academically, he is more nearly equivalent to our college sophomore and his general training and background have usually ill prepared him for the rigors of intensive graduate study. A second factor which often leads to maladjustment among Southeast Asian students in this country is their desire to attend a big-name, and hence a big, American university where they soon find themselves lonely and frustrated as far as their personal and social relationships are concerned. While directing Asian trainees to the smaller colleges would mean losing them as area informants in university programs, it would undoubtedly increase their identification with American life, giving them a far happier experience here and making them more effective proponents of American-Asian understanding on their return home.

The conference discussed at some length several of the operational problems involved in successfully carrying out a fellowship program for Asian students. First, many of the participants felt that such a program should definitely provide for more than the one year of study now generally covered under most government fellowship and exchange arrangements. Since graduate training in the social sciences is difficult in any case, and especially so for foreign students, and since Asian trainees often lose a good part of the first year in getting adjusted, it was recommended that at least three years of study in America be supported. While residence here of that duration raises the danger of the student becoming too cut off from his native culture and ties and of becoming too Westernized, it has the great advantage of ensuring that he does acquire adequate disciplinary grounding and it does give him an opportunity to earn advanced degrees, which carry a great deal of prestige weight in much of Southeast Asia. Both the additional training and the degree would greatly enhance his effectiveness when he returns home. Secondly, several conferees stressed the necessity of establishing a selection and screening mechanism which could handle not only government-sponsored candidates but which could also find other able people, either at home or among trainees already in this country under non-government auspices.

The conference agreed that the questions of duration of study and selection of fellows are extremely complex and that the establishment of foreign fellowship criteria on these questions depends in large part on the age, experience, and status level of the trainees chosen. For example, while younger fellows would be best from the standpoint of adjustability to American university life, of utility in American area programs, and of years of fruition and influence upon their return, they pose serious problems

because they are the most prone to being "denaturalized" by too long a stay and too successful an adjustment here and because they may have to return to quite junior positions where their American training may have little impact or may even be viewed with suspicion by older men in the field who have a more insular background and outlook. On the other hand, while older men are more likely to have strong roots in their own culture and a better understanding of its problems and while they can often return to positions of influence and prestige where their American experience will produce maximum benefits, they can seldom be away from their careers at home for the length of time needed for effective training and they often have greater difficulties in adjusting to their American situation and in benefiting fully from their study here. United States Government experience in exhange programs to date does not give any clear answer as to the best age and experience level for Asian trainees. FOA has had very good results in bringing over men in their 30's and 40's from positions of medium rank in native government departments while the State Department's educational exchange program has apparently had equally good luck with younger trainees. There was some feeling that as the leadership training programs of FOA and State develop, the problems of younger trainees in readjusting and being effective after their return home will be lessened since more and more of their superiors and of the intellectual leaders within the country will also have participated in a period of American training and will therefore be in a better position to understand the young trainee's viewpoint.

In conclusion, while there was no consensus on just what group an Asian fellowship program should be aimed at, most of the conferees seemed to feel that the Ford Foundation might well study the advisability of supporting fellowship and study grants which would supplement the short-term financing now available to Southeast Asian trainees in the country under Fulbright, native government, and United States government auspices. It was agreed that such a program would be an effective and feasible way for private aid to contribute to the development of indigeneous training and research resources in Southeast Asia.

2. The Operations of American Fellows in the Area

Chairman Lockwood reported on the distribution of Ford Fellows in Asia: about ten in Southeast Asia, twenty in India, two in Pakistan, and about two dozen in Japan (of whom four or five are engaged in Chinese studies). Of the Southeast Asian fellows, two are in Thailand, four in Indonesia, one in the Philippines, one in Singapore, and two or three others are moving around in the area. It was noted that the paucity of fellows in Southeast Asia and their uneven distribution in the area are partly a reflection of previous lack of interest in the area and of our meager resources for studying it. The larger number of qualified people engaged in Japanese, Chinese, and Indian studies is partly a result of America's wartime experience in those areas and of the language training some students received while in service.

The research interests of Ford Fellows in Asia were reported as covering a wide range of fields and topics. In South and Southeast Asia the emphasis is on the modern era and largely in various social science disciplines while in Japanese and Chinese studies the humanities and pre-modern topics play a somewhat larger role. It was noted that in South and Southeast Asia historians, sociologists, psychologists, and economists were conspicuous by their absence (with the one exception that several men are working on Indian economic problems).

The question was raised as to whether American students and fellows working in the area should affiliate themselves with a local university. And if they should, to what

extent and in what manner? Past practice on this was first reported. In Thailand, although there have been some notable exceptions, students have usually not affiliated with local universities because the level of disciplinary competence in the university departments has generally been so low that the Americans could expect little assistance in either their training or research from that quarter. In Burma the general rule has been for American students to associate themselves with a university, either by formal affiliation or with some sort of informal connection. In Indonesia most fellows have worked with someone at the university although often the tie has not been quite as close as perhaps it should be. In India both the Ford office in Delhi and the Research Program Committee of the National Planning Commission have urged that fellows formally affiliate with a university. The latter group has felt that this would give the fellows status and formal institutional identification in India, thereby tending to allay some of the suspicions which loose, unattached Americans running around investigating might otherwise engender.

Chairman Lockwood reported that even in the cases (in India and elsewhere) where American fellows had arranged for formal association with a local university, the fellows themselves felt that such an affiliation had not provided much professional guidance and assistance for their training and research (again with the possible exception of the field of Indian economics). As a result, the fellows, although they would like to have more academic help and cooperation, are not particularly interested in undertaking formal ties with local instituions unless they are urged to do so as a matter of general policy. In conclusion, the consensus seemed to be that the establishment of any general commonly applicable rule on this question of affiliation was probably impossible. Instead, regulations on this score should be kept flexible and fellows should be encouraged to make whatever arrangements best fit the local situation, in terms of individual and institutional competence, research resources available, and national sensitivity. In every case where affiliation is indicated, care should be taken to ensure that political issues and local competitions and rivalries do not become complicating factors, hindering a fellow's freedom of movement and inquiry. It was also recommended that in some circumstances fellows and scholars should consider the real mutual advantages of having native graduate students informally assisting and cooperating with them in their research.

3. Cooperation among Southeast Asian Universities

The question was raised of whether the overall level and effectiveness of training and research within Southeast Asia might not be substantially raised by the exchange of personnel and other resources within the area and by general cooperation among the local universities in filling gaps and strengthening weak fields and locales. The conferees agreed that this type of rationalization, interchange, and interpenetration among local resources is theoretically very desirable, but there was some feeling that the overall paucity of facilities, as well as national divergencies and sensitivities, would make it difficult to work this out in practice. For example, the competent people at the University of Malaya have their hands full on just Malayan problems without their branching out to teaching and research in or on other countries within the area. Although some plans are being made for this type of exchange between Indonesia and the Philippines, nothing concrete has emerged so far and any such arrangement is probably fraught with considerable difficulties.

4. Cooperation between Asian and Western Universities

The discussion turned to what role the Western universities could and should play in helping to develop indigeneous training and research resources on the area. There was general agreement that the kind of joint cooperation among Western universities and local universities or research institutes which Hla Myint had outlined (See section 3 of part II C) would be highly desirable and beneficial. It was reported that Raymond Firth of the London School of Economics had already worked out a plan along these lines and had approached several American universities on it, with a view to seeking foundation support once the proposal had matured. Firth's scheme would be for inter-university cooperation directed primarily to ensuring an adequate exchange of information as to programs and as to research topics, progress, and facilities. Later the collaboration would be expected to include the study of some common topic or topics on a comparative basis with each university completing its allotted share of a jointly-planned major research effort. An exchange of personnel as special fields of teaching or research were needed in different institutions might also be developed. While Firth's proposal now places main emphasis on cooperation between American and British resources in the field, there was some feeling that it might well be expanded to include the participation of some Southeast Asian institutions.

It was reported that the Dutch could probably contribute very little to any schemes of inter-university cooperation that might be developed. Strangely enough, the Dutch universities have never been much interested in the study of Indonesia and they are now deemphasizing that area even more in their current research and training programs. Today they are using some of their personnel who knew Indonesia best for work on other parts of the world.

It was suggested that a fruitful field for successful American Asian cooperation would be that of library development. Most of the countries within Southeast Asia are anxious to develop their library facilities and some, such as Indonesia, have already taken steps to improve their library position, but the overall picture in the area is still one of very few libraries and practically no trained librarians. To help alleviate this situation, the Library of Congress might be able, with outside support, to initiate a program of "technical assistance" directed toward the development of national libraries and toward the improvement of library methods (cataloguing, etc.), and also to provide in-service training at the Library for personnel from the area. It was noted that American universities might also be able to contribute to a program of library improvement for the area. For example, Stanford now has its library director in Manila assisting in the development of the library at the University of the Philippines, and perhaps library help to Indonesia will be an outgrowth of California's present medical training program for Indonesians.

Several other ways in which American universities might assist the development of training and research resources within the area were noted. It was suggested that exchanges of materials between local institutions and universities and their American counterparts be encouraged. It was reported that a variety of individual possibilities could be worked out through FOA and its new system of contracting with the universities for specific tasks in overseas educational operations. In order to facilitate the working of this system and in order to provide effective liaison between FOA and the universities, FOA has arranged for a senior man from the American Council on Education to be permanently availalbe to discuss with the university people their interests and ideas in the light of FOA needs and priorities. It is hoped

that this set-up will encourage more and more universities to tackle pressing problems in the field of foreign educational development.

Ford Foun

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
445 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

December 4, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I am sending you this memo from John Howard to Don Price which was written for the use of the Program Committee in its meetings concerned with BOTR recommendations.

I might note that the Discussion referred to in the memo does not refer to Board discussion.

I hope to send you a report on the action taken by the Program Committee in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee
Director of Research

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MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Don Price November 24, 1953

From: Mr. John Howard

Subject: Board on Overseas Training and Research Action - Meeting of November 18, 1953.

I am submitting herewith a report on the ten recommendations made by the BOTR at its meeting of November 18, 1953. Four involve policy questions with respect to the future research and training program. Six recommend grants out of existing appropriations in support of programs and projects.

Recommendations Nos. 6,7 and 8 (Coordinated Country Studies) and Recommendation No. 10 (India Pilot Training Project) have been under active consideration for many months. It would be most helpful if officer approval of these projects could be quickly obtained.

I am attaching a copy of the minutes of the November 18th meeting which record the recommendations of the Board, together with a copy of the Docket which was presented to the Board for its consideration and which contains further details beyond the bare summaries presented in the present memorandum.

POLICY QUESTIONS

Recommendation No. 1: That a substantial part of the research and training efforts within the area of BOTR concern over the next five years be devoted to (a) development of training facilities in the United States, and (b) development of research tools in the United States.

Discussion:

Only the scantiest attention has been given in the past in the United States to research relating to Asia and the Near and Middle East. The major reasons for this are the shortage of personnel competent and avialable for research, and the inadequacy of research tools. There are so few competent Asian and Near and Middle Eastern researchers that, even if all were effectively engaged, no more than a dent could be made in our research requirements. The inadequacy of language and other teaching materials, libraries, map collections, bibliographical materials, biographical inventories and statistical series relating to many foreign areas is confirmed by every scholar and researcher interested in these areas. Long run economy suggests a substantial period devoted principally to preparation for research.

Recommendation No. 2: That a part of the training and research effort over the next five years be devoted, either through sister university relationships or by direct grants, to the training of foreign research personnel and to the development of research and training resources in Asia and the Near and Middle East.

Discussion:

Research into Asia and the Near and Middle East is greatly handicapped by the inadequacy, and in some cases non-existence of training and research resources in the areas themselves.

We know more about the British than about the Burmese, in part because the British know more about themselves and how to find out about themselves than do the Burmese. American researchers may be competent and diligent but they cannot meet all of our research requirements. We must ultimately rely heavily upon indigenous scholarship for much of the fundamental data and for many of the research tools.

Reports on Ford Fellows in these areas indicate a direct relationship between progress and local institution affiliation. Training and research institutions are so scarce that it is difficult, and in some cases impossible to find institutions to which American trainees can attach themselves.

Recommendation No. 4: That the major, though undetermined part of the project research resources devoted to areas of BOTR concern be used to support studies bearing directly on contemporary problems but that the Foundation not only be willing to consider pre-modern studies but encourage the formulation and submission of such studies by the most promising scholars in the various fields of study.

Discussion:

From time to time individual Board members have expressed the conviction that research resources should be used to support research directly related to contemporary problems. The issue was, however, never squarely faced.

The gravity of current world tensions together with the desirability of relating research to other Foundation activities, especially developmental, were cited in support of principal emphasis upon the contemporary, but it was recognized that almost all current problems (land tenure, population, productivity, capital accumulation, etc.) have deep and significant historical roots which require support also of pre-modern studies.

Recommendation No. 5: That with respect to areas of BOTR concern, the Foundation continue to support promising scholars in the conduct of research on a free-ranging basis, but that in addition it continue its active efforts to "guide" the direction of research by assessing research needs, initiating programs, and encouraging experiments in integrated and interdisciplinary research.

Discussion:

Foundations have been charged, along with the federal government, with usurping the academic prerogatives by deciding what research needs to be done, by formulating projects and determining research methods. They are said to subvert genuine scholarship by their failure to recognize the importance of motivation arising from individual interest.

No foundation, of course, minimizes the importance of the individual scholar. Even so, it must be recognized that frequently the research interests of individuals are more the product of accident than design and may bear no rational relationship to the most urgent research needs.

Much individual research suffers from the limitation of a single discipline. Meaningful research results often come only when the techniques of several disciplines are jointly applied to a single area or problem by an integrated team.

Research needs are so great and competent personnel so scarce that the most effective utilization of talents with respect to both substance and method is imperative. Efforts to identify the most urgent research needs and to mobilize research talent in the most economical way may not always meet with success, but economy of time and talent appear to call for conscious attempts.

PROJECT RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation No. 3: That the Hall Report and Recommendations with respect to research assistance in the Arab states, Turkey and Iran be adopted in general and implemented in so far as is feasible.

Discussion:

Ford Fellows and other American researchers going for the first time to Asia and the Near and Middle East frequently find themselves greatly handicapped by local lethargy, ignorance and suspicion. Knowledgeable people are hard to find; research resources are widely scattered and difficult to unearth; suspicion keeps many doors less than wide open. The result is frequently that two, three, or more months pass before a person can get his project underway.

In June 1952 the BOTR recommended the exploration of the practicability of maintaining research liaison offices to facilitate American research in those areas. A consultant, employed with Officer approval, to follow the progress of Ford Fellows in the Near and Middle East, was asked to conduct the exploration for that area.

The consultant's recommendations are directed toward a two-fold objective: (1) the facilitation of research carried on in the field by Ford Fellows and other American researchers and (2) the stimulation of research in the area by and through native institutions.

The recommendations provide, first, for the appointment to the staff of the Foundation Representative in the area of a person qualified to:

1. follow the progress of Ford Fellows in the area
2. collect data pertaining to research opportunities, resources and personnel in the area
3. coordinate the utilization of Ford Foundation research grants in the area.
4. recommend research to be undertaken by local institutions and work out with them the details of proposed grants, and
5. facilitate in other appropriate ways the research of American and other researchers.

Second, the recommendations provide for the utilization, without additional cost to the Foundation, of Foundation-supported Research Institutes at the University of Beirut and the University of Cairo to facilitate the work of visiting researchers in the area.

Third, recommendations are made for grants in aid of research over the next two or three years to six local institutions to (a) conduct research programs, (b) develop libraries and files of research materials, and (c) offer substantive assistance to American researchers in the field.

It is proposed that implementation of the recommendations be phased; the first step being the appointment of the research and training staff member to the staff of the Foundation Representative. The remaining parts of the recommendations would be implemented as appropriate and practicable over the ensuing two or three years.

Recommendation No. 6: That the Officers of the Foundation approve the application of the University of California at Berkeley for a grant of $138,500, payable over a period of fours years, for research into the structure, organization and operation of the political life of India, including the organization and administration of the political parties, leadership, issues, and other political forces.

Recommendation No. 7: That the Officers of the Foundation approve the application of Cornell University for a grant of $159,850, payable over a period of four years, for research into the structure, organization, and operation of the political life of Indonesia, including the organization and administration of the political parties, leadership, issues and other political forces.

Recommendation No. 8: That the Officers of the Foundation approve the application of Yale University for a grant of $65,000 payable over a period of three years, for research into the agrarian structure and policy of Indonesia, with special emphasis upon their impact upon Indonesian political life.

Discussion:

Past studies of the structure, organization and operation of Indian and Indonesian political life have been few, haphazard and badly focused. The need for well-organized and directed studies of the context within which political forces operate is considered urgent by U.S. scholars and policy makers as well as by the Indians and Indonesians themselves. Native scholars are not now prepared to make such studies.

The proposed studies were formulated only after a consultant to the Foundation (Mr. Paul Langer) visited virtually all major academic institutions interested in these areas. Interest, resources and personnel were carefully surveyed and studies recommended for India, Indonesia and Iran. In each case the critical factor was personnel competent to organize, direct and carry out successfully the studies both here and in the field.

Mr. Katz met with Mr. Langer during the planning stage of the survey. Other officers of the Foundation were kept informed as the survey progressed.

The subject projects were formulated in close consultation with the staff and after careful discussions between the three proposed project directors. Moreover, the project directors have discussed their projects in detail with Max Millikan to assure maximum coordination with M.I.T. research efforts in both India and Indonesia.

Recommendation No. 9: That the Officers of the Foundation make a grant of $61,000 to the Library of Congress for completion of its Cyrillic Union Subject Catalogue project.

Discussion:

American library holdings of Slavic language materials published in the Cyrillic alphabets are, at present, not centrally catalogued. Since these materials, mostly in Russian, comprise the bulk of our Slavic holdings, most research into problems of the Slavic world is incomplete or greatly hampered. To overcome this handicap, the Library of Congress has been working for some time on the creation of this Cyrillic Union Subject Catalogue.

If completed, it will enable researchers to identify and locate easily all published titles in Cyrillic held in principal American libraries. The $345,256.00 of federal funds spent on this project to date will, however, provide this coverage only for post-1917 titles. The $61,000.00 requested will make possible inclusion of all pre-1917 titles as well, but no governmental funds are available for this purpose. A cut-off at 1917 is aribtrary, and will significantly impair the value of this long overdue research tool, perhaps the most valuable single research tool for published Slavic materials yet to be set up in the United States.

The Library of Congress will assume the continuing cost of keeping a completed Cyrillic Union Subject Catalogue current.

Recommendation No. 10: That the Officers of the Foundation make a grant to the Delhi School of Economics (India) of up to $200,000 for a three-year period to provide orientation and training of specialists engaged in technical assistance and economic development activities in India.

Discussion:

The establishment of a Pilot Training Project would provide cultural orientation for specialists both American and foreign, who are engaged in technical assistance and economic development activities in India. This proposal grew out of a Foundation-sponsored study made by the Public Administration Clearing House in 1951, which surveyed the training programs given to American technical assistance workers by the U.S. government, and also the pre-job training given to representatives of private businesses, religious organizations, and other groups who need training in the history and culture,

the current problems, and the psychology of the countries in which they are going to work. These training efforts, while varying in quality, were found to be seriously deficient in providing comprehensive yet high quality orientation in the non-technical phases of the specialist's assignment. It is exactly this phase which is most important, assuming technical competence of the employee, for unless the specialist can relate his advice to the needs of the culture, his advice will have no long-term value.

The current proposal is designed to test 1) whether this type of training cannot best be given to the specialist in the country or region of his assignment, where the motivation for making use of the training would presumably be strongest, and 2) whether such a Center, designed to meet the needs of one country or region, will provide the impetus for the establishment of similar centers elsewhere. It would be the hope of the Foundation in establishing the Center, that affirmative results would be found in both cases.

This project is designed to have multiplier effects in several directions. The plan has been drawn up in cooperation with the Foreign Operations Administration, which has agreed to furnish two-thirds the annual operating costs for three years. The FOA also expects to assign a certain number of its American employees in India to the short courses which the Center will give at least four times each year. The Foundation for its part will furnish one-third of the annual operating costs for three years, and will furnish the basic training materials needed to initiate the Center including a small building sum.

By demonstrating to the U.S. government the value of this type of training we hope to lend impetus to an overall improvement of government training programs for overseas specialists.

Mr. Ensminger has been closely in touch with the Indian government and with the authorities of Delhi University while this proposal was being developed. It was the suggestion of the Indian government that the Center be placed under the administrative control of the Delhi School of Economics.

Mr. Chester Davis was actively concerned with the need for this type of training. He encouraged the Division of Overseas Activities on several occasions to develop a project in this field, and gave his full support to the project as now formulated. Other officers were informed as these developments took place and the proposal was cited as an illustrative project in support of the February 1953 appropriation for Research and Training.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
445 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

Call
PL 1-2900

November 5, 1953

Dear Ed:

We are planning to announce our new program of scholarships and fellowships in Soviet and Slavic area studies during the last week of November. In order to make this possible, we must arrange for printing now. A draft text of the announcement is therefore going to the printer this week and the proofs will be in our hands next week.

all right

A copy of the draft announcement is also attached to this letter for your information and for any additions or changes you would wish made in it. Will you let us have your suggestions for any such additions or changes by Friday, November 13th? We can then include them in an edited proof which will go back to the printer for final printing that Friday afternoon.

Thanks very much for your help in this.

Cordially,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

ANNOUNCEMENT

OF SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS

IN SOVIET AND SLAVIC AREA STUDIES

1954 - 1955

THE FORD FOUNDATION

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

575 Madison Avenue

New York 22, New York

ANNOUNCEMENT OF SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS

IN SOVIET AND SLAVIC AREA STUDIES, 1954-55

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In keeping with the Ford Foundation's policy of supporting selective activities which may contribute to international understanding and to the solution of international problems, the Board on Overseas Training and Research is offering a first annual program of graduate scholarships and research training fellowships to young American men and women of ability who wish to begin or to continue graduate study or research concerning the Soviet Union or the peripheral Slavic and East European areas.

This program is intended to stimulate increased knowledge of these critical areas and to help meet the urgent need for large numbers of American men and women with deeper knowledge of the cultures, histories, institutions and current problems of peoples and governments of these vital areas, as they affect the well-being and security of the free world today. Awards will be made only to citizens of the United States and aliens permanently residing in the United States who can give substantial evidence of their intention to become citizens.

The board expects to make awards of three types. These will be Graduate Area Training Scholarships, Pre-doctoral Area Research Training Fellowships, and Post-doctoral Area Research Training Fellowships.

A. Graduate Area Training Scholarships

These scholarships are designed to afford training in qualified graduate programs organized to provide for both full mastery of a scholarly

discipline including intensive seminar training, and integrated, multi-disciplinary study of the Soviet or East European area. Awards will therefore be made only to those applicants of ability and promise who plan to study at an Area Study center so organized which also meets the criteria established in 1951 for Integrated Area Programs by the Social Science Research Council's Committee on World Area Research. Substantially, these criteria are: official university recognition and support of the program; adequate library resources both for teaching and research on the area; competent instruction in the principal languages of the area; course and seminar offerings in at least five pertinent subjects in addition to language instruction; some specific mechanisms for integrating the area studies; an area research program; and, finally, emphasis on the modern era.

Applicants for scholarships should ordinarily not have passed their 31st birthday. Subject to this general limitation, graduate training scholarships are available to the following:

a. Persons who have completed or who will complete during this academic year a program of undergraduate studies which includes training in at least one of the social sciences or humanities. Applicants need not previously have studied the Soviet and Slavic areas or a language of those areas in order to qualify.

b. Graduate students in the early stages of study in the social sciences or humanities who now wish to combine further training in their field with Soviet or East European area study.

c. Graduate students in the social sciences or humanities now enrolled in the first or second year of a Soviet or East European area study program.

Awards will be made for one academic year only, but requests for estensions in succeeding years will be considered. In fixing individual stipends, the Scholarship Committee will take into account necessary maintenance and tuition costs. It will also take into account other sources of support available to the applicant. Consideration will be given to requests for supplementary summer study commencing with the summer of 1954, particularly for intensive language training.

B. Pre-doctoral Area Research Training Fellowships, and

C. Post-doctoral Area Research Training Fellowships.

These fellowships are designed primarily to help round out the student's Soviet and Slavic graduate area training by providing, at the advanced pre-doctoral or early post-doctoral level, an opportunity to apply his recently-acquired research skills in a major research undertaking. Research programs to be carried out in the United States or abroad, or both, may be submitted.

Where successful completion of the research program submitted would require additional study of a supplementary language or discipline, or of a cultural area in or related to the Soviet Union, the Fellowship Committee will fix the terms of the award accordingly.

Group applications for fellowships to be applied in an interdisciplinary or inter-cultural approach to complex problems may be submitted.

Fellowships will also be available to provide initial graduate training in Soviet or East European area studies to scholars of demonstrated accomplishment in a recognized field or discipline, but without previous area training in the Soviet or East European areas. Such applications are sought particularly from scholars in disciplines and fields for which there is special need among agencies and institutions requiring the services of Soviet and Slavic area experts. Examples of such fields and disciplines are: cultural anthropology, sociology, social psychology, the natural sciences, economic geography, philosophy and religion, music and the fine arts, and education.

Applicants for pre-doctoral fellowships should ordinarily not have passed their 36th birthday; applicants for post-doctoral fellowships, their 41st. Subject to this general limitation, fellowships will be available to:

a. Graduate students in qualified Soviet or East European area study programs who have fulfilled all the requirements of the Ph. D. except the dissertation. Applications need not be deferred until this point is reached, however, provided that the student will have completed all the requirements for the doctorate except the dissertation by the beginning of the Fall semester, 1954. A university teacher willing to sponsor and supervise the research program must be designated in each application.

b. Holders of the doctorate who have Soviet or East European area study background.

c. Scholars in recognized fields or disciplines, who have already received the doctorate, or who have completed all the requirements

for the doctorate except the dissertation, but who have not yet specialized in the indicated areas.

Awards will normally be made for a period of one calendar year, but careful consideration will be given to programs requiring longer periods of time. In fixing the stipend for pre-doctoral and post-doctoral Fellows, account will be taken of the applicant's qualifications and experience, family status, and special expenses to be incurred in conducting his program of research or study.

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Potential applicants in doubt about eligibility under this program are invited to communicate at once with the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research, 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. Applications for Graduate Area Training Scholarships, Pre-doctoral Area Training Scholarships, or Post-doctoral Area Research Training Fellowships may be obtained from the same address. Applications must be completed and returned on or before February 15, 1953. The awards will be announced on or about May 15, 1953.

The Board on Overseas Training and Research

GORDON GRAY, Chairman

JOHN S. DICKEY	EDWARD R. MURROW
ALVIN C. EURICH	MILO R. PERKINS
JOHN W. GARDNER	CARL B. SPAETH

- - - - -

CLEON O. SWAYZEE, Director of Research

JONATHAN KING, Staff Assistant

November 29, 1953

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
~~[illegible]~~ 445 Park Avenue
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

October 23, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

The announcement of the 1954-55 Foreign Study and Research Fellowship program has been printed this week. I am enclosing a copy for your information.

Cordially yours,

Cleon O. Swayzee
Pres. H.O

Cleon O. Swayzee
Director of Research

Announcement of Foreign Study and Research Fellowships

1954-1955

THE FORD FOUNDATION

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Announcement of Foreign Study a

ASIA, THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

FOR THE THIRD successive year the Ford Foundation is offering a number of foreign study and research grants in keeping with its policy of supporting selected activities which may contribute to international understanding. These fellowship awards will be given to younger American men and women of ability who wish either to begin or continue study or research concerning Asia, the Near and Middle East.

This program, sponsored by the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research, is intended to stimulate increased knowledge of these critical areas and to help meet the urgent need for larger numbers of American men and women—in business, government, agriculture, labor relations, communications, education and other professions —with deeper understanding of the cultures, histories, institutions and current problems of peoples and governments of vital regions of the world.

The Board expects to make these awards to persons drawn from a wide variety of educational and professional backgrounds. Students who will graduate from college next year are invited to apply as well as persons who have completed their formal educational training and have already initiated their careers. While the Board cannot undertake to obtain leaves of absence for successful applicants, it will encourage employers to permit acceptance of these grants without termination of employment.

Information Regarding the Fellowships

1. *Age:* Applicants should not ordinarily have passed their 36th birthday.

2. *Citizenship:* Foreign Study and Research Fellowships are available only to United States citizens and aliens permanently residing in the United States who can give substantial evidence of their intention to become citizens.

3. Subject to the above general limitations, fellowships are available to the following:

a. College seniors completing undergraduate studies during this academic year;

b. Persons who have had experience or are now engaged in business, government, agriculture, labor relations, education, engineering, communications, law and other fields, regardless of whether they have lived and worked in the areas;

c. Men and women who are doing or have done graduate work relating to the specified areas;

d. Men and women who are doing or have done graduate work in fields or disciplines that have specific application to the stated areas.

Applications from college seniors and persons not following academic careers will be considered separately from applications of those with advanced graduate or specialized training.

and Research Fellowships, 1954-55

4. Awards will be made for periods from one to three years, and in amounts that will be determined by reference to the applicant's qualifications and experience, and his individual program of study and research.

5. The Foundation will consider providing limited funds to enable the immediate family of the successful applicant to accompany him.

6. Applicants may propose programs to be carried out in the United States or abroad, or both, starting prior to January 1, 1955. Programs need not be limited to work in colleges or universities. Applicants without graduate training may contemplate programs involving foreign travel if they so desire, but the Board would prefer that such travel not be undertaken without the necessary language competence. Applications for support of graduate work in pursuance of graduate degrees will be considered, provided such study contributes to the objectives of the fellowship program.

7. Each fellowship application must be accompanied by a comprehensive statement of the applicant's proposed plan of work and study. This should include his purposes, the institutions or groups, if any, with which he hopes to be associated, his travel requirements, and the relationship of this plan to his intended life work. Each applicant is responsible for obtaining appraisals of his own qualifications and his proposed plan from five references of his choice. These should be submitted to the Board on or before January 8, 1954.

8. Application forms may be obtained from the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research, 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. Applications must be completed and returned on or before January 8, 1954. The awards will be announced on or about April 15, 1954.

The Board on Overseas Training and Research

GORDON GRAY, *Chairman*

JOHN S. DICKEY — EDWARD R. MURROW

ALVIN C. EURICH — MILO R. PERKINS

JOHN W. GARDNER — CARL B. SPAETH

CLEON O. SWAYZEE, *Director of Research*

JONATHAN KING, *Staff Assistant*

October 26, 1953

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

BOARD ON
OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Date: June 15, 1953

TO: Edward R. Murrow

FROM: Cleon O. Swayzee

..... Appropriate action

..... Comments or recommendations

..... Please discuss with me

XXX ..... For your information and files

..... Please note and return

..... Please attach previous

..... Prepare reply for my signature

PLEASE OBSERVE RELEASE DATE

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York
PLaza 5-4600

FOR RELEASE:
Monday, June 22, 1953

Gordon Gray, Chairman of the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research, today issued the following statement:

"On behalf of the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research, I am making public today the list of winners of the second series of Foreign Study and Research Fellowships awarded by the Foundation on the recommendation of this Board.

"These awards, totaling $488,150 are for periods of from 1 to 2½ years and will enable 97 young Americans to begin or continue studies concerning Asia, the Near and Middle East.

"The purpose of this program is to stimulate increased knowledge of Asia, the Near and Middle East and to help meet the urgent need throughout these critical areas for large numbers of men and women well qualified in business, education, government, communications, agriculture, labor relations, and the professions.

"The recipients who were selected from approximately 650 applicants range in age from 20 to 42, their average age being 29. Eighty-eight of them are men and 9 are women.

"The special fields of interest represented by these awards are: anthropology 13, area studies 10, art 1, communications 1, economics 10, geography 2, government 3, history 20, international relations 13, journalism 4, law 1, linguistics 1, literature 3, political science 11, philosophy 1, sociology 3.

Ford Foundation
Board on Overseas Training and Research

"The distribution by geographic areas is as follows: China and Japan 25, India and Pakistan 30, Southeast Asia 17, and the Near and Middle East 25. 29 awards were made for study in the United States, 52 for study abroad, and 16 for study both in this country and abroad.

In addition to Mr. Gray the members of the Board on Overseas Training and Research are: John S. Dickey, President of Dartmouth College, Alvin C. Eurich, Vice President of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, John W. Gardner, Vice President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Edward R. Murrow, Counselor on Public Affairs, Columbia Broadcasting System, Milo R. Perkins, Consultant, and Carl B. Spaeth, Director of Overseas Activities, The Ford Foundation.

Announcement of this program was made on November 30 of last year. It is expected that a similar program will be announced next fall. The first series of Foreign Study and Research Fellowships was announced in 1952 when $473,850 was awarded to 83 individuals.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING & RESEARCH
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.
PLaza 5-4600

FOR RELEASE:
Monday, June 22, 1953

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS 1953 - 1954

NEW ENGLAND

State	Name
Connecticut	Conklin, Harold C., New Haven, Connecticut. Graduate Student, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. One year. Southeast Asia.
	Edmonds, William A., Hamden, Connecticut. Graduate Student, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. One year. Near and Middle East.
	Idle, Dunning, IV, New Haven, Connecticut. Graduate Student, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Southeast Asia.
	Kennedy, Melville Talbot, Jr., Norwichtown, Connecticut. Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. One year. Far East.
	Roche, Miss Allene Mary, Old Lyme, Connecticut. Student, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut. One year. South Asia.
	Wakin, Miss Jeannette A., Bridgeport, Connecticut. Graduate Student, Columbia University, New York City. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Near and Middle East.
Massachusetts	Abbott, Dr. Freeland Knight, Medford, Massachusetts. Assistant Professor of History, Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts. Two years. South Asia.
	Abramowitz, Morton, Peabody, Massachusetts. Student, Stanford University, Stanford, California. One year. Far East.
	Binder, Leonard, Mattapan, Massachusetts. Graduate Student, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. One year. South Asia.
	Callahan, Paul E., Cambridge, Massachusetts. Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Two years. Far East.

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

NEW ENGLAND (continued)

State	Name
Massachusetts (continued)	Elmquist, Paul Oscar, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. One year. Far East.
	Goethals, Peter Randall, Brookline, Massachusetts. Graduate Student, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. One year. Southeast Asia.
	Hess, Clyde Gardner, Worcester, Massachusetts. Editorial Writer and News Analyst, Worcester Telegram & Gazette. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Near and Middle East.
	Mitchell, Richard P., Worcester, Massachusetts. Graduate Student, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. One year. Near and Middle East.
New Hampshire	Chase, Edward Sullivan, Jr., Exeter, New Hampshire. Research Specialist, Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. One year. Near and Middle East.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING & RESEARCH
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.
PLaza 5-4600

FOR RELEASE:
Monday, June 22, 1953

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS 1953 - 1954

NEW YORK

State	Name
New York	Bennett, Don C., Syracuse, New York. Graduate Assistant, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Southeast Asia.
	Biederman, Barron, Rockville Centre, New York. Graduate Student in Journalism, Columbia University, New York City. One year. South Asia.
	Bodman, Herbert L., Jr., Glen Head, New York. Graduate Student at American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Near and Middle East.
	Boodey, Cecil W., Jr., Yonkers, New York. Student at University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire. One year. Near and Middle East.
	Bruner, John H., Levittown, New York Assistant Secretary of Near East Foundation, New York City. One year. Near and Middle East.
	Chang, Miss Gladys Kwa-Fong, Tuckahoe, New York. Columbia Broadcasting System. Assistant to Producer, Edward R. Murrow's "This I Believe" Program. One year. Southeast Asia.
	Debs, Richard A., Brooklyn, New York. Graduate Student, American University of Cairo, Cairo, Egypt. One year. Near and Middle East.
	Eames, Edwin J., New York, New York. Teaching Assistant, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. South Asia.
	Eaves, John, Jr., New York, New York. Instructor in Government, Columbia University, New York City. Two years. South Asia.
	Eddison, John Corbin, Ardsley-on-Hudson, New York. Graduate Student, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts. One year. South Asia.

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

NEW YORK (continued)

State	Name
New York (continued)	Elegant, Robert Sampson, New York, New York. Correspondent, International News Service, Tokyo, Japan. Two years. Southeast Asia.
	Fortier, David Harry, Orangeburg, New York. Graduate Student, Columbia University, New York City. Two and one half years. Southeast Asia.
	Hitchcock, John Thayer, Ithaca, New York. Teaching Assistant in Anthropology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Eighteen months. South Asia.
	Hurewitz, Dr. Jacob Coleman, New York, New York. Professor and Consultant on Near and Middle East, Columbia University, New York City and Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. One year. Near and Middle East.
	Keene, Dr. Donald Lawrence, Brooklyn, New York. Lecturer in Japanese and Korean, Cambridge University, Cambridge, England. One year. Far East.
	Kokatnur, Miss Urmila Vaman, Whitestone, New York. Information and Foreign Affairs Specialist, Department of State. One year. South Asia.
	Ledsky, Nelson C., Forest Hills, New York. Student, School of International Affairs, Columbia University, New York City. One year. Near and Middle East.
	Michaels, Arthur, New York, New York. Student, Columbia University, New York City. One year. South Asia.
	Nakamura, James I., Orangeburg, New York. Graduate Student, Columbia University, New York City. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Far East.
	Perry, John C., Brooklyn, New York. Graduate Student, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Far East.
	Royce, Harrison Schuyler, Jr., Orangeburg, New York. Student, School of International Affairs, Columbia University, New York City. One year. Southeast Asia.

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

NEW YORK (continued)

State	Name
New York (continued)	Shirato, Ichiro, New York, New York. Lecturer in Japanese, Columbia University, New York City. Fourteen months. Far East.
	Terry, Charles Strong, Jr., New York, New York. William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellow, Columbia University, New York City. One year. Far East.
	Viglielmo, Valdo, Ulster Park, New York. Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. One year. Far East.
	Watson, Burton DeWitt, Youngstown, New York. Graduate Student, Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Far East.
	Weiner, Myron, New York, New York. Graduate Student, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. South Asia.
	Wolpert, Stanley Albert, Brooklyn, New York. Student, City College of New York. One year. South Asia.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING & RESEARCH
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.
PLaza 5-4600

FOR RELEASE:
Monday, June 22, 1953

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA & DELAWARE

State	Name
Delaware	Allerdice, Joseph McNicol, Wilmington, Delaware. Student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. One year. Near and Middle East.
New Jersey	Crawford, Robert Webb, Princeton, New Jersey. Graduate Student, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. One year. Near and Middle East.
	Harris, James Theodore, Princeton, New Jersey. Graduate Student, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, and Consultant to Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs. Two years, Near & Middle East.
	Johnson, Donald DeRemer, East Orange, New Jersey. Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. One year. Far East.
Pennsylvania	Atwell, Allen C., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Instructor in Painting and Drawing, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. One year. South Asia.
	Blyn, George, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Harrison Fellow, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. One year. South Asia.
	Gould, James Warren, Haverton, Pennsylvania. Graduate Student and Instructor, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts. One year. Southeast Asia.
	Hay, Stephen Northrup, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. One year. South Asia.
	Metz, Dr. William Stafford, Lansdowne, Pennsylvania. Fulbright and Social Science Research Council grantee. One year. South Asia.
	Shea, Thomas W., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Graduate Student, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Two years additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. South Asia.

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BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING & RESEARCH
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.
PLaza 5-4600

FOR RELEASE:
Monday, June 22, 1953

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

D.C. AND MARYLAND

State	Name
Washington, D.C.	Wiggins, Guy A., Washington, D.C. Program Planning Officer, Mutual Security Agency. Two years. South Asia.
Maryland	Rasmussen, Miss Ann B., Aberdeen, Maryland. Student, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York. One year. Far East.
	Thomas, Frederic Chichester, Jr., Easton, Maryland. Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Two years. Near and Middle East.

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FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

MIDWEST

State	Name
Illinois	Carson, William Morris, Chicago, Illinois. Research Fellow. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Near and Middle East.
	Crane, Robert Irwin, Chicago, Illinois. Instructor in Modern History, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. One year. South Asia.
	Levine, Dr. Solomon Bernard, Champaign, Illinois. Assistant Professor of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. One year. Far East.
	Marriott, Dr. McKim, Chicago, Illinois. Graduate Student and Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Twenty-seven months. South Asia.
	Mill, Edward William, Belvidere, Illinois. Fellow, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. One year. Southeast Asia.
	Spain, James William, Chicago, Illinois. Cultural Affairs Officer, Amercan Embassy, Karachi, Pakistan. One year. South Asia.
	Whiting, Dr. Allen S., Evanston, Illinois. Instructor in Political Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Eighteen months. Far East.
Michigan	Beardsley, Dr. Richard King, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. One year. Far East.
	Hosmer, Stephen Titus, Grosse Point, Michigan. Student, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. One Year. Southeast Asia.
	Kawahara, Dr. Hattie M., Detroit, Michigan. Assistant Professor of Government, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Far East.

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

MIDWEST (continued)

State	Name
Michigan (continued)	Overstreet, Gene Donald, East Lansing, Michigan. Instructor in Political Science, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. Fourteen months. South Asia.
	Thomas, Philip S., Ann Arbor, Michigan. Teaching Fellow, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Fourteen months. South Asia.
Minnesota	Lukermann, Dr. Fred Emil, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Graduate Student and Teaching Assistant, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Fifteen months. Near and Middle East.
Missouri	Minkoff, Miss Esther, St. Louis, Missouri. Student, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. One year. South Asia.
	Planalp, Jack Milan, Oregon, Missouri. Graduate Student, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Twenty-one months. South Asia.
	Watson, Dr. James B., Creve Coeur, Missouri. Associate Professor of Anthropology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. Two years. Southeast Asia.
Ohio	Feuerwerker, Albert, Cleveland, Ohio. Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. One year. Far East.
	Logan, Frenise Avedis, Cleveland, Ohio Instructor in History, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina. One year. South Asia.
	Stridsberg, Albert Borden, Sharonville, Ohio. Intelligence Analyst, Army General Studies School, Fort Riley, Kansas. One year. Near & Middle East.
	Textor, Robert Bayard, Springfield, Ohio. Fellow, Cornell Southeast Asia Program, Bangkok, Thailand. Nine months. Southeast Asia.
	Waddell, Alfred J., Cincinnati, Ohio Graduate Student, Columbia University, New York City. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Near & Middle East.
Wisconsin	Bender, Kent Sharf, Oshkosh, Wisconsin. Student at Oshkosh State College, Oshkosh, Wisconsin. Two years. Southeast Asia.

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

MIDWEST (continued)

State	Name
Wisconsin (continued)	McCrory, James T., Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Reporter and Feature Writer for the Milwaukee Sentinel. Two years. South Asia.

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575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.
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FOR RELEASE:
Monday, June 22, 1953

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

WEST

State	Name
California	Adams, Mrs. Doris, Concord, California. Graduate Student, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D. C. Twenty-one months additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Near and Middle East.
	Adams, Warren, Concord, California. Graduate Student, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D. C. Twenty-one months additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Near and Middle East.
	Gillin, Donald George, San Mateo, California. Graduate Student, Stanford University, Stanford, California. One year. Southeast Asia.
	Harper, Edward Burnette, San Bernardino, California. Teaching Assistant and Graduate Student, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. One year. South Asia.
	Manning, John Ernest, Los Angeles, California. Graduate Student, Stanford University, Stanford, California. Eighteen months additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Far East.
	Sheldon, Charles D., Berkeley, California. Graduate Student, University of California, Berkeley, California. One year. Far East.
	Steiner, Dr. Kurt S., Palo Alto, California. Graduate Student, Stanford University, Stanford, California. One year. Far East.
	Stewart, Charles Frank, Berkeley, California. Graduate Student, University of California, Berkeley, California. Two years. Near & Middle East.
	Tesdell, Loren Elmer, Los Altos, California. Graduate Student, Stanford University, Stanford, California. One year. Near & Middle East.

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

WEST (continued)

State	Name
California (continued)	Thweatt, William Oliver, Walnut Creek, California. Assistant Professor of Economics, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon. One year. Near and Middle East.
	Wurfel, David O. D., La Mesa, California. Graduate Student, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Fifteen months additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Southeast Asia.
Colorado	Seidensticker, Edward George, Jr., Castle Rock, Colorado. Graduate Student, Tokyo University, Tokyo, Japan. One year additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Far East.
Oregon	Smith, Jack Arnold, Grants Pass, Oregon. Gradute Student, Columbia University, New York City. One year. Far East.
Washington	Cody, Cecil Earl, Seattle, Washington. Research Fellow, Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. Eighteen Months. Far East.
	Miller, Mrs. Beatrice, Mercer Island, Washington. Graduate Student, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. Two years. South Asia.
	Miller, Robert, Mercer Island, Washington. Graduate Student, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. Two years. South Asia.
	Mote, Frederick W., Seattle, Washington. Graduate Student, Hoover Library, Stanford University, Stanford, California. Three months additional to present Foreign Study and Research Fellowship. Far East.
	Spector, Stanley, Seattle, Washington. Graduate Student and Instructor, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, and University of California, Berkeley, California. Eighteen months. Southeast Asia.

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575 Madison Avenue
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FOR RELEASE:
Monday, June 22, 1953

FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS, 1953 - 1954

LEBANON

Country	Name
Lebanon	Kerr, Malcolm H., Beirut, Lebanon. Student at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. One year. Near and Middle East.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

April 28, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Under separate cover a copy of the docket has been mailed to you for the May 5th meeting of the Board on Overseas Training and Research to be held in the offices of the Fund for the Advancement of Education at 575 Madison Avenue at 10:00 a.m.

Attached is a supplementary docket item for consideration at the May 5th meeting. It recommends support for a three-year program of the Hoover Institute and Library to enable it to increase its services to scholars and other institutions and to maintain and extend the procurement of certain research materials on Asia and the Near East. Before placing this on the agenda, the staff wished to receive assurances from Stanford University as to the relation of the Institute and Library to the general University program as well as to the financial support which could be expected from the administration. Appended is a letter which has just been received from President Sterling, covering these points.

The letter refers to specific steps which already have been taken, as well as those which will be taken, to integrate the research and teaching programs of the Hoover Institute and Library into the general University program. It states the current and continuing interest of the University administration in the Institute's program and finances.

I look forward to seeing you at the meeting next week.

Sincerely yours,

Cleon

Cleon O. Swayzee
Director of Research

Agenda Item 4.1.2

THE HOOVER INSTITUTE AND LIBRARY

Recommended Action: That the Board on Overseas Training and Research recommend a grant of $225,000 over a three-year period to the Hoover Institute and Library to enable it: 1) to increase its services to scholars and other institutions, and 2) to maintain and extend the procurement of certain research materials on Asia and the Middle East.

Source of Funds: Unexpended balance of research appropriations approved by the Trustees at their meetings of April 1952 and February 1953.

Summary of Proposed Three-Year Program.

The Hoover Institute and Library has proposed a three-year program designed to:

1) Enable it to increase its services to scholars and other institutions.

2) Sustain and extend its collecting of certain Asian and Middle Eastern materials which otherwise would have to be drastically curtailed.

To expand its services to scholars and other institutions, the Library proposes to:

1) list, organize, and shelve virtually all materials now in the Library on Asia and the Middle East, together with those which would be acquired during the three-year period;

2) bind all important and fragile items, thereby increasing their accessibility;

3) catalogue more of its holdings, thereby making their availability known to scholars at other research institutions through the union catalogue of the Library of Congress;

4) supplement the presently curtailed circulation and loan staff in order to meet the increasing demands for all library materials, both from scholars working in the Library and from other institutions.

The present funds available for acquisitions do not enable the Library to maintain an adequate flow of current materials, nor to fill the gaps in the present collections which are needed to support the research projects it is

already assisting and will be called upon to assist in the future. Under the three-year program, the Library would:

(1) bring its present acquisitions from China, Japan, Egypt, and Iran to an adequate annual level;

(2) resume collecting in Turkey;

(3) supplement the collecting in other Arab countries;

(4) develop the present collections on India and Pakistan into major resources for study of current problems;

(5) continue the present limited program for Southeast Asia.

The acquisitions program would be so designed that at the end of the three-year period the comparative study of the profound upheavals affecting the whole of Asia and the Middle East and their implications for the world community would be greatly facilitated.

The total Hoover Institute and Library budget for 1953-54 is $181,730. Of this, approximately 85% must be used for salaries of the Library and Institute staff, for acquisitions and processing of Soviet, European, and African materials, and for general processing and cataloguing expenses. Within the present budget only $26,510 can be devoted to the acquisition and processing of materials relating to Asia and the Near East. The proposed three-year program looks toward the strengthening of the Hoover Library facilities in those areas with which the Board is concerned.

Future Financing

The staff has been assured that, at the end of the three-year period, the Hoover Library would be able to carry forward with its own funds the essential program for the collection and processing of materials. Once the present backlogs of materials have been processed, the staffs could be reduced to the size required to handle the current inflow. Since the acquisition of new materials would be tapered off after the purchase of materials made possible by the three-year grant, the current inflow would be of manageable proportions.

For 1953-54 Stanford University is contributing $100,000, which is over half of the current Hoover Institute and Library budget. In addition, a campaign has been launched to increase the basic endowment of the Library to provide a substantial addition to the annual budget. A letter is appended from President Wallace Sterling of Stanford University describing the position of the Hoover Institute and Library within the general University program, as well as the program of the University for financial support.

Discussion

Since its creation in 1919, the Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution, and Peace has become a great reservoir of materials on the major political, social, and economic trends of the twentieth century. The Library is an integral part of Stanford University. The University will contribute funds making up over half of the Hoover Institute and Library budget for 1953-54. Other sources of income come from endowment and from gifts.

Scope of Holdings: The collection policies of the Library are governed by its purpose: to document the revolutionary upheavals, the wars, and the peace efforts of the twentieth century. The original collections were obtained throughout Europe, Russia, and the Near East during and following World War I. Through the years the geographical scope of the Library has been extended to Africa, to Asia -- China, Japan, Southeast Asia, and India and Pakistan -- and to selected countries in Latin America. During and following World War II special representatives were employed in Europe, Asia, and the Near East to collect the great body of ephemeral materials -- propaganda leaflets, archives, memoirs, and underground publications -- that became available at the end of hostilities. At present, part-time special representatives and qualified agents are collecting documents and materials for the Library from most of the major tension areas of the world. Within each area, however, only those materials are obtained which serve the governing purpose of the Library.

Relations between Hoover and other Libraries: Increasingly, other libraries look to the Hoover to cover thoroughly the contemporary field. Professor John K. Fairbank of Harvard stated recently that "The Hoover has now the best collection of materials on Twentieth Century China outside of Asia." Dr. Robert F. Odgen, head of the Library of Congress' Near and Middle East collection, described the Hoover as having one of the outstanding collections on the Near and Middle East especially on modern materials, and he described its accession machinery as excellent. Phillips Talbot believes that the Hoover collection of Indian pamphlets and other current materials is better than can be found any place aside from the Library of Congress. All felt that it is most useful to have such a specialized collection located on the West Coast.

Liaison has been maintained between the Hoover Library, the Library of Congress, and libraries at other important institutions to facilitate the collecting and handling of materials. The collecting network of the Hoover Library together with the skill of its curators and staff, constitute an asset which has proved helpful in assisting other institutions in the gathering of materials. In the field of Chinese materials, the Hoover Library has supplied without cost to Harvard, Yale, the University of California, and the University of Washington many more materials than have in turn been received from them.

Increasing use of the Hoover Library: To make use of the Library, and to pursue comparative studies of contemporary developments which the unique collections of this Library make possible, scholars have come in rapidly increasing numbers during the past five years from all parts of the United States and abroad. In the last few months an even sharper rise in demands has come largely as a result of the programs of the Ford Foundation and other foundations to accelerate the training of experts on Asia and the Middle East and to stimulate the study of contemporary problems in these areas. Within the past five months twenty-nine new research projects, either individual or group, have been started at the Library by scholars working under private auspices -- eleven of them by Ford Fellows, of whom more than half came to the Library from other institutions. In addition, the Library knows of a number of other applicants, both at Stanford and other institutions, for this year's fellowship program who wish to work at the Hoover Library should they receive an award.

The Foundation-supported research project on "The Russian Impact on Contemporary Japan" will depend heavily upon materials in the Hoover Library. The three additional country studies on the Communist impact in other countries of Asia and the Near East recommended by Langer are all listed to make use of the Hoover materials. This additional servicing burden, added to increasing requests from governmental and U.N. agencies, places a severe strain on the facilities of the Library.

The services provided by Hoover go far beyond services usually thought of in connection with a library, and involve specialized help by the curators and staff. This load is illustrated by a single case described in the application:

> "Mr. W. from the University of Washington is at the Hoover Library on a Ford Foundation fellowship to analyze Japanese puppet politics in China before proceeding to further investigation in Japan and Formosa. In a month he has been provided with 189 books and 50 files of periodicals. This has meant hours of search in the large uncatalogued part of the Chinese collection. It has meant binding and mending about one fourth of the materials he uses because of their fragile character. Mr. W.'s work has required the use of English, French and German materials in addition to those in Chinese. He has just begun to examine the Japanese collection.
>
> To meet Mr. W.'s needs for individual items which the Hoover Library does not happen to have, the staff combs the country, library by library, until it finds what he is after. Two years ago the amount of staff required to meet Mr. W.'s requests would have been three times greater because the materials were far less systematically organized. Two years hence it will be possible to provide better service, but only if it is possible to hold together the present small staff that has pioneered the organization and handling of contemporary Asian materials."

Need for Strengthening.

The increasing demands upon the Library and its desire to increase its services to other institutions come at a time when programs for acquiring and processing materials must be curtailed rather than expanded.

The reserve funds of the Library were greatly depleted during the immediate post-war period when the Library deliberately spent heavily to acquire materials before they were destroyed or otherwise became unavailable. As the prospect of Communist conquest loomed in China, buying was stepped up to obtain materials now irreplaceable.

The depletion of reserve funds was hastened by the necessity to increase the staff to take care of the rising demand for its services. Personnel with the special languages and competences required to process and catalogue materials in Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Turkish, etc., are scarce and therefore expensive. The Library is financially able to maintain a staff adequate to handle the current flow of materials, but is unable to process and make available to scholars and other institutions the great backlog of vitally needed unprocessed materials acquired in the post-war period.

The depletion in the reserve funds of the Library has made necessary the curtailment of purchases below the level required to maintain an adequate flow of current materials and to fill gaps in the present collections.

Proposed Budget

	Hoover Library	Ford Foundation
China		
Curator	$4,500	
Processing	3,100	$ 600
Cataloging		6,900
Binding		2,000
General assistance	3,000	
Acquisitions	2,000	1,400
	12,600	10,900
Japan		
Curator (acting, on grant)		
Processing	3,500	
Cataloging		6,600
Binding		1,100
General assistance		2,800
Acquisitions	2,000	1,000
	5,500	11,500
Middle East		
Curator	2,500	
Processing		1,800
Cataloging		7,400
Binding		1,000
General assistance	1,260	1,540
Acquisitions	1,800	1,700
Field agents		1,500
	5,560	14,940
India and Pakistan		
Curator		4,500
Processing and Cataloging		3,700
Binding		1,000
General assistance	750	450
Acquisitions	1,200	1,800
	1,950	11,450
Southeast Asia		
Processing assistance		1,000
Acquisitions	900	
	900	1,000
Soviet Materials Pertaining to Asia and the Middle East		
Additional processing help		2,500
" cataloging help		3,000
Acquisitions		1,810
		7,310
General Circulation, Cataloging and Processing		
1 additional cataloger		3,700
1 additional processing assistant		3,400
Supplies		500
Supplementary circulation staff		10,300
		17,900
One year program	$26,510	$ 75,000
Three year program	$79,530	$225,000

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
Stanford, California

Office of the President

April 24, 1953

Dr. Carl B. Spaeth
The Ford Foundation
914 E. Green Street
Pasadena, California

Dear Carl:

I understand that consideration of the recent application of the Hoover Institute and Library for assistance to sustain its acquisitions in Asia and the Middle East and to process these materials has prompted requests for a clarification of the place which the Hoover occupies in the Stanford University community. As you know, committees appointed by me have been at work on this problem for almost a year. I am glad to report on the results of their activity.

The committee inquiry has led to substantial progress towards establishing close and cordial working relationships between the Hoover Institute and Library and the other parts of the University community. Most of the former misgivings about Hoover "separateness" has disappeared. It is being replaced by an atmosphere of mutual faith, confidence and constructive cooperation.

The change is not only in mood. Practicable arrangements have been worked out to draw the Hoover Institute and Library and the social science departments of the University closer together, and some of them are already being put into effect. A plan for joint faculty appointments has been evolved which will meet the requirements of the departments and, at the same time, strengthen the status of the present Hoover faculty in the academic community. The plan calls for informal consultation between the Director of the Hoover and the Chairman of the department concerned prior to any major appointment to the Hoover teaching and research staff. The appointees so selected will be given academic status in the departments of their respective disciplines. Their courses will be honored in the departments, whether given there or in the Hoover. Consideration is also to be given to the granting of academic status within appropriate departments to present members of the Hoover staff.

Actually, the practice of joint appointment has already been applied in a number of cases. Last year, for example, Dr. Daniel Lerner served simultaneously as Acting Professor of Sociology and Director of Special Research Projects in the Hoover Institute. To replace Dr. Nobutaka Ike, who will enter upon a two year Ford Foundation Fellowship this June, we are inviting from Japan a distinguished young philosopher who will become Lecturer in Philosophy and Acting Assistant Professor in the Hoover Institute and Library and Curator of the Japanese collection.

Similar arrangements have been worked out between the Department of Political Science and the Hoover. That Department recently took the initiative in suggesting that several members of the Hoover staff be given academic positions in Political Science. A few weeks ago there was a further step. The Department voted to offer Dr. Ithiel Pool an associate professorship with the understanding that his teaching would be divided between Political Science and the Hoover and that he would continue to direct special project research in the Hoover. Although no formal arrangements have yet been made between the Department of History and the Hoover, Dr. Ike is offering courses in that Department this year in lieu of Dr. Tom Smith, who is on leave in Japan.

Progress has also been made towards the formulation of a teaching program in the Hoover Institute that will find more complete acceptance in the social science departments while taking advantage of the special resources of the Hoover Library and the special talents and backgrounds of its faculty. The Hoover seminars on the Far East, the Middle East and Europe, as well as those on international organization, international communism, and communications and psychological warfare, have been carefully redesigned to complement rather than duplicate departmental offerings. Some have been revised and reclassified to accommodate upper division students as well as graduates in order to meet University needs more effectively. It is now probable that several of the Hoover seminars will be accepted in fulfillment of specific departmental requirements, whereas previously the Hoover offerings were credited only among the general university courses that could be taken over and above departmental requirements.

It is increasingly recognized that the teaching of the Hoover Institute, like the research done there, has an interdisciplinary quality. This circumstance is regarded as an advantage by many of the departments affected directly or indirectly.

As to research, much progress has been made in the direction of associating the faculties of the social science departments with Hoover projects, both when they are being planned and during their execution. Qualified graduate students from these departments will also be utilized in the research undertakings of the Hoover to give them training and experience in the techniques of interdisciplinary investigation.

Hoover-University cooperation is also well advanced in the area of Library relationships. Tensions that existed only a year ago have disappeared. Under a recent arrangement those secondary works and monographs in the English language that are most needed for University instruction are being transferred from the Hoover to the University Library, and in the future such materials will go directly to the University Library at the time of purchase. This means that those Hoover materials for which there is greatest demand will be housed in the University Library where they can more readily be integrated with other materials for the purpose of both

undergraduate and graduate study. Scholars using the Hoover Library will have the same access to these materials that is enjoyed by other University faculty members. This move, by relieving pressures upon the Hoover reference staff, will have the added advantage of enabling this staff to provide better service to scholars using the special research collections which are the unique resource of the Hoover Library. We are also completing plans to move to the Hoover Library the Chinese and Japanese materials now housed in the University in order to assure that they may be processed and handled more expeditiously and economically.

A further step towards close working relationships between the Hoover Institute and Library and the University as a whole will be the establishment in the near future of an advisory committee to work with the Director of the Hoover. The proposal now being evolved calls for a committee of eight or ten members, appointed as individuals rather than as departmental representatives, but so selected as to give expression to all interested disciplines. It is further planned that a portion of the membership of the advisory committee will be replaced each year in order to bring additional members of the faculty into association with the Hoover. The functions of the committee will be to work with the Director of the Hoover Institute and Library on (1) acquisitions policy, (2) major staff appointments, (3) research policy, (4) teaching policy, and (5) relations with the University Library. It is anticipated that the Director of the University Libraries and the Dean of the Graduate Division will be members ex-officio.

It seems to me that all of these steps give promise of integrating the Hoover resources into the general University program in a fruitful manner. They will, at the same time, greatly strengthen the Hoover Institute and Library by giving it a broader and more solid base in the University community. There is every evidence, incidentally, that the advances made towards better cooperation between the Hoover and the University Departments will affect favorably the working relationships among the departments themselves. The good will which has been generated will also assist in other directions. It is already providing an auspicious setting for a fresh approach to the development of an all-University program of Far Eastern studies.

I believe we are fast reaching at Stanford some workable solutions to the perennial problem of how to relate a special institute and library to general university teaching and research. I am confident that these solutions will compare favorably with those in any other American institution of higher learning and will, at the same time, preserve those special values for which the Hoover Institute and Library stands in the broader realm of national and international scholarship.

During the past few years the University contribution to the support of the Hoover Institute and Library has been substantially increased. In the coming fiscal year $100,000, or more than half the overall budget of the Hoover will be provided from general University funds. While every effort will be made within the next few months to develop an independent endowment for the Hoover, its importance to the University program, to

the world of scholarship, and to the national need is recognized. The University will see to it that the Hoover is able to continue to serve these needs. Let me remind you that we are eager to have the Ford Foundation assist us as generously as possible in serving these needs by strengthening the financial resources of the Hoover Library and the University.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) J. E. Wallace Sterling

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: FORDBORD

March 11, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Attached are several of the better reporting letters which we have received from Foreign Study Fellowship holders. We think they may be of some interest to you. If so, we shall be happy to select others to send along as they come in.

Sincerely yours,

John K. Weiss
Executive Secretary

Enclosure

Herbert L. Bodman
Beirut, Lebanon
January 13, 1953

Dear Mr. Weiss:

After our inauspicious voyage to Beirut my family and I experienced many more difficulties in getting settled here than we had antitipated, difficulties, however, which are ordinary for newly arrived American families rather than extraordinary. Much time was lost in procuring the release of our furniture from customs, finding an apartment, equipping it, getting our bearings, finding tutors for language instruction, and encountering sundry unexpected frustrations. On top of all this there was no government in Lebanon but rather a series of disorders for almost two weeks which rather compounded any problems at the time. As a result work on my project can hardly be said to have begun before the end of October....

Residence in Beirut even for four months has convinced me that the relationship between government and the people in the past bears most strongly on that present relationship. Government here is generally considered to be irresponsible, corrupt and incapable of any conduct beneficial to the people as a whole. The people have no concept that government, under the form established by their constitution, exists for their well-being and that they in turn are responsible for it. The negative concept existing today is, in my opinion, largely a legacy of the past. It finds its most active expression in the cities, where Ottoman misgovernment was most prevalent. The heritage of four centuries of Ottoman rule cannot but have affected the attitude of the present urban population.

Almost any period in any city of the Arab provinces yields evidence of this misgovernment, but this period at Aleppo show clearly the factors involved: contest for group power, the inability of the Ottoman government to control the situation, and the counteractions of the urban population to protect itself against the excesses of the government.

At the present time I am working on the political events in the period under consideration for my project. It has proved rather difficult to obtain a clear picture of the course of the differences, for they have not been written up as a whole. Certain European traveller s have written accounts of certain phases of the contest, but some of these accounts are at second hand at best. A source that I am hoping to consult are the merchant companies' records and those of the consulates at Aleppo. I have read several of the French consular records and have found them valuable. I will probably find it advisable at some point to go to France in order to work over these records thoroughly. The same applies to the records of the Levant Company and of the British

consulate in Aleppo. I am also at present reading the material on the period in a book by one of the leading Arab historians, which combines two objectives: the furtherance of the project and the improvement of my Arabic.

With regard to the latter I am taking instruction in Arabic five hours a week, split between the classical language and the colloquial. My progress in both of these is discouraging to me, but this is no new development. I am also being tutored three hours a week in Ottoman Turkish, a language that I believe will be of great use to me in the future. Actually, my teacher, a Persian of some 70 years of age, is not suited for teaching it although he knows it rather well. The difficulty is that he knows little grammar and can therefore not give me explanations as to sentence and word construction. On the other hand, he is the best that I have been able to find here, and it is not a language in which one can find instructors with ease. He keeps me at it, and I believe I am profiting from it, so although the situation is not of the best, I am satisfied with it.

In addition to actual work I believe I am profiting well by my sojourn here. What I study comes into better perspective and living among the Arabs, or should I say Lebanese, gives a much more real atmosphere than living in the States. As a matter of fact where to live here presents me with a dilemma: Beirut is a very cosmopolitan city, there is little of the Arab civilization in it, but there are more materials for research here than elsewhere. I would like to live in Aleppo, for this is a city which has changed less, in certain parts of it, than any other city in the Middle East. In addition I know it well and like it. But even though my project concerns Aleppo, the materials for study are not there, but scattered about the Middle East and Europe. I chose Beirut because at the library of the American University and at that of the Universite de St. Joseph are more documents than are to be found in any one place. My partial solution to this is the taking of trips when feasible, since I look upon my stay here as having essentially three objectives; the accomplishment of the project, improvement in the languages of the area, and general acquaintance with the current situation in the Middle East. So far I have taken two trips, one for a rather unique two-week camping trip in the interior of Turkey, which was most valuable, and another to Aleppo to renew acquaintances and seek information applicable to my project. I expect to go in the near future to Egypt to meet there Professor Massignon, whom I consider the leading authority in the field in which I am working. I hope to be able to discuss my project with him and obtain the information he has accumulated on the guilds. The latter would be of great value to me.

I wish to thank the Board through you for the two checks I have received for the first and second quarters. They have been most appreciated and I find that here in Beirut they can go quite a long way. . . .

Very truly yours,
(signed) Herbert L. Bodman

Nicholas Helburn
Ankara, Turkey
January 25, 1953

Dear Mr. Weiss:

The enclosed letter started out as a personal letter to Dorothy Soderlund but before it finished it contained enough important stuff that I am sending it along as a partial progress report. I am thinking especially of the descriptions of my statistical project and part of the public health problems.....

At this stage I feel better about the study than I did the first month or two. For one thing I know that I can get along in the villages without an interpreter. I will probably not be able to get all the information I want but I can get some of it already. My hesitancy to use an interpreter is partly that I want to learn the language, partly that they are a nuisance in the field as their welfare as well as one's own must be kept in mind, and partly that there are few urban Turks who can talk to villagers without talking down to them. We have been "reliably informed" that villagers will talk considerable more freely with foreigners than they will to urban Turks.

The second thing which makes me feel I am getting somewhere is the statistical project. The training of the two young professionals and the example of cooperation between agencies is already evident as a contribution. The maps, charts and tables will, I hope, set a good example as well as being useful. I know they will be useful to me, which of course is the principal reason why I started the project. With these data I will have a much better perspective on what I see in the field.

A third factor is that my picture of the interrelationships within the rural economy of central Anatolia is gradually filling in. It is hard to express this but here is an example of the kind of pieces which go together to complete the puzzle. Waterbuffalo in a dry climate would seem to be a contradiction but they have a very definite place. Though they are slower than cattle in field work and are harder to raise, they are stronger and therefore more valuable in heavy soils. But more important perhaps is the fact that they give a milk richer in butterfat and that they produce more milk in the winter when the cattle tend to be dry. Still another advantage is the fact that they have different feeding habits and eat in marshy places where the cattle and horses do not do so well. Even in the semi-arid climate there are a surprising number of such marshy places.

We are really very comfortable here in the modern city of Ankara.

We have two rooms on the 4th floor of a rather new Apartment building in the heart of the new part of the city. We are only three blocks from the American Embassy (East) and four blocks from the gas works (West). The Apartments make the city look a little like Tel Aviv but the smoke is more reminiscent of Birmingham. (Midlands or Ala., take your pick.) A kerosene stove keeps us plenty warm, a three burner hot plate cooks our meals, and a German-made "flash heater" heats water for the bath, if you wait long enough. But this part of the city is all paved, is well supplied with Bus and taxi service and in fact symbolizes the terrific achievement which the Turkish Republic has made in 30 years.

Even so there are some wonderful mixtures. All the taxis, almost, are post-war American models. These along with German diesel buses and a liberal sprinkling of diplomatic and government Buicks and a few Cadillacs with Texas number plates and driven by U.S. Air Force officers give a very modern aspect to the transportation. But drinking water is delivered by horse wagon. Vendors carrying trays of rolls on their heads of jugs of yoghurt hung from a shoulder pole hawk their wares on every street. Milk is usually sold from jugs carried in saddlebags by tiny patient donkeys. No overt conflict between the donkeys and the Buicks is apparent.

The last ten days I have been working on a project, somewhat tangential to the main purpose of my trip. Soon after my arrival I started looking for bulletins or articles which would tell me what were the trends and distributions of Turkish population, agriculture and pastoral industries. There were none. I should not have been surprised (but I was) to find that there were absolutely no statistics before 1927. I found very few people interested in the rural areas, much less in how one rural area differed from another.

Then I stumbled across some new publications of the Central Statistical Agency. They were not what I was looking for, but they did contain the raw data from which the information, rather some of the information, could be derived. In a few hours, I had drawn a rough map of the change in numbers of sheep, province by province, from 1938 to 1951. I began showing it around and people responded with amazing interest. Soon I had been loaned an interpreter by the American Agricultural Advisory group, an economist by the Ministry of Agriculture, and a statistician by the Central Statistical Agency. We set up shop in the Agency itself. The four of us have been working together for a week. In another week we should have ready for the multigraph a brief Graphic Summary of the Highlights of Turkish Agriculture. It will contain maps, charts and tables on Farm population, arable land, kinds of livestock, grazing pressure on the land, and the most important crops. This will be the

first time such material has been presented in a readily available form. Meanwhile we will have given considerable training to two young professionals in the techniques of statistical presentation which are so common the U.S. The Ford Foundation would not want to underwrite a couple of thousand copies, would it ? Actually I hope we will be able to work out some cooperative effort at publishing just as we have in the working up of the statistics. That in itself is something valuable where generally every government agency plays its cards pretty close to its chest and a minor transaction must be approved by everyone from the janitor to the department chief.

The statistics have kept me closer to Ankara than I need otherwise have been. However last weekend I took off on my own. Tess and Steve has an engagement so I was all by myself. Toward evening I took a shortcut that was supposed to be closed but turned out to be open. Mine was the first motor vehicle over that road in several months. At dark I stopped at a characteristic village. You come up on them suddenly here for they are made of mud bricks and the roofs are flat: timbers covered with flat stone in turn covered with soil. The houses are low and often the site seems to be specifically chosen for its inconspicuousness. On quiet evenings and mornings, however, you can often see the smoke before you see the village. Manure makes a very dense white smoke which can also be identified by its characteristic odor.

The usual crowd gathered quickly. I made it clear that I did not want to drive further that evening and I was invited into the newest and largest house in the village, and shown to the place of honor in the oda. (Wealthy village homes have two rooms and a stable. One is the Ev which is the domain of the women and in which all the menial chores of housework are done. The other is the oda which indicates the wealth of the household by the benches around the walls, the size, whether there is a floor. It is the domain of the men and in it gather men from many households in the evening and often in the daytime during the winter.) I took my dictionaries in with me and I think they made as much of an impression as anything: "Just think of it, being able to learn by reading in a mere book!" I can't give you much detail or this will be more of a book than it is. A crowd of 50 came in gradually after I was shown in. Each person, naturally took a place on the benches or standing in the middle of the floor according to a rank to which age, intelligence and devoutness entitled him. Even the host respected this custom through only two men present outranked him.

The benches are upholstered with straw ticks covered by rugs. It is customary to take off one's rubbers (worn without shoes directly over the socks if there are any) and sit cross legged on the bench. Here I spent the whole evening answering questions about myself, my clothes, my work, America and the comparison of Turkey with America.

After a while I began to ask questions too. How old was the village? how many families? how much land? what did they raise, did any of the men go to the city to work part of the year? About 8:30 the younger brother of the household came in with a pitcher of water (cold), an enormous basin, a towel and soap. Several of us washed. Then a low round table was set up and supper was brought in. There was Bulgur pilav (tastes like rice but is made from wheat), bread fried in butter, bread soaked in yoghurt, bread, yoghurt, iran (a drink made of yoghurt mixed with water), pekmez (grapejuice boiled down to a syrup so that it has the consistency of maple syrup and about the same intensity of sweetness, but a much higher intensity of flavor.) A spoon is used but no plates. The bread which is an extremely thin pliable unlevened sheet, is used in the hands to help oneself to the firmer dishes while the iran, yoghurt etc. are eaten one spoonful at a time from the common dish. Cups (demitasse) are used only for coffee and glasses only for tea, though there usually is one large glass in the oda in which water is brought to anyone who wishes.

There is, of course a terrific health problem involved. Coughing runs a close second to talking as a contributer of noise in the crowded oda. 99% of the children have runny noses only occasionally wiped on the sleeve or on the bottom of mother's skirt. I have little idea what the disease and death rates are but those who survive seem to be sturdy and stocky. I never thought of myself as being tall (5'8") but I stand well above most of the adults here. Steve who has just turned 6 is the height of an average 9 or 10 year old in the villages. Our thoughts naturally look for a solution to the immediate as well as the long run problems. One application of aeriomeycin (sp?) salve in the baby's infected eyes doesn't do much. Soap and hot water and education and adequate ventilation could do a lot. But soap is expensive to buy and there is little if any extra fat in the village economy with which to make it. Hot water and ventilation require fuel and all there is in much of the country is manure and it is too scarce to use for these frivolous purposes. Further it is desparately needed on the fields. Education won't go far without these things. Thanks unto Allah that the diet is as good as it is with whole wheat and dairy products. (Buffalo milk is reported to make especially good yoghurt). I talked to two Nurses teaching public health under a U.N. program here but they had not visited the villages nor had they studied the conditions.

I am sure there are some long range solutions and that some people are thinking about them but little is being done. Meanwhile the big cities become more western and modern at an increasing rate and the rural-urban gap widens.

This started out to be a humorous letter, and as usual I got serious too soon..... Please share my warmest regards with Marion Coughlin.

Sincerely,
(signed) Nick Helburn

Daniel D. Karasik
Tokyo, Japan
January 19, 1953

Dear Mr. Weiss:

The initial phase of my work in Japan is near completion. Therefore, I thought that this would be a good time to give you and the members of the Board a brief account of my activities to date.

These first two and a half months in Japan have been a period of orientation and preparation. From this point forward my work will take on a somewhat different character, tending more and more toward active investigation.

After receiving your letter notifying me of the grant, I resigned from my position at the Chicago Daily News, effective August 23, 1952. I had tried to arrange a leave of absence, but the management was reluctant to grant a leave as long as 18 months. We parted on good terms.

During the first week in September I went to New York, New Haven, and Boston. The purpose of the trip was to confer with Dr. Chitoshi Yanaga of Yale, Dr. E. O. Reischauer of Harvard and you. Dr. Yanaga and Dr. Reischauer helped me draw up a basic reading list and gave me various pointers about my project. I also utilized the trip to select and purchase a number of books at Orientalia, Inc., in New York.

I had hoped to meet with Sir George Sansom of Columbia and his colleague Dr. Hugh Borton. However, Sir George had not yet returned from England and my talk with Dr. Borton was limited to a short but helpful phone conversation. All in all, the trip East proved to be extremely worthwhile.

We were to sail to Yokohama on October 16 aboard the S.S. President Cleveland. Before sailing we were kept busy dismantling our household, packing and storing, getting physical checkups and shots, visiting the dentist, obtaining passports and visas and purchasing the many things we would need for our stay in the Far East.

The Cleveland departed on schedule, touched at Honolulu and arrived at Yokohama October 30. Aboard ship I did some background reading and review of Japanese. Fortunately, I met three Japanese doctors returning from fellowships in the States. With them, and particularly with Dr. Toru Miyaji - a cancer specialist of Osaka University Medical School - I had many long talks in Japanese and in English. We also met several others in business or official circles in Japan who may be helpful in my work. Linford D. Riley, another Ford Fellow, was also aboard.

HOUSING was our first problem. We found that housing in the Tokyo area was very tight and rents were aimed at the maximum rental allowances granted to the U.S. armed services and U.S. employees. Hotel rates also were very high for the accommodations available and good hotels were jammed. After two moves we obtained a room in the Imperial Hotel where we were allowed to stay until we moved into our present quarters. The Imperial was cheaper than the rather shoddy place in which we had been staying.

Through a chance meeting of a college acquaintance, my wife located our permanent living quarters. Since December 10 we have been in Nerima Ward on the northwest outskirts of Tokyo. Although technically part of the city, it is considered "the country" by city-dwellers, even though it is only about ten miles from the center of Tokyo. Nerima Ward has about 200,000 people. Fewer than 50 are American-European foreign residents. We rarely see "foreigners" in our area.

We are living under conditions similar to those in a rural market center. Our water comes from a deep well with an electric pump. Because of the electric pump we are deprived of water as well as electricity on the two "power holidays" during each week. During the recent power strikes the water situation was particularly inconvenient.

Our phone is connected to the city phones through an antiquated long-distance switchboard. The phone itself is the old crank type. This makes rapid communication difficult and exasperating, especially in times of emergency (like when I recently rushed my wife to a hospital because of a severe flu attack). The other day it took an hour and a half to place a call to a Tokyo office. After I finally reached my party, I could hardly hear the man talk.

Near us is the Nerima center which in reality is a small village. The village has market days on the first, eleventh and twenty-first of each month. On these days street stalls are set up by itinerant merchants who sell many items not available in the local stores. The streets are crowded with shoppers until about an hour before midnight when the stall-keepers dismantle their stalls and disperse.

The people in our section seem to dress somewhat more poorly than residents of most other sections of Tokyo. Many of the people farm in fields that surround the village center. Most of the Japanese trades and crafts are represented along the main streets.

The house which we share with a Japanese family is about half a mile from the paved road. Our immediate area is known as the Jonan Judaku, which means the dwelling place south of the castle. Some five hundred years ago there was a castle on a large estate to the north of us.

The Jonan Judaku is a group of about 50 lots that cover an area of 20,000 tsubo. (A tsubo is about 36 sq. ft.) The development was built on land rented from 15 farm families after the 1923 earthquake and is run as a neighborhood association. We contribute toward pay for

a watch service and the occasional electric bulb that lights the narrow dirt roads. The area is distinguished by high evergreen hedges that surround each lot.

Our quarters were semi-furnished. We pay ¥ 36,000 ($100) per month rent plus the utilities for the whole house. Although this sounds high, we have not found anything as cheap that we could consider. In Chicago, comparable quarters might rent for about $50. However, since our place does not have central heat, regular hot water or a Western bath, comparisons are difficult.

LANGUAGE STUDY has taken up most of my time until now. I have been reviewing the basic part of the course I studied in the Navy Language School during the war. I have now gone through about the first three months of the course (using the Naganuma Readers). In addition to this I hired a tutor for four hours per week my first five weeks in Japan. The tutor was an instructor of graduates of the Army Language School at Monterey, Calif. He helped me brush up my conversation and gave me reading and homework from the Army's post graduate course.

I have also been working with a Japanese newspaperman on the staff of the Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Japan's Wall Street Journal). We spend several hours a week translating Japanese newspapers to English and English papers to Japanese. In this way I am building a working vocabulary of terms in current use. Of course, I also use my language a great deal in every-day living --talking to shopkeepers, reading signs, talking with friends, hearing the radio, etc.

I find that my spoken Japanese is coming back to me rapidly. My accent seems to be correct and the Japanese are often surprised by my degree of fluency. I can get along very well in most conversations, but I have difficulty in understanding speeches and rapid-fire news commentaries. I use my tape recorder to record news broadcasts. I then replay them, looking up words I do not know, until I have mastered them. I think this method is very helpful in developing a good ear for the language. I can read simple matter and can get the sense of newspaper and magazine articles. However, word for word translation is still very slow, and I must use a dictionary often.

CLIPPINGS have been one of my best sources of information in building a background on current affairs. I am keeping a clipping file on the following 36 subjects:

Big Business, especially government aid to
Business and Finance (domestic)
Cabinet (a catch-all for all cabinet officers)
Color and Culture (current literary favorites, unusual practices, etc.)
Communists and Communism (domestic)
Cost of Living and Prices
Democracy

Education
Emperor System
Exports
Freedom (infringements on human rights, police, press, etc.)
Hatoyama, Ichiro (leader of the dissidents in the Liberal Party)
Imports
Kaji, Wataru (important current spy case involving alleged illegal detention by the U.S. C.I.A.)
Korea-Japan Relations
Labor
Liberal Party
Militarism
Miscellaneous (a catch-all for developing topics)
Nationalism
Population Problems
Progressive Party
Rearmament
Red China-Japan Relations
Reparations
Resources
Small Business, especially government aid to
Social Problems
Socialist Parties
S.E. Asia-Japan Relations
Soviet Russia-Japan Relations
Trade (general)
Trade with Red China
United Nations-Japan Relations (Japan's bid for admission, etc.)
United States-Japan Relations
Yoshida Government

Certain of the topics (such as the Kaji case) will become dormant. Others will expand and necessitate new classifications. I am keeping clippings from English language papers. I am not able to read the Japanese papers rapidly enough to make clippings practicable. However, the English language papers use translations from Kyodo News Agency, the Asahi and other journals when articles of particular interest appear. Also the Nippon Times runs daily digests of the editorials in all the leading Tokyo papers. I also subscribe to three professional journals.

The clip file has turned out to be an unusually useful tool in my work. Already I find definite trends developing in "freedom", "rearmament", "trade with Red China", "militarism" etc.

READING basic works on Japan and the Far East has also helped me in understanding current developments. Most of the events of today are linked directly or indirectly to the Meiji Restoration. Consequently most of my reading deals with Meiji(1868-1912) and later eras. Because I have concentrated on other things my first few months, I have not done a great

deal of reading. I have read:

A Short Economic History of Japan, 1867-1937 by George C. Allen
A Geography of Japan, by Glenn T. Trewartha
Japan in World History by G. B. Sansom
The Western World and Japan by G.B. Sansom

And I am now reading Japan Since Perry by Chitoshi Yanaga. I had quite an extensive background on Japan and the Far East before I began the fellowship, so I have placed other work ahead of background reading for the present.

ACTIVITIES, such as addressing student groups at Tokyo University and making myself available to other students, have proved to be very informative. Each Wednesday night a group of ten or twelve students of the Tokyo University English Speaking Society come to our house to discuss current problems in English. This will help keep me abreast of thought at the universities. For example: Next week's topic is "Must Japan trade with Communist China? If so, how will she solve the political problems involved if she undertakes such a trade?"

Through the student groups I am making contacts at Tokyo University where I intend to register as a student in the near future. I had hoped that I would know my student status by the time I submitted this report. Even though I have delayed the report several weeks, I have not yet been able to get a definite commitment from the university authorities. However, all indications are that I will be working with Prof. Genhachiro Konno of the economics department. I met Prof. Konno through students in the English Speaking Society. He has offered me a desk in his office and help in carrying forward my studies. Through his intervention I hope to be registered as a regular student.

Prof. Yujiro Chiba, head of the Newspaper Research Institute of Tokyo University and former chief editorial writer of the Asahi, also told me I was free to use any of the facilities of his institute and to work in his office.

Prof. Konno told me that Tokyo University turns away 90% of its applicants each year. Some students wait several years to be admitted. Consequently, university authorities move very cautiously before admitting a foreign student as a special case, because they are afraid of arousing adverse comments. The university is supported by the federal government, and politics seems to play a heavy hand in the university administration.

Mr. Sadayoshi Tanabe, director of the Tokyo Municipal Research Institute, has also put the facilities of his institute and its library at my disposal. He has also been very kind in inviting me to Japanese ceremonies, helping me get settled, and helping me in my studies. I contacted Mr. Tanabe through Prof. Yanaga of Yale. Tanabe's son Tatsuro is the liaison man for the University of Michigan Japanese studies program

here, and has also been very helpful to me.

I have attended a number of student debates and round table discussions. We went regularly to the American Culture Center round tables until the center was closed at the end of the year. (My wife was a volunteer English teacher at the center, also.) We have made a point of visiting museums, trade fairs, and exhibits of Japanese culture as often as possible.

I am spending some time getting acquainted with the people in our village. I already have a nodding acquaintance with many. Later I hope to know the villagers well enough so that they will talk to me freely about details of their business, their politics and their beliefs.

I have contacted three of the men that I knew well when I was in Japan in 1945-1946. There are former Vice-Admiral Fumio Schimizu, once chief of naval ordnance; former navy Captain Hideya Morikawa, Shimizu's staff chief and a career officer who served in various embassies and at the London Naval Conference; and former Lt. Hiroshi Seki, Shimizu's aide and liaison officer. Through these men I hope to be able to keep track of many of the former military. Also, Shimizu is now an arms adviser to Japan Steel and serves on two national planning boards (arms and economics) beside representing former ordnance officers in their drive for pensions. Shimizu has offered to introduce me into some big business circles when the time comes for that part of my work.

Our landlord, Mr. Michio Kinoshita, is a very unusual man. He was an imperial chamberlain some thirty years ago. He was also deputy chief chamberlain for about six months after the war. He is now head of the Outer Grounds of the Palace Protective Association. Despite his close ties with the imperial family and traditional Japan, he is a Catholic, a liberal (having sent his children to Jiyu Gakuen -- a very progressive institution called "School of Freedom" -- and opposed the war) and a supporter of Westernization. He has many contacts in all walks of life. He is now preoccupied with the problem of peace and has offered his services to me in order to further my work.

I have contacted many other men in journalism, industry and government. They know of my purpose in Japan and have indicated that they will help me in any way they can. As my work progresses these men will be able to answer many of my questions and arrange interviews with people that I will want to meet. I also intend to contact more of the people I knew in 1945-1946.

I spend a few hours each week detailing my activities and observations in a journal. (I am also having my wife keep a journal of her impressions.)

It has been a little early to carry out the interviews and some of the more detailed research projects that I will undertake. However, circumstances threw one good interview my way, so I did not pass it up. I recently went

to Numazu (about 100 miles from Tokyo) to talk with Mr. Seiichi Tanaka, a leading industrialist and author of the Tanaka Plan for the Rehabilitation of Japan.....

I was happy to find quite a few of my former associates from the Navy language program in various capacities here in Tokyo. Some of them have been here for several years and their advice is very useful. Also, through Mr. Robert Martin (CBS) and Mr. Ernie Hill (Chicago Daily News Foreign Service) I have met many of the men in the foreign press community here and enjoy "ping-ponging" ideas about developments with them.

* * * *

It would be rather presumptuous of me to give a detailed analysis of the situation in Japan after so brief a time to observe. However, some things are so obvious that I feel I must comment on them.

Japan is erasing the signs of democracy in the same zealous way she is painting out the signposts left by the Allied occupation. Day by day Japan is going back to the "Imperial Way," back to the Dai Nippon of old, back to the authoritarian, feudalistic and monopolistic practices that characterized her society in the past.

The Japanese look upon the occupation reforms as changes that were imposed by coercion. Now that the occupation is over, Japan feels no moral obligation to abide by these reforms. Rather, she is examining all the occupation reforms and discarding those that do not "fit into the Japanese way of life."

This brazen de-democratization process is being carried out under the noses of United States authorities. The United States has hardly protested this reversal of seven years of effort for fear of alienating a stong ally in the Far East.

Here are a few of the signposts on the road back to the "Imperial Way":

--More and more local autonomous police organizations are joining the National Rural Police because "local funds are not sufficient to support the police." A new centralized police force is practically a reality.

--The police have reinstituted the Foreign Affairs Section in each prefecture. This was the notorious "Tokko-ka" or the thought control section.

--The scattered zaibatsu firms are rapidly recombining and changing their names back to the original pre-war names.

--Under the guise of friendship organizations or village societies, half of the communities in the nation now have groups that correspond to the former "tonari gumi" or neighborhood organizations. These were used to maintain constant vigilance over the populace to see that everyone "conformed".

--The government is pushing through a program to establish an information agency headed by a former propaganda minister of a wartime cabinet. In spite of the government's protestations of innocence of intent, newspapers here are fighting a hard, but losing, battle against this agency which they see as a first step in controlling sources of news.

--The principles of local government autonomy are being thrown out the window. The government is moving toward discontinuing the election of prefectural governors and making them appointees of the central government. Other moves are being made to revive the Home Ministry, center of feudalistic control.

The director-general of Japan's National Safety Force, her new army, has said that he believes the army should be run on the principles of Emperor Meijii's Rescript on Education in 1890. This avers that the Imperial Throne is "coeval with heaven and earth" and was the foundation for Japan's emperor-worship system fostered by the former militarists.

--War criminal regulations are being revised to make pardons easy to grant. War criminals are taken to ball games, allowed weeks of leave. The government is asking for amnesty of war criminals who epitomized the Japan that raped Nanking and raided Pearl Harbor.

--Government officers have proposed the revival of "ethical training" in school. The Education Ministry wants the power to appoint college professors and non-academic advisory councils for colleges. Teachers are using Saturdays and Sundays to take students on outings to Shinto shrines and shrines of national military heroes.

--Although the Subversive Activities Prevention Act does not look so bad on paper, it leaves a great deal of authority to police officials outside the public courts. Many say it is the first step toward another Peace Preservation Act.

--Movies are being made about the lives of General Tomoyuki Yamashita, executed war criminal, and Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto. The flagship of Admiral Heihachiro Togo, victor at Tsushima Straits, is being restored to its original shape. (The ship was dismantled by SCAP order.) Military songs banned by SCAP are being played on the radio. Former professional officers are eligible to hold high posts in the armed services.

These are samples of steps backward that the Japanese government has taken in the few short months I have been in Tokyo. More serious measures

are probably being carried out with more stealth.

The burden of paternalism weighs heavily on the Japanese people. I can not help but feel that many are waiting for some deus ex machina, in the form of U.S. aid, to solve their problems. This feeling prevails in spite of a resentment toward any U.S. meddling in Japanese affairs.

There still seems to be a tendency among Japanese students to seek a patent and tested solution for each problem. The student assimilates democratic forms without understanding their essence.

The changing fabric of Japanese society is plagued by a persistent dualism that confuses and frustrates. The tug of war between tradition and economic necessity seems as strong today as it must have been in the Meiji Restoration.

These are my thoughts as I complete the initial phase of my work. All good wishes and regards to the members of the Board from myself and my wife.

Very sincerely,

(signed)Daniel D. Karasik

Hattie M. Kawahara
Tokyo, Japan
January 6, 1953

Dear Mr. Weiss:

The part three months have been a real education in many respects, and I am certainly grateful to the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research for making it possible for me to have this opportunity. There are so many aspects of Japanese culture that I had known about intellectually, but to experience them enhances one's understanding even more.

My research project on the legislative process is coming along. Since early October, I have had access to the Tokyo University and Diet libraries, but it took six weeks of negotiating to secure permission to roam freely through the Diet in order to attend plenary sessions, committee meetings, and party caucuses. Unlike our Congress, no one without proper authorization, which means some kind of badge, is permitted free access to the Diet. I now have an official's badge, and during the first part of the fifteenth session of the Diet, which lasted until the almost the year's end, I spent most of my time in the Diet building itself observing proceedings, talking to Diet personnel, and assessing Diet procedures. You may be interested to know that I am the first foreigner, aside from newspaper people, to have been given a badge for research purposes. I have met and talked to many Japanese political scientists, among whom Professors Nobushige Ukai and Tomoo Odaka (one of five Japanese delegates to the last UNESCO meetings in Paris) have been most helpful. A very valuable source for contacts among political scientists was the Japanese Political Science Association convention held near Osaka the first week in November, which I attended -- the only foreigner and the only woman among a group of approximately one hundred and fifty professors from all over Japan.

Aside from academic people, I have seen Americans, who were formerly with SCAP but are still in Tokyo, and who were influential in guiding legislative reform; bureaucrats, particularly in the Foreign Office, the Education Ministry, and the Labor Ministry; and leaders of various interest groups, especially in the field of labor, who are closely allied with political parties and their policies. The trade unionists whom I met in Detroit include two leaders in two of Japan's largest and most powerful union organizations, and since one of them hopes to run in the elections next spring for the House of Councillors, I am hoping to observe his campaign from the "inside".

Although I have talked to many Japanese, it has frequently taken much time to arrange these meetings, partly because Japan is still very much a status society and because contacts are made on a personal basis.

The only interview which I managed without a proper introduction was with Mrs. Ichiro Hatoyama and a Hatoyama faction follower at the Hatoyama residence in Bunkyo-ku. Not only does the matter of being introduced to persons one wants to see require time, but library facilities are also less organized than those at home so that one often must wait several days for a book or a periodical. And the minutae of the details of living require more time than in the states.

Nonetheless, I now feel that I have a broad basis for my study, and in the next month or so through a series of interviews with legislators, specialists attached to Diet committees, and members of the Diet Secretariat, I hope to complete the Diet phase of my work. Much remains to be done, however, with regard to the role of the bureaucracy, interest groups, and political parties. To do an adequate job on the role of interest or pressure groups may require considerable travelling in rural Japan, for petitions from such areas appear to dominate the list of private legislation. I am sure that it will not be possible to do justice to my research topic in one year, and I am wondering at what time applications for extension of grants must be made.

It may seem needless to mention that aside from the work on the research project, I have learned a great deal about the Japanese people. Daily contact with them provides data for understanding political and social behavior. One of the most striking phenomena is the apparent lack of a sense of social or public responsibility, revealing the tenacity of the family system, despite its reputed breakdown in recent years. Moreover, daily encounters with the guards in the Diet building impress me more than anything else with the low status of women in Japan. One also hears anti-American sentiments. Many Japanese criticize American propaganda efforts and policies toward Asia as "naive", being based primarily on opposition to the Soviet Union. For example, they are not at all impressed with our literature on slave labor camps in the Soviet Union and wonder why American classics such as the essays of Thomas Jefferson are not made available in cheap editions to compete with Soviet propaganda materials in the bookstores of Kanda. And on the other hand, one hears everywhere, especially among the young, a desire to go to the United States.

This is indeed a most interesting year for me in Japan.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Hattie M. Kawahara

Linford D. Riley
Bangkok, Thailand
December 31, 1952

Dear Mr. Weiss:

This is the first in an ad hoc series of reports to you. It does not seem wise to guarantee regularity at this early date. What I prefer to do is tell you from time to time of my studies, experiences and research in which you have so substantial an investment. I trust that an informal manner will not be ill-received for it is a safe and easy technique to avoid the pomposity of the academician, the generalizations of the journalist and the gobbledegook of the bureaucrat. Further, and more importantly, I hope that what I have to say will make sense (if the term is not in disrepute following the election).

First a word about my trip over here. A loan from my family enabled me to make the passage from San Francisco to Manila on the SS President Cleveland, and in the company of Mr. (and Mrs.) Daniel Karasik, a brother FFF.[1] Now it is easy for me to be the sophisticated scholar in the seminar and the learned lecturer in the Lyceum, but it should be strictly understood that my background is a small hick town in Nevada: Pizen Switch. Brother Dan'l came from a similar lower-middle class home. We really never had an opportunity to live as we did on board ship: downright sinful squalid decadent luxury. It was wonderful. No doubt our provincialism heightened our appreciation; you in BOTR who have travelled on luxury liners might contrast the life there with three years of squeezing by on $100 or less per month while a graduate student in expensive Westwood Village, Los Angeles. It was a whole new way of life. Fortunately we were equal to the occasion and relaxed to enjoy it. Now having passed graciously though hurriedly beyond the nouveau riche class, let me hasten to assure you I am carefully watching my funds. This is not easy to do for there is only one living standard for Americans here.

Enroute I found fine stimulating company, people with a wealth of experience in the Far East and Southeast Asia, and who have been most willing to arrange introductions to others I wished to meet. I spent ten days in Manila, visiting people with UNESCO, MSA and the American Embassy. They arranged trips in and around the city, and we suffered through the election. I spent a profitable afternoon in conversation with the Vietnamese minister to the Philippines, picked up my first bug, wilted under my first tropic sun (it is so damnably omnipresent), sampled balut (sp? - a ready-to-hatch duck egg baked in the ground for 3 weeks) and Lapu Lapu (or was it Lupa Lupa? a Philippine fish). Through an empirical process learned to load my camera and began remembering to turn the film after each exposure (no wonder I had 32 exposures on the first roll). Examined the 9 foot python killed on the U.S. Embassy grounds, met and talked with Magsaysay, the Minister of Defense, for an hour, and attended one afternoon session of a Muslim Conference. At the latter meet, a Pakistani lesser official invited me to visit him in Karachi if I returned to the States that way. Every evening I wandered about a bit, although Manila is the most security-conscious city I've ever experienced. Spent this time talking to Filipinos about government and corruption, and left with the feeling most of them feel

1 Ford Foundation Fellow. Some folks have added a 4th F, for Fabulous. It has not yet gained currency, mostly because it is inserted as the third word. I have resisted this as much as possible.

these two things are the same thing. Manila is a sad city. The lack of personal security was felt everywhere I went. Each of ten apartment compounds I visited had an armed watchman on duty night and day. There is little wandering about the streets at night, especially for Americans (I did mine in the early twilight). The harbor, a hive of enterprise, has its potentialities limited by uncompleted docks. It is littered with derelicts, mute memories of the war, awaiting salvage by that company which offers the most profitable split with the appropriate government officials. A cop recognized a prominent attorney giving me a Cook's tour and deliberately interrupted traffic while we sped through: Christmas was coming. In the week preceding Christmas he has forty to sixty minor officials visiting him in a type of blackmail -- a havy gift or his subpoenas are ignored and court processes are impeded. War-blackened cathedrals and other buildings stand here and there, with three-sided shacks of cardboard, thatch and galvanized metal affixed to their tumbling walls. Undressed and distressed squatters inhabit thousands upon thousands of shacks. They are war refugees, folk from the country seeking money and glitter in the city, and others without hope and beyond the enterprise to do other than sit and wait. Even if one is able to ignore the misery of humanity living there, it is yet a tremendous fire hazard and sanitation problem. One of the big problems is to get these people out of Manila. This waits on an effective land reform program. The MSA officials I talked with could only think of land reform, but I left before their recent Green Book, a blast at Quirino & Co.'s do-nothing, was released.

A consular official I talked with said he thought Manila was the best argument he had ever seen for a colonial regime. I could only think, "Yes, or the complete opposite." I departed very depressed and discouraged.

Via Philippine Air Lines to Hong Kong,[2] discovering enroute that nearly all airlines including PanAm's, baggage scales weigh 8 to 12 pounds heavy. I spent an interesting week in Hong Kong: meeting people in the American Consulate, colonial officials, visiting a personal friend (ex-TIME correspondent) and wife, shopping, and toying with the political symbolism of the geological basis of Hong Kong Island (pink sandstone). We drove over to the New Territories and had the Commies' eyes staring and their artillery pointing at us. Talk about the Inscrutable Oriental -- the thing that stopped me was the Imperturbable Briton. Hong Kong is a-building in everything: sewers, power lines, roads, office buildings, telephone cables, apartments.

> "But you cahn't just stop, y'know...and besides, m'deah fellow, Hong Kong is worth more to the Commies than it is to us." [3]

Via BOAC to Bangkok on November 22nd. With the exception of a week in Vientiane, administrative capital of Laos, and another week in a province on the

2 I had originally intended to make this part of the voyage by SS Old Klunk; however, in order to get a Philippine visa I had to have my transportation beyond Manila. The only solution in SanFran was PAL; had to stop in Manila to get my Indochina visas forwarded there by the French Consulate in Los Angeles.

3 Any Englishman in Hong Kong, or any other place.

Cambodian border, I have been here ever since. This has been a most profitable visit. I have made the acquaintance of all three ministers from the three Indochinese states, and have talked with them about their community of interest. There is nothing they will not talk about. It is amazing how much can be communicated in Laotian French-and-Bangkok English on the one hand, and American English-and-Universities of California and Nevada French on the other hand. Their information officers have supplied me well with information, publications, and letters of introduction to people with whom they insist I should live in various cities: Pnom Penh, Vientiane, Luang Prabang, Siem Reap, Saigon, Dalat.

I might note here that it is extremely difficult to come by anything through official channels. One day I had 4 appointments planned with Thai, Cambodian and American officials. I was unable to meet any of them, for absence in the original led to delay with the second, now also absent, etc., the confused becoming compounded. The Thai equivalent of the Latins' "manana" is "mai phin rai," and it is pervasive; Occidentals here generally employ the "It's the Tropics." And indeed it is. But to the Time-conscious (and this is not Luce talk) American, it is most exasperating. My greatest contacts with Thai officialdom have been with Immigration and Foreign Affairs. Both of these, broadly speaking, do nothing. The fact did not register with me for some time, and took more time to swallow and absorb, but it stares in the eyes of the Division Chief himself, the visiting public, everybody. It is easy to convey an impression of a Division's inactivity in its workings.

Suetonius, in his Life of the Caesars, refers to Capri as Apragopolis, the city, or the community, of the Do-Nothings. That's all. No elaboration. The idleness of the Capriotes must have been quite crude, dull, uninspiring. In contrast, the idleness within which I operate is highly developed and richly nuanced. There are many elaborate ways in which divisions do nothing. The staff is either actively or passively idle. The active idlers fall into five different groups:

1. Communicative: They write letters.
2. Sophisticated: They read books (on subjects other than that of their work).
3. Pessimists: They read the daily papers.
4. Optimists: They memorize the dictionary
5. Nondescript: They only stand (or sit) and wait.[4]

The passively idle, I regret to say are less imaginative; they just sleep. In short, less the Ministry of Interior, ministries "do nothing in particular, and do it very well."[5]

Nor must it be assumed that loafing as practiced here puts its light under a bushel. Quite to the contrary. Perhaps I may illustrate the situation in terms of comparative phonetics. All languages carry some dead wood such as consonants that are mute. English, French, German etc. do not make a fuss about such consonants; we simply don't pronounce them. Siamese, on the other hand, is proud of its idle consonants and singles them out for public recognition. The Thai script

4 Cf. Adloff, Labor in Southeast Asia (1949).
5 Gilbert & Sullivan, Trial by Jury

has developed an elaborate little sign, the T'ant'ak'at, which a consonant wears as a cap to broadcast the fact that he does nothing.

I belabor perhaps this point in order to accentuate the difficulty of doing first-hand research here, and frankly do not know when I will adjust myself to operate efficiently within this efficiency-unconscious atmosphere. It is not limited to Bangkok, I know. All of this notwithstanding, I am now departing for Saigon where I shall headquarter for some months to come, and crack this most difficult nut.

A further note as to my activities here. Through the courtesy of Mr. Austin Flegel, Chief of the MSA Mission here, I received introductions to officials in Ubon and Surinh provinces which lie on the Cambodian border. (Elden Johnson, FFF, is spending time in the latter.) I was interested in the refugees in these provinces that have fled from the Indochinese states. Seemingly their political allegiance, such as it is, lies with no one. They accept the Thai officialdom passively, retaining their own language and culture; they live in 2 of the poorest agricultural provinces, and are well victimized by Thai and Chinese middlemen, and suffer in addition the harangues and harrassments of zealous missionaries. Perhaps, however, the latter deserve the most sympathy. There are about 68,000 Vietnamese, 40,000 Cambodians, and 30,000 Laotians residing in Thailand. The three states try to buy, cajole, threaten and intrigue to secure their loyalty and their return. The Thai suspect them, though not as much as the Chinese. Their concern apparently constitutes the main business of these three legations with the Thai Foreign Affairs Ministry. Apparently little will be done in the forseeable future.

My week in Vientiane was boring as hell. It is a sleepy city, and even contrasted with the provincial capitals of Nonghkai or Udonthani, it is dull, dusty, and unenterprising. While there I stayed at the American Legation with the charge d'affaires who had invited me to do so while I was still in the States. Mostly it was an expedition to see what it was like. Such officials as I met (Minister of Defense, Chief of the Information Service) spoke practically no English so my French received a fair workout. It was found wanting. The real character in Vientiane is a Mr. Zeng, jack-of-all-trades for the Legation. He claims to have an M.A. from NYU in Education, speaks fluid but picturesque English, has six wives scattered from Queens, N. Y. to Bangkok, to Vientiane to Brooklyn, and is more or less persona non grata in Bangkok for previous political activities. He is one of two Laotians (or Lao) to visit the U. S., the other being the Crown Prince and Premier who was in San Francisco to sign the Japanese peace treaty. He appears to be fairly sophisticated politically, a contrast and relief from the giggling fellow currently the charge of the American Legation. Once you have convinced Thailand's Immigration-Emigration Bureau you are not smuggling or a Commie, it is easier to go to Vientiane from here than it is from Saigon or Pnom Penh. The trip was a real experience that neither I nor the Thai I met will early forget.

One further word. It seemed to me to be one of the purposes of the BOTR in financing my trip out here to give me an opportunity to at least acquire a

frame of reference with regard to things political and social in Indochina and Southeast Asia. When I return I will not be writing a Journey to the Far Pacific[7] or a Voice of Asia.[8] But I expect to have a pretty fair understanding of what I have seen, heard and felt.

Two weeks ago I was riding down a narrow road in a samlor (tricycle taxi). Down the road came tearing two enormous trucks abreast of each other, their completely uninhibited chauffeurs[9] oblivious to all but themselves. In the last instant possible for escape, samlor boy, samlor and I took to a klong. Now klongs are the reason those who have a penchant for such things call Bangkok the Venice of the East. Canals, small streams, sloughs, small ponds, ditches -- all these are klongs. Practically all business districts and residential areas have them on both sides of the streets. They are clogged by sampans and dugouts, residences for a few. In other areas continually under water, thatch-and-teak huts sit on stilts in these klongs or at the edge of them. Here merchants and artisans ply their trades via dugouts, tossing up pork, rice, co-cah-c'lah (Coca Cola) to the bargaining housewife. Thirty percent of Bangkok lives thus. Now during the dry season, the water level is dropping rapidly, and in the residential districts the klongs that do not ebb and flow (into or) with the Menam become stagnant, their dank waters exuding a revolting putrescence. In some of the better residential districts, sampans are not permitted in the klongs. A surprise raid is announced several days in advance, and one morning you drive down a street by klongs completely vacated. Some of these boats must be collapsible for their superstructure is much too high to go under the bridges even if the klong flowed into the Menam. Oh, most mysterious East! Yet even now they are four to six feet deep with two feet of gummy silt at the bottom. And everywhere they are the bath and the sewer, the john and the wash tub, the swimming pool, the garbage disposal, the water tap, and frequently highway, place of residence and canine cemetery. It is a well-known fact of sanitary engineering here in Bangkok, that the klongs are so polluted not even mosquitos breed in them. They are essential to many Siamese. It was into this... this... this mess that I slithered head first, and emerged dripping muck and mud and stinking slime and ill-assorted algae. I helped the boy pull the samlor from the klong and we made the journey to my residence where I Shanghai-jar bathed for two hours.... This is an experience few Americans have had, and I feel that more and more I am coming really to know Bangkok.

Respectfully submitted,

(signed)

Linford Dale Riley, Jr.

7 Dewey, Thomas E., (1952).
8 Michener, James A., (1951).
9 I find it difficult to think of them as irresponsible.

Ford
Sr

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

CONFIDENTIAL
FOR INTERNAL STAFF ONLY

TO: Gordon Gray and Other Members of the Board on Overseas Training and Research

FROM: John K. Weiss and Cleon O. Swayzee

SUBJECT: Staff Activity Report, December 1 - 12, 1952

I - TRAINING ACTIVITIES

1953-54 Fellowship Program

Since the announcement of the program on November 30th, this office has filled over 940 requests for application forms through December 12th. Requests for blanks indicate widespread press coverage throughout the country. The majority of the requests are from people in the academic field. Nevertheless, an encouraging number (about 20%) of the requests have come in from apparently non-academic people. A large number of these have been lawyers, journalists, and museum personnel.

In addition to the regular press coverage, the New York Times of December 4th carried an editorial on the program.

Mr. William Costello of the CBS Washington staff will take Mr. Robert P. Martin's position on the Screening Committee and Mr. Robert Clifford of the American Machine and Foundry Company will replace Mr. Attwood.

The Screening Committee met on December 5th to discuss the screening process.

Re-application of one-year BOTR Fellows

Letters have been sent to the BOTR Fellows who requested grants for more than one year, but received only one-year awards, explaining to them how they can reactivate their applications for the additional time they had requested.

Slavic Studies

Staff exploration with Professor Philip Mosely, Director of the Russian Institute, Columbia University, of a fellowship program for the Slavic and East European area is continuing.

African Program

More than a dozen persons have been interviewed in the search for a properly qualified person to make the basic survey of the state of and requirements for African knowledge in the United States. We have not yet located the right person, but the search is continuing.

University of Michigan Field Session

Additional detailed material on the proposed field session has been received from George Cameron, Director of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan.

Survey of Personnel Requirements

An outline for the basic survey of personnel requirements for foreign area competence has been prepared by the Public Administration Clearing House. The preparation of the outline has raised a question in the minds of PACH officials about the propriety of their undertaking a survey, so much of which is outside the field of public administration.

Roving Staff Members

Professor William Lockwood, Deputy Director of the Woodrow Wilson School of International Relations at Princeton, has agreed to undertake the roving staff assignment in the United States and Asia. We are awaiting further word from Harvey Hall, Editor of the Middle East Journal, who is at present a BOTR Fellow in Damascus, who has indicated interest in the assignment for the Middle East.

Training for Specialized Mission Personnel

Discussion within the Foundation indicates the desirability of deferring talks with federal government representatives until after the new administration has taken office.

II - RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Research Liaison Office in the Near East

Nothing further has been done regarding the establishment of a Research Liaison Office in the Near East pending word from Harvey Hall as to his interest in the roving staff assignment. As indicated previously, the roving staff member for the Near East will explore the problems involved in the establishment of a Research Liaison Office.

Soviet Techniques of Indoctrination and Control

Further talks have been held with Philip Mosely and Paul Langer of the Russian Institute at Columbia regarding plans for a series of coordinated country studies on this problem.

Publications Revolving Fund

The staff expects to have for the next meeting of the Board a report on

the subsidization of scholarly publications on Asia, the Near and Middle East, Africa, and the Slavic area.

III - BOARD MEETING

The meeting of the Board, scheduled for January 7th in New York, has been cancelled. The next meeting of the Board will probably be held sometime late in January or early in February, in either New York or Pasadena.

IV - PERSONNEL

Miss Maryal Merriman has joined the staff as receptionist.

V - ADMINISTRATION

An administrative budget of approximately $200,000 has been submitted to the Foundation officers.

Interviews and Conferences, November 28 - December 11, 1952

November 28

Mr. Warren Adams Mrs. Doris Adams	BOTR Fellows To inquire about several routine matters regarding their fellowships and the question of re-application. (JK)
Mr. Lloyd Reynolds	Yale University To discuss problems incidental to our proposed survey of the state of African knowledge in the United States. (COS)

December 1

Mr. Carrol Bowen, Associate Editor Mr. Walter Oakley, Vice President Mr. Fon W. Boardman, Jr., Advertising and Publ. Mgr.	Oxford University Press To discuss the Publications Revolving Fund in general terms and the possibility of Oxford's interest in it. (JK)
Professor Rossi-Dori	University of Naples To discuss the Italian land reform program and FAO plans for work in this field in Latin America. (COS)

December 2

Mr. Paul Langer	Russian Institute, Columbia Univ. To discuss the organization of a series of coordinated studies on Soviet techniques of indoctrination and control. (COS)
Mr. William Lockwood	Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton Further explanation of roving staff member assignment for the U. S. and Asia. (COS)
Mr. Richard Walsh, Sr., Pres. Mr. Grant Dugdale, Assoc. Ed.	The John Day Co. Discussion of the Publications Revolving Fund and the possibility of John Day's interest in it. (JK)

December 3

Miss Eleanor Isbell	Social Science Research Council To talk about the Publications Revolving Fund. (JK)

Daniel Goott.....Labor Advisor to the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs
To discuss plans and program of the International Confederation of Free Unions in Asia and the Near and Middle East. (COS)

December 4

Mr. William Holland.....Institute of Pacific Relations
Miss Mary Heally
To talk about the Publications Revolving Fund. (JK)

December 5

Messrs. Wallace, Costello, Talbot,.....Screening Committee
Thomas, and Wodlinger
To discuss the screening process for the BOTR Fellowship Program. (JKW, COS, JK)

December 8 - 9

Land Tenure Conference .....Ford Foundation exploratory conference to discuss land tenure and related problems.(COS)

December 9

Mr. Metz .....Came in at the request of Mr. Arnold of the Foundation staff to inquire about Fellowship Program and job possibilities. (JKW)

Mr. William Peck.....To inquire about job possibilities. (JKW)

December 10

Miss Maryan Campbell.....Brief Magazine
Came in to get some material on the Board and the Fellowship Program in order to write a piece for her magazine. (JK)

Mr. Alexander Sachs.....To inquire about employment, following up an earlier approach. (JKW)

December 11

Mr. Edgar Dean.....Following up earlier inquiry about job possibilities. (JKW)

Mr. Charles Ascher Mr. Fred Riggs	Public Administration Clearing House For further discussions of the Survey of Personnel Requirements. (COS)
Professor A. Henry Detweiler	American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem To discuss areas of mutual interest, the Fellowship Program, and the possibility of establishing the Research Liaison Office at the Jerusalem School. (JK)
Pendleton Herring Schuyler Wallace Wendell Bennett	To discuss the need for and problems involved in intensive summer language training for foreign area students. (COS)
Mr. Benjamin Warfield	National Security Council To discuss the talent scout assignment for the BOTR Fellowship Program. (JKW)

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

April 21, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am sending you some background materials that bear on the work of the Board on Overseas Training and Research.

The letter from the Librarian of Congress, Luther Evans, is a good comprehensive statement of some of the problems we face.

The Survey of Asian Studies describes some of the work which is now being done in American universities and suggests some of the serious gaps in present programs.

Attachment "A" is the statement which we submitted to the Trustees of the Ford Foundation in recommending an allocation of $1,000,000 for the support of research relating to Asia and the Middle East. The Trustees approved the recommendation on April 10.

John Weiss is sounding out Board members on a possible meeting date during the second or third week of May.

Sincerely,

Carl

Carl B. Spaeth
Director
Division of Overseas Activities

CBS:bh

COPY

THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS

Washington 25, D. C.

August 31, 1951

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

Some months ago Senator Benton reported to me his conversation with you about the problem of American competence to deal with those non-Western-European areas that are usually peripheral to our educational concern yet apparently quite central to our national future. He and I have both agreed fully with your view that the responsibility for underwriting the training of a reservoir of experts in those areas adequate to meet the needs of the Government rests on the Government itself. I had, indeed, refrained from writing you about this general matter until the Government could determine its course with respect to that particular problem. It now appears that reasonably effective action toward the training of persons to meet the Government's needs is contemplated in responsible quarters.

But the general problem has many additional aspects. For sufficiently obvious reasons, one of the central problems of our century is the relation of the West-European and American civilization to those Slavic, Near Eastern, Asiatic, and African groups whose relation to that civilization has been very imperfectly established. I think it is not too much to say that for decades to come, whether in war or peace or an indefinitely continued state of strain and unbalance, our national security and the possibility of a stable peace, perhaps even the survival of our civilization, will depend on the possession by this country's decision-makers of the expert knowledge necessary to conceive and execute, and the general understanding to support, wise and informed programs of action in relation to those areas.

To achieve this objective will, in my opinion, require a whole series of acts. Perhaps the most pressing is to extend the training of people inthe languages, economies, and cultures of those areas to meet the needs of the Federal service and to discover and use more efficiently the limited resources of expertness we now have. But paralleling this primarily governmental need is the need for a general shift of emphasis in our educational system that will produce a citizenry as informed on India or Russia or Thailand as it now is (and more, I hope!) on France or Italy or Uruguay. And this will require not merely intensive "area" training, but many changes of objective and of emphasis within our general courses on history, linguistics, philosophy, geography, art, etc. In this broad field, although there may be a number of channels of Federal support, leadership must be primarily non- Governmental.

A very small segment of the problem, but one having for some purposes a critical significance and one in which there are a number of barriers to effective Government action, is the intelligent use of foreign experts. This is given added importance by the special resources of expert knowledge in France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands with respect to much of Asia and Africa and the very limited intellectual capital we have with which to begin the expansion

of our educational facilities. A program for bringing selected experts to the United States and employing them in critically needed spots is an urgent requirement.

And any enlarged educational program needs to rest on a greatly enlarged research program, for which our present resources are pitifully inadequate. For few of the areas with which we are concerned are there more than one or two really good research collections in the country; for many there are none. The difficulties in the way of building up, and for some areas even of maintaining, such collections are great and often cannot be overcome without outside assistance. In comparison with that for Western Europe, the bibliographical apparatus is non-existent. Even good basic linguistic tools for research--such as dictionaries--must be created in many cases. There is a startling paucity of translations, musical recordings, pictorial collections, and similar materials to aid in cultural interpretation. In the whole field of materials for research in Slavic, Asian, and African areas, I am sure the Foundation must be constantly presented with requests for assistance which require fitting into a general pattern for the development of our national competence to deal with those areas.

A specially needed research resource in this whole field is, of course, the opportunity for study and residence abroad. Indeed, the provision of such opportunity is indispensable to any program aimed at the development of expert knowledge. The Fulbright Act provides a somewhat restricted source of Federal support. But there is an essential need for non-Governmental participation in the establishment of adequate facilities in the areas concerned for the reception and guidance of American students and scholars and for the continuous prosecution of research. American research institutes, staffed on a rotating basis, will be needed in all of the major countries concerned.

One of the most acute needs of all, and one in the meeting of which non-Federal participation is by definition necessary, is the erection of a bridge between Government and scholarship that will enable scholars to draw upon the experience of the Government and to exploit its facilities for acquiring information and materials from these areas and will at the same time make realistically available to the Government the benefit of informed judgment, exact knowledge, and independent criticism. The institutional arrangements for such a marriage of government and learning will require careful planning and support, since no institution wholly outside the Government can draw easily on the Government's resources of experience and information, and no expert within an operating agency can be wholly free in the exercise of his critical ability. I believe that here may be a role for the Library of Congress, which is of the Government but not, in a sense, under it. With its already preeminent research collections for many of these areas, and its unique opportunities for enlarging them, the Library may be the logical site for research centers in which Governmental and private needs and resources could be fruitfully commingled.

I mention finally one critical need in the improvement of our national competence to deal with these areas--one which must be met entirely by non-governmental action. That is the objective analysis and appraisal of the effectiveness of United States programs in those areas. Such studies are urgently needed in relation to our efforts to affect both the public opinion

and the economy of those areas. What are, for example, the basic attitudes toward the West in general, the United States, and particular United States policies of Indian peasants? Of Chinese traders in Malaya? Of Egyptian educated classes? What are the cultural, sociological, and psychological origins of these attitudes? How successfully are they affected by what media? What adaptations of American policy are necessary to put it en rapport with vital movements in those areas? What are the resources for democratic thought and action in those areas? How adequately are they supported by United States policy? In the economic field perhaps even more searching inquiries are needed. We must in fact formulate an economics of the development of backward areas against which our various programs of economic aid can be measured.

Precisely because the very unfamiliarity and remoteness of the areas with which we are dealing removes Governmental action from normally informed public and scholarly scrutiny, specially established arrangements are necessary to make independent and informed criticism continuously available.

I have written at this length not only to add my voice to those who see our future competence in dealing with Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa as one of the tests of our survival, but also to suggest at least something of the extraordinarily diversified range of needs in this field. Some of them require Governmental action, some private, some both. An urgent necessity is the coordination of measures toward meeting these needs by an agency possessed both of the opportunity to see the problem in its entire scope and of the means to contribute to its solution at those points where special action is necessary. Herein would appear to be an opportunity for a great, indeed a unique, contribution by The Ford Foundation.

I am aware of the Foundation's creation of a committee to recommend a program of activities relating to Asia, and I am sure that many other facets of the problem have come under your attention. Since the range of projects that should be considered in interrelation to each other is so very large, it would be my hope that the general problem might have the continuous attention of one or more of the Foundation's officers. If so, I should welcome the opportunity of discussing the whole field at some length with him or them, and of allowing members of my staff to assist in any way in which they could be useful.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Luther H. Evans
Librarian of Congress

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
Ford Foundation
Pasadena, California

ATTACHMENT "A"

Scope of Needed Research and Investigation Relating to Asia and the Middle East

The decision of the Foundation to give major emphasis to Asia and the Near and Middle East in the development of its international program rests upon a recognition that these areas are pivotal to major world developments. In the interests of world peace it is imperative that the people of the areas be aided in discovering new foundations for stability, and in making an orderly transition to independent status in the free world community.

The compelling need for intensified research on Asia and the Near and Middle East arises from the vast social and political upheaval which these regions are experiencing. In the judgment of competent scholars, of business and professional people long familiar with the areas, and of branches of our government concerned with these parts of the world, the focus of investigation must be upon the character and the dimensions of this upheaval. This judgment was confirmed for the Near and Middle East by the recent staff study undertaken to prepare a directive for a mission to the area. After extensive consultation, the study concluded:

> "Because of the instability and flux which characterize the Middle East, it is important to approach the development of a Foundation program for the Middle East from the standpoint of the changes which are taking place or may be anticipated rather than from the standpoint of the status quo at any time."

In the same vein, it was pointed out in the Stanford survey that

American research scholars are not, for the most part, concerning themselves with static phenomena but are trying to discover the mechanics and dynamics of societies on the move.

Without a more profound understanding of the character of the social, political, and ideological transformations that are taking place throughout Asia and the Near and Middle East, of the factors producing these changes, and of their rapidity and direction, technical assistance programs and other activities intended to assist these societies toward a new and stable existence in the world community cannot be fully effective.

What is needed is a stockpile of fundamental knowledge--knowledge of what is happening inside the countries of the Orient and of what is happening to their relations with one another and with other countries of the world. We need to know what is happening to their social structures, their political systems, their ways of thinking, their aspirations and the things upon which they place value. These are things of the present, yet we must recognize that among people of ancient cultures the present can frequently be understood only in terms of the continuing influence of the past.

Studies undertaken for the Foundation during the past year confirm that much important work is being done to provide a body of fundamental knowledge. They have also revealed, unfortunately, that this work is wholly inadequate when measured against the magnitude of the task. Because of lack of funds, of basic tools, and of skilled personnel, the accumulation of knowledge is fragmentary and uncoordinated.

If we in the United States and our friends in Asia and the Near and Middle East are to meet this need for greater knowledge, three jobs must be done. The small corps of investigators studying the Orient must "tool up" for a much larger task than it has ever done before. Programs

of inquiry must be developed to meet priority requirements for fundamental knowledge. To prepare for an expanding and continuous need for understanding, the institutions that gather and disseminate knowledge about the Orient and those which train men and women to study the areas or to serve in them must be strengthened. These institutions must be enabled to work on a larger scale, at a more rapid pace, and with more effective results.

The magnitude and scope of the total effort that must be made to provide a stockpile of fundamental knowledge is stated in some detail below. It indicates the tools that must be created and the areas of concern upon which research must focus. It states a number of methods which might be considered by the Board on Overseas Training and Research in preparing our recommendations to the Officers. Selective support is needed for each of these phases of the total endeavor. The wise allocation of such support must take into consideration priorities of need, feasibility of the specific tasks, and the probable effectiveness of various methods and institutions in accomplishing them.

Tooling Up

Research on Asia and the Middle East, unlike that on Europe, is handicapped by lack of the most elementary tools. Putting into operation a research program capable of producing the vast body of fundamental knowledge requires a major "tooling up." It has taken decades to provide these for Europe where there is a common cultural foundation and where language has not been a serious barrier. Tools for research on the Orient must be provided in a much shorter time and with a smaller corps of people.

1. Language Tools

High on the list of basic needs are language tools. A recent memorandum of the American Council on Learned Societies states the need for preparing all kinds of basic learning materials, not now available, for the twenty most important languages spoken in Asia and used in the publishing of much important Asian scholarship. These needed materials include: (a) elementary study guides, presenting the student with basic facts about the character of the region and the people; (b) descriptive analyses, giving the basic structure of the languages; (c) students' dictionaries; (d) elementary "spoken" texts; and (e) graded readings. Practically none of these materials, which must exist for effective teaching and learning of these languages, is now available--with the exception of materials for the study of Chinese and Japanese. Basic texts, produced through ACLS--Army cooperation, exist for eight Asiatic languages. However, graded readings and students' dictionaries are practically nonexistent. In the total "tooling up" job these materials for basic language instruction have high priority.

2. Tools for Getting Information

There is an equally urgent need for basic bibliographies of printed and manuscript materials relating to Asia and the Near and Middle East. Only fragmentary bibliographies are now available. Some research scholars believe that the compilation of more comprehensive bibliographic aids will do more than anything to quicken the pace of inquiry and to hasten the production of essential studies.

Closely related to the need for bibliographies is that for current inventories of the materials available in the United States or elsewhere. A recent survey of the Association of Research Libraries, although incomplete in some respects, has provided an excellent start in this direction and is highly valued by those doing research on the Orient. This type of survey needs to be expanded to include other collections in this country and those abroad. It should also be kept current.

Likewise there is need for a systematic listing of research in progress on Asia and the Near and Middle East. Commendable efforts to provide such listings are being made by the Office of Intelligence Research of the Department of State and by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. By the development of more careful and comprehensive reporting, and by further refinements of grouping and classification, these compilations will serve even more effectively to stimulate research and to bring about a better coordination of research efforts.

3. Biographical Tools

Information about key persons in government, political parties, business, the professions, and other groups is singularly inadequate for most countries of Asia and the Near and Middle East. Incomplete

collections developed within our government and by other governments, as well as the work done by individual scholars would provide a valuable foundation upon which to build. The need, however, is for systematic biographical dictionaries and "Who's Who" comparable to those of the Western World. The value of such biographical tools to those who must work with the peoples and governments of Asia and the Near and Middle East is obvious. Beyond this, such data is indispensable for studies of the elites which would influence or make initial decisions.

4. Geographic Tools

Both the research programs and the developmental programs pertaining to the Orient are in urgent need of better geographic tools. They require atlases and gazetteers with accurate maps and pertinent economic, social, and political data. To provide these tools is a major research task in itself, as the work of Prof. Hitti at Princeton in developing an Atlas of the Moslem World has demonstrated. Fortunately, much important data has already been collected by the present or former colonial governments of Asian countries--by the French authorities in Indo-China, for example, and the Dutch in Indonesia. British administrators compiled a huge gazetteer for India that runs to many volumes, and the Japanese have done important work on China and other parts of East Asia. Most of this work remains inaccessible, either because it is buried in official archives, is too bulky for ready distribution, or, as in the case of the Japanese, has never been translated into Western languages. To produce the geographic tools required will necessitate a survey of existing data. The development of new or supplementary information, editing, translation, and map-making. These are tasks for teams of skilled geographers.

5. Statistical Tools

Developmental programs for most Asian countries are seriously handicapped by the lack of reliable statistical data. To provide this essential tool will require improvement in the methods of gathering, processing and presenting data within each country. The governments of some countries are now trying to reform their statistical procedures. The Bureau of Statistics of the United Nations has begun an effort to improve and standardize statistical methods. It must be determined whether and how these efforts can be advanced by private assistance.

6. Library Collections

In this period of rapid change it is critically important that the flow of irreplacable current materials be maintained. Although the Stanford survey reported that good core collections of materials on Asia and the Near and Middle East now exist at several important centers in the United States, these collections are far from adequate for the scope of the research programs that must be undertaken. Those on the Far East, for example, are more complete on the earlier periods than on modern developments. They are, with few exceptions, notably deficient on materials pertaining to the social sciences. There are numerous other instances of important gaps that must be filled -- and they can only be filled by an uninterrupted flow of materials into the present centers.

To develop adequate working collections will require, in the first instance, a careful survey of present holdings and collecting program. It will then necessitate the formulation of a systematic program for filling gaps, and for assuring the continuous acquisition and exchange by appropriate centers of new materials. The range of collecting must

include official documents, newspapers and periodicals, manuscripts, pamphlets, memoirs and other personal accounts, monographs and broader statistics.

Library expenses demonstrates that programs of acquisition cannot be viewed only in terms of the cost of the materials themselves. They also require, in many cases, the maintenance of agents in the field. Even more important, they necessitate increases in the processing and handling staffs of libraries and research centers in order to safeguard the materials and to make them available without delay.

7. Publication of the Results of Research

Research can go forward only as rapidly as one set of discoveries and conclusions becomes known to other workers in the field. This requires the prompt publication of research results and their rapid and inexpensive dissemination to other scholars and research centers. Recent experience in this period of rising publication costs has demonstrated that commercial publishers are reluctant to handle technical materials with limited sales possibilities. University presses must be relied upon for this purpose and even they require subsidies despite the trend toward less expensive forms of publishing. One indication of the present inadequacy of means for disseminating research results is the fact that there exist in the United States today only one serious journal for the Far East and one for the Middle East. Efforts to extend the scope of that on the Far East to include India and Pakistan have so far failed for lack of the necessary funds.

8. Translation Program.

In addition to the publication and dissemination of research materials prepared by English-language scholars, a translation program is

required to bring the fruits of current Asiatic and Middle Eastern thought into the research stream. According to a recent report of the American Council of Learned Societies:

> All the important Asiatic societies have a contemporary literature of books, periodicals, and newspapers published in their own languages. Some -- Siam, Vietnam, Burma, for instance, to say nothing of Persia and China -- have long and proud literary traditions of which the contemporary expression is only a culmination.

The best of this outpouring of Eastern thought must be selected and made available in English to Western scholars, if they are not to remain isolated from this most important source of material. There have been suggestions that a Current Digest of the Far Eastern Press, similar to the Current Digest of the Soviet Press now in operation, be set up to fulfill a part of this need.

9. Travel, Meetings, and Periodic Seminars

Present research within the United States concerning the Orient is fragmentary, scattered, and uncoordinated, as has been indicated. To overcome these handicaps it is essential that the scholars at various centers be enabled to meet with some frequency to compare and evaluate results, to exchange ideas, and to project new fields of inquiry. The present annual meetings of professional organizations do not adequately meet this need. They must be supplemented by ad hoc gatherings on specific projects, and by periodic seminars to explore broader ranges of inquiry. To make possible such meetings within the United States would be a valuable step forward. To extend the scope to include meetings at research or university centers in Asia, or to bring scholars from these centers to the United States would, of course, accelerate the program and will eventually be necessary.

The Needs for Basic Knowledge

The needs for basic knowledge concerning Asia and the Middle East can best be stated in terms of broad areas of concern. Three such areas are described in the paragraphs which follow. Most of the specific projects now in progress or proposed fall within one or more of these areas. A list of these projects and of other problems that urgently need to be tackled would be a long one. Some measure of its length and scope is given in the Stanford Report and the Stanford Survey.

The specific studies and investigations called for within each of the three major areas of concern are both short term and long term. Some can go forward immediately, even while the profession is "tooling up" for the larger and more comprehensive job. Some must be deferred. Some can be done entirely in American research centers. Others call for field work as well, or for cooperation between American and Asian scholars. Some are wholly private and unofficial in character. Others extend into the fields of government research and investigation. Fortunately, it is possible to proceed with many of the immediate tasks having high priority because a corps of researchers, albeit a small one, equipped with the languages and knowledge for the job, is already at work.

1. The Need for Knowledge about Change inside the Countries of Asia and the Near and Middle East.

An adequate study of the revolutionary changes transpiring inside the countries of the Orient involves analyses of many shifting patterns -- social, economic, political, intellectual, even psychological. In the judgment of informed scholars, the inquiry must be ruthless and far-reaching, regarding no past assumption as sacred.

Family and Community Relationships:- On the most fundamental human levels it will be necessary to search out trends in family and community relationships. Although there are informed guesses on such trends in some countries, there is a recognized need for specific answers to painful questions. What is happening to the traditional family? In what directions are family institutions and customs developing, and are the new relationships likely to be sound and healthy? Similarly, what is happening to Asian villages and towns? Can the rural community adjust to technical improvements in the countryside? The whole problem of land and tenancy is acute. Although some efforts are now being made to analyze the weaknesses of existing systems and to assist the Asians to search for new patterns to eliminate these weaknesses, the work being done is pitifully small in relation to the need.

Economic Relationships:- Much has been written about the worsening relationship between food production and rapidly growing populations and about the effects of industrialization upon underdeveloped areas. Indeed, these and related problems have been analyzed in "Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries," a report submitted in 1951 by experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Nevertheless, few precise measurements are available upon which to base conclusions; and again important questions remain unsatisfactorily answered. What are the possibilities of increased food production, and what will higher output do to the food-population balance? What are the potentialities for--and dangers in--industrialization, whether slow or rapid, in terms of probable social and political effects? At what rate can economically

retarded communities safely undergo technical modernization? Can the large cities be industrialized without damage to the agricultural hinterland, or must an urban program be closely integrated with rural reconstruction? In countries where capital accumulations are small, how is modernization to be financed? Can Western capital be intruded without upsetting economic, social, and political balances? What will rapid industrialization in two or three Asian countries (e.g., Japan, China, and India) do to trade and market patterns in the Orient, or for that matter, in the world trading system? These are all questions which so far cannot be adequately answered.

Political Relationships:- At the political level, a host of problems arising out of the revolutionary changes in Asia have become the concern of both scholars and officials. They are aware of the need to analyze trends in the development of Asian political institutions and in Asian theories of state and society. Can Asian parties and governmental systems adjust to Western concepts, or can they develop in non-totalitarian directions without adopting the Western democratic pattern? How best can the character of Asian political systems be brought into harmony with the types of economic systems that are evolving in areas where risk capital is at a minimum? Does part of the answer lie in "mixed" economies, and if so, can such systems be developed in non-totalitarian directions? Many of these questions cannot be answered with any certainty until investigation has disclosed more precisely how Asian governments really function. It is necessary, for example, to know more about who makes critical political decisions or what persons,

groups, or forces determine which direction a given country will face in the world?

Social Stratification:- Insight into the forces that shape political decisions and economic action is increasingly recognized as depending upon an understanding of the structure of society itself. Social scientists believe that there is a basic need for studies of social stratification in the countries of the Orient, and for special investigations of the composition, backgrounds and particular groups such as the peasantry, the bureaucracy, or the land-owning aristocracy.

Patterns of Thinking:- It is likewise the opinion of many experts that an adequate understanding of the political and social behavior of Asian peoples can be obtained only by learning more about their patterns of thinking. This judgment is applied not only to single nations but also to broad racial and cultural groupings, such as "the Arab World." By patterns of thinking is meant the processes by which people make a judgment or an inference, the ways in which they reconcile opposing arguments or make appeals to authority, and their forms of accepted logical thinking. Although it is generally recognized that the thought patterns of Asian peoples differ from those of the Occident, too little is known about the nature of these differences and the ways in which to bridge them.

Changing Values:- Fully as important as the habits of thinking of the Asian peoples and their leaders are their aspirations and loyalties and the values which guide their conduct. Some observers have pointed out that instability and discontent are more frequently produced by disparities between people's aspirations and the realities they must face than by mere poverty, injustice, or oppression alone. It is apparent that aspirations are being raised throughout Asia and the Middle East and that traditional values are being transformed by the great social upheaval itself and by the impact of external influences. In what direction are these aspirations, loyalties, and values changing? What may be the consequences of these changes upon present ruling groups, upon domestic problems, and upon allegiances and alignments in the present world crisis. So far, little is known about the answers to these questions. To find answers will mean probing deeply into the minds and behavior of the Asians. It will mean evaluating, among other things, the extent to which their societies are being secularized, or the degree in which Islam, Buddhism, and other religions of the East may provide bulwarks against secular influence, either because they have adapted themselves to the impact of modernism or because of a renascent and militant orthodoxy, such as is appearing in the Arab world. Fortunately, the social sciences are evolving techniques for analyzing, describing, and estimating these vital intangibles. In few countries other than Japan, however, has any attempt been made to apply them.

2. The Need for Knowledge About the Causes of Change

Much more must be learned about the deeply underlying causes of change within each region and within the societies composing it. The truth is that distressingly little is known about the causes of Asian upheaval. Even this little suggests that more obvious motivations may not be the most powerful or decisive ones. To find what generates these upheavals, it will be necessary to probe far below the surfaces of Asian politics, Asian culture, Asian economies, and Asian psychology.

Assertion about Population Pressures, Maldistribution of Resources, and the Western Impact:- Many glib and impressive assertions have been made about population pressures, the mal-distribution of natural resources, and the violence of the Western impact as fundamental causes of the Asian revolution. Yet these assertions can be tested only with a minimum of measurable data, and many of the most sacred conclusions now accepted are based on guesswork. To provide more reliable estimates of the causes of change is a vast task for anthropologists, sociologists, economists, and demographers. What has generated these explosive Asian population increases over the last one hundred seventy-five years? To what extent were the factors indigenous, and to what extent did the Western impact contribute to bursts of population growth? Can we, by altering hidden factors, assist the Asian people to win a measure of control over their birthrates?

Glibness has also characterized much of what has been said and written about oppressive land systems as the prime cause of rural discontent in Asia upon which the Communists have capitalized. So little systematic study has been made of this problem, however, that we cannot

appraise it reliably or offer solutions with confidence. The feeling is strong in the West that political "solutions" offered by the Communists--redistribution of land, for example--do not get at the fundamental problem. Yet few Western scholars would feel competent to offer any precise alternative. Do we help Asians to raise agricultural outputs? Do we urge them to form cooperatives? Do either or both of these undertakings solve the fundamental food-population imbalance?

The few available facts appear to lead to the conclusion that agrarian problems are closely related to the task of urban industrialization. Yet our fundamental knowledge is too scant to permit of sound analysis, let alone to produce "solutions" worthy of challenging that of the Communists which Westerners condemn as violent and undemocratic, and over the long haul, ineffective.

It is generally believed by observers of Asia and the Middle East that the most important causes of "accelerators" of the present revolutionary upheaval have been outside influences. Of these, none is more important than the impact of the West through technology, enterprises, ideas and colonialism, and two World Wars. As with the other causes, however, these have been insufficiently studied and appraised.

3. <u>The Need for Knowledge about the Changing Position of Asian Countries in the Broad World Picture</u>

This field of investigation calls for studies of three sets of relationships, all interdependent. These are: first, the relations among the Asian and Middle Eastern countries themselves; second, the changing attitudes of the Asian countries, individually or in groups, toward the Western World or the Soviet Union; and, third, the developing position of Asia as a whole within the total sphere of world affairs.

Preliminary investigation has demonstrated that, in order to pursue effectively the investigation of these relationships, it will be important to dissect the various qualities of nationalism that are growing in Asian countries and to discover what concepts of national interest are taking form. It will be essential to know what images various Asian peoples project of the United States, of the Soviet Union, of other Western or Asian nations, and of the United Nations and other international organizations.

Intra-regional Relationships:- Amidst the current preoccupation with East-West tensions, significant dangers in the intra-regional relations among Asian countries tend to be overlooked, except among a handful of persons professionally concerned. The present state of flux within the region has given rise, for example, to competing aspirations for Oriental leadership. It is essential to know, among other things, what influence China is exerting upon India, or what kind of role India aspires to play as leader of the Asian peoples. What place is the Philippines seeking to establish in Southeast Asia? Can Turkey or Egypt or Pakistan bid successfully for leadership in the Moslem world, and how profound are the influences of Islam upon the new country of Indonesia? To what extent would the emergence of two or three strong, industrialized nations--Japan, China, and India, for example--strengthen or weaken possibilities for peace in Asia?

Asia in the World Picture:- In the examination of Asia's pivotal position in the world, the strategic importance of the region as well as the pattern of its hostilities and friendships toward the Western powers and toward the Soviet Union is of first importance. It is essential for this purpose to analyze the foreign policy orientation of

individual countries, and the movements, such as Pan-Arabism, which unite them in common antipathies or loyalties.

Likewise, it is necessary to appraise their reactions to the moods and actions of the great powers, and their "third force" or "neutralist" inclinations. More possibly, it is essential to know in what direction India is today moving: whether toward extended neutrality, toward closer alliance with the Western World, or toward Communism. In seeking answers to this question, can one rely upon the announced positions of the Indian government, or is there a sub-surface drift over which government spokesmen have little control? These are questions pertaining to one nation only; others present similarly acute problems.

At a juncture where many Asians appear to sit upon a sagging fence between the Communist and the Free Worlds, there is a clear need, obviously, to investigate with care the efforts of both sides to win their loyalties and friendships. Studies now in progress demonstrate that much can be learned and must be learned about the political strategy and tactics of the Soviet Union, designed to capture, divert, and capitalize upon the several Asian upheavals. Similarly, there is need for assessment of the recent efforts of the United States to influence the direction and character of Asian change through technical assistance, information programs, and other means.

III.

The Inadequacy of Present Research

The paragrphs of Part II present a discouraging picture of the vast scope and amount of investigation about Asia and the Near and Middle East that needs doing, much of it urgently.

This picture is no less disheartening when set against that of work now being done. This is vividly illustrated by a glance at the study of research on China as related in "A Survey of Asian Studies." It states:

Columbia University -- "The staff, though small, is thoroughly competent";

Harvard University -- "Despite the quality, quantity, and relevance of its output, Harvard's research on China has had no substantial support";

University of Chicago -- "Research...consists of the work of six members of the faculty...and several advanced graduate students";

University of California -- "Except for scattered student theses, there is no research on modern China at the University of California."

Other universities carry on small-scale investigations according to the personal interests of qualified faculty members. Only the University of Washington has enjoyed the benefit of substantial support.

It is true that research on Japan is developing more satisfactorily, but counterbalancing these positive achievements is the fact that areas like Southeast Asia, India, and the Middle East are scarcely touched. Work underway is thinly spread over many countries, many civilizations, and many disciplines. It constitutes but a small attack against the front of ignorance.

Procedures for the Selective Support of Investigation Relating to Asia and the Middle East

In formulating a program for the selective support of investigation, the Division of Overseas Activities and the advisory board will establish criteria of need and urgency with which to evaluate research undertakings falling within the three broad areas of concern. It will seek ways in which to increase the number and quality of research undertakings within these areas and to assure their more rapid and thorough accomplishment.

In appraising the means for extending and accelerating investigation, the Division with the advice of the Board will consider a wide range of methods and institutional arrangements for the conduct of research both in the United States and abroad. Experience has already demonstrated that some forms of inquiry can best be done by individual investigation. Others call for cooperative inquiry by teams of scholars or by combinations of documentary research and field work. Since the scope of inquiry touches almost every aspect of human relations, many projects will necessitate a blending of the approaches and skills of the various social sciences and the humanities.

In view of what the Foundation has learned about the centers of research on the Orient in the United States and abroad, it may be possible, in certain instances, to entrust segments of the investigation to individual colleges, universities, or institutes, either in the United States or abroad. Joint research programs by two or more American institutions have already proved effective. Similar cooperation between American institutions and sister institutions in Asia and the Middle East offer opportunities for effective results that have scarcely been explored, despite the few arrange-

ments now in existence.

In considering the development of the program, the Division and the Board will necessarily bear in mind that the preparation of tools and the development of documentary research will, in themselves, be insufficient to cope with a great share of the problems to which priority must be given. This work must be supplemented as rapidly as possible with investigations in the field, and means must be devised for coordinating the two phases.

Finally, the Division and the Board must be aware that the task of building a stockpile of fundamental knowledge about Asia and the Middle East will be a continuing, long-term undertaking. For Asian revolutions will not be over in a day, nor can we expect an early resolution of the East-West conflict to which these revolutions are pivotal. This fact gives additional emphasis to the need for the training of qualified personnel. It will be necessary to attract and train men and women willing to devote their lives to research and service in Asian lands. To accomplish this there must be incentives capable of drawing and holding first-class people in programs of this kind. Likewise there must be provision for the training of Asians in American techniques of investigation.

Decisions on the methods or instrumentalities for investigation will be made by the Officers following the kinds of study and evaluation by the Division and the Board just described.

The Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellowship Programs

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS resulting from the fellowship experience

The Ford Foundation 477 Madison Avenue New York 22, New York September 1958 Supplement

SUPPLEMENT TO 1957 LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RESULTING FROM THE FELLOWSHIP EXPERIENCE

This is a list of publications by Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellows received since June 1957. As in the previous publication, the list includes only those articles, books or manuscripts which have grown directly out of the fellowship experience. It is hoped that this listing will provide a useful source of reference material and information not otherwise available on current research on the foreign areas involved.

A few copies of the original 1957 Listing are available upon request to The Ford Foundation. Requests for the publications themselves should be addressed either to the author or publisher.

September 1958

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Ford Foundation

December 10, 1956

Dear Mr. Price:

Mr. Murrow has asked me to let you know that he would be available for a meeting of the Advisory Committee on Monday, January 28th.

Sincerely yours,

Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Don K. Price
Vice President
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DON K. PRICE
VICE PRESIDENT

November 21, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

We very much hope that it may be possible to have a meeting of the Advisory Committee on International Training and Research very early in the New Year. I wonder if you would be good enough to indicate on which of the following dates you might be available for a meeting: Friday, January 25th; Monday, January 28th; Friday, February 1st; and Monday, February 4th. I will be in touch with you again just as soon as all replies are in hand.

There are three issues which we would very much like to talk over with you. The first relates to the Foundation's possible future activities in Africa. As you know, John Howard and Mel Fox, accompanied by Professor William O. Brown of Boston University, are now on an extended visit to Africa. Their report would provide the background for our discussion on Africa.

The second item relates to Japan. As you may know, John Everton, former Ford Foundation Representative in Burma, has joined the International Training and Research Program's staff and will have, among other things, Japan as one of his major responsibilities. We hope to get some guidance from you on Foundation plans as they relate to Japan.

The third principal item for discussion is comparative education. This is a field in which very little has been done and to which the many persons we have consulted attach substantial importance. We will hope to report to you on the results of our staff work to date and to get the benefit of your counsel on the Foundation's approach to this field.

I would hope and expect that our new President, Mr. Heald, would be able to be with us at sometime during the meeting.

Cordially yours,

Don K. Price

Don K. Price

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DON K. PRICE
VICE PRESIDENT

December 10, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am sending you herewith the docket for the meeting of the Advisory Committee on International Training and Research on December 20.

This, as you will see, is not our usual kind of docket. Under the action by which the Trustees of the Foundation decided in 1953 to continue the Training and Research Program, they also decided to have it reviewed in 1956, in much the same way as we reviewed last spring the Overseas Development Program. As the first step in any such review, we have tried to prepare a staff paper which states the general objectives of the International Training and Research Program, reviews its current operations, and sets out general directions for the future. This paper is the document on which we would like the Advisory Committee's most searching criticism at this next meeting.

Perhaps I should give particular emphasis to two points:

(1) This is a staff paper which has not yet been reviewed by the officers or Trustees of the Foundation; after receiving your advice, we will make any necessary revisions before this paper goes to the officers or Trustees.

(2) In this draft I think we are still forecasting a program of broader scope than is administratively feasible. I would be particularly grateful for your advice in the process of setting somewhat more rigorous priorities within the program.

The "agenda" paper is simply an attempt to state what seems to the staff the most important issues on which decisions must be made within the program. We would be grateful not only for your discussion of these points, but also for the suggestion of equally important issues which we may have overlooked.

This total document cannot of course pretend to be a real evaluation of the program. I think it is necessary to have a systematic statement of this kind before the President of the Foundation can decide whether an over-all evaluation should be conducted at this time, or whether it will be more useful to look separately at various parts of the program, scheduling each for a systematic review when the time is most ripe.

The meeting is scheduled for 10:00 a.m., Tuesday, December 20, on the 18th Floor of the Foundation offices -- 477 Madison Avenue.

We look forward to discussing this paper with you and will as always be grateful for your advice.

Sincerely yours,

Don K. Price

Don K. Price

Attachment

MEETING

OF

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON
INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH

December 20, 1955

477 Madison Avenue
New York

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Advisory Committee

on

International Training and Research

Ford Foundation

December 20, 1955

A G E N D A

Discussion in the light of the Foundation's past experience is invited on the basic policies to be followed in its International Training and Research Program in the future. Such discussion may deal with some or all of the following questions:

I. The role of American education.

What are the responsibilities of American colleges and universities, and what contributions can they make, in international training and research activities?

Relative opportunities 2, 4

For example, what relative emphasis should be given to (a) the training of Americans, (b) the training of foreigners, (c) research, and (d) cooperation with foreign educational institutions?

II. Foundation assistance to colleges and universities.

What can the Foundation do to help colleges and universities carry out their work in international training and research?

a. What is the relative importance of activities at (1) the graduate level, (2) the undergraduate level?

b. What are the needs and practical opportunities for helping to develop larger numbers of abler teachers and scholars? Government officials? Leaders? Well-informed citizens?

c. Has the Foundation given enough attention to basic research in international relations and foreign area questions? Are there suggestions as

to needs and opportunities in specific fields? Are there grounds for judging the relative importance of group and individual research?

d. Is it desirable, and are there opportunities, for strengthening American universities with respect to (1) sister relationships with overseas universities? (2) integrating such relationships into the regular programs of the American university? (3) improved preparatory training of Americans for study and work abroad? (4) improved training of foreign nationals?

III. Subject matter concentration.

a. Should the Foundation respond to the large demand from overseas for training in physical sciences? Are there other aspects of cooperative research and training in physical sciences that are closely related to present international training and research activities?

b. How, if at all are the arts related to international training and research?

c. Should the present concentration on the social sciences, humanities, and the law be continued?

IV. Choice of foreign areas.

Is the emphasis now placed upon Asia, the Near East, Africa, and the U.S.S.R. and East Europe justified? Are there other areas to which the program should give increased attention?

V. Foundation management of the international training and research program.

a. How can the Foundation systematically evaluate the international training and research programs, their level of operation, and the need for their continuation? Through periodic conferences of specialists in particular fields? Outside consultants? U.S. campus visits? Foreign visits?

b. Are there things the Foundation should be doing or not doing in its relations with American and foreign universities where the Foundation is or may be supporting international training and research?

c. What balance should be struck as between support to institutional programs and support to projects of individuals? For example, should the Foundation put major emphasis upon institutional grants, competitive fellowship programs, and research programs in which the grantees select the individual participants? Minor emphasis upon fellowship awards to "recruited" individuals and research projects submitted by individual scholars?

VI. Impact of rising student population.

a. What is the likely impact of the coming bulge of the American student population upon American college and university programs of international training and research?

b. What are the implications to be drawn for Foundation planning?

VII. General

Does the Committee have any other comments on the emphases, scope or content of the international training and research programs? Are there opportunities for worthwhile activities, in the international training and research program as now conceived, that are not now included in the program?

STAFF PAPER

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROGRAM

PART I

OBJECTIVES

One of the Foundation's five major objectives has been to promote international understanding and world peace.

Since the Foundation adopted its present program, it has recognized several aspects of the need for international understanding -- our need to know more about other peoples, their need to know more about us and others, and a mutual need to know more about the areas of agreement and the points of friction among peoples. These are the needs with which the international training and research program is mainly concerned.

These needs have seemed acute because of a number of familiar problems, some of which will trouble us for many years to come: the liquidation of old empires, the emergence of new nations demanding quick development and respected status, the expansion of Communism, the coming of the nuclear age, new military technology, the sudden inheritance by the United States of the role of free-world leadership, and the diversities and differences within the "free world".

In the development of greater competence to deal with these problems there are opportunities for contributing to international understanding and peaceful development. Higher education has a central role in developing such competence. The main aim of the international training and research program is to strengthen the ability of American colleges and universities to carry out their responsibilities and activities in the international field -- to train Americans, train nationals of other countries, add to the stockpile of knowledge through research and analysis, and assist

in the development of foreign research and training centers. What they do, or fail to do, affects practical affairs and the whole of education at home and abroad.

In dealing with this general problem, the colleges and universities face a variety of challenges -- to focus more work on specific long-term continuing problems, to draw more on experience and talent outside the academic world, to bring together disciplines and specialties in integrated programs, to expand sister relations with foreign univerisities (now confined largely to technical training programs that do not reflect university-wide interests), to feed more rapidly the results of specialized research into the main stream of education, to provide background training to Americans who are going to study or work abroad, and to meet better the needs of foreigners studying in this country. If the Foundation can find promising opportunities, it should help the colleges and universities to meet these challenges.

The Focus

These international training and research needs and opportunities are world-wide in scope. On a horizon so broad the Foundation has sought a sharper focus. There are several ways to look at the problem. Here in summary are some of the guidelines that have been chosen:

1. In terms of institutions, the training and research program (in all its major aspects) is concerned primarily, but not exclusively, with institutions of higher education and their personnel, particularly at the graduate and advanced levels.

2. In terms of broad fields of study it is concerned primarily with the social sciences, the humanities, and law.

3. It is concerned primarily with U.S. competence, and secondarily, but still substantially, with foreign competence, especially where there is a common interest or a working relationship between the U.S. and foreign institutions and personnel.

4. In terms of foreign area interests, it is concerned primarily with those areas of which Americans know least, those where there is greatest need for developing competence within the areas, or those where there are opportunities for mutually helpful relationships with U.S. institutions.

5. The persons whose training and knowledge it aims primarily to improve are those who act directly on the international scene, in government, business, professions, information media, and academic institutions, but it also serves the needs of an informed citizenry.

6. In management terms the techniques used, as in most other Foundation programs, include grants for strengthening institutions, fellowship programs, exchanges of persons among countries, research projects, and conferences and study groups. Administrative considerations have strictly limited, aside from fellowship programs, the number of grants that the Foundation makes directly to individuals or to specific research projects.

Let us consider each of these six points in greater detail:

(1) Selection of institutions: through what institutions should we work? We have already noted the special role of institutions of higher learning. Within them the graduate and advanced levels are the main, but not exclusive, point of impact for international training and research activities. There the people are trained who will take an active part themselves in international affairs, or who will, as teachers, affect

other direct participants and the "attentive public". There much of the new analysis and thinking about international problems will be carried on. There most of the foreign students will be trained. Through the centers of advanced education can be developed institutional bases for continuing international studies, training competent individuals, adding to the stockpile of knowledge, improving tools and aids for training and research (such as bibliographies and better methods of learning foreign languages), improving ways of teaching the general and specialized student, exchanging students and professors with other countries, and establishing links with similar institutions abroad.

Other institutions can contribute in an important way to international understanding: organizations of public leaders (such as the Council on Foreign Relations), organizations managing exchanges of persons among nations (such as the Institute of International Education), and business and professional groups (such as the Social Science Research Council and American Law Institute). Management considerations may result in varying assignments of action responsibility within the Foundation concerning such groups, but all can contribute to training and research objectives. The primary focus of the International Training and Research program, however, has been and will be on the institutions of higher education.

(2) Selection of Fields of Study: what kinds of study most contribute to mutual understanding? Here, as elsewhere in Foundation programs, man's relation to man is the main concern. Mutual understanding involves knowledge and comparison of cultural, political, legal, social and economic institutions. Even within the free world, differences as to

the meaning of the individual self, social responsibility, codes of ethics, legal systems, economic structure, and political organization and method give rise to problems in international understanding. In dealing with more technical programs, such as agricultural training and public administration, American universities have in many cases formed links as sister institutions with foreign schools. These ties, however, are often regarded as the responsibility of particular university departments. Little has yet been done to form university-wide relationships that involve the social sciences, humanities, and law across disciplinary lines. Accordingly the social sciences, the humanities, and law are the fields of study on which the international training and research program primarily concentrates.

(3) Priorities as between U.S. and foreign competence: the development among Americans of knowledge of other peoples and nations and competence to deal with them was the initial aim of the Foundation activities in international training and research. But practical experience showed that an attempt to pursue this objective exclusively would be self defeating. It was found, for example, that in order to train Americans on Burma, something had to be done to produce the basic training materials. This required the improvement of the institutions in Burma in which research could be done--in short the training of the Burmese to understand the economics and politics of their own country. Where there is a mutual interest between U.S. and foreign institutions or individuals on a given subject, training and research activities can often contribute to the development of competence both in the U.S. and abroad. Moreover, Americans can often best carry out training and research when it is based upon cooperative work with foreign institutions and individuals, which at the same time contributes to the training of

personnel and to research within those countries. Accordingly, with the advice of the Board on Overseas Training and Research, the Foundation decided to help meet similar needs and opportunities abroad, that is, to help build up more systematic knowledge in foreign nations of others, themselves, and themselves in relation to others.

The development of American competence remains the primary aim. Needs elsewhere in the world have a strong though subsidiary claim on Foundation interest and resources. Often the two are so interrelated that a distinction is not very meaningful.

(4) Selection as among foreign areas: What foreign areas should be studied or assisted? Several factors affect choices in training and research activities abroad: administrative manageability, limited opportunities as distinct from needs, and the unusual importance of needs with respect to particular nations or geographic areas. Three different kinds of selection must be made:

a. The foreign areas concerning which U.S. knowledge and competence most needs improvement. Initially these have been Asia, Africa, and the Near East, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe.

b. The foreign areas where there is greatest general need for developing systematic knowledge of themselves, others and themselves in relation to others. In most cases these are in Asia, Africa, and the Near East, but we may consider opportunities elsewhere. In some nations a working knowledge in a broad range of social and cultural studies has to be developed before there can be more meaningful communication and cooperative activity with other nations. In the case of countries where the Foundation helps to support general development programs, some

activities may serve both development and training and research objectives. As noted above, activities often serve training and research objectives both in the U.S. and abroad. Where there is mutuality of interest or an institutional link between U.S. and foreign activities, the foreign activities will have the strongest claim on Foundation interest and resources.

c. Specific opportunities in foreign areas for international cooperation on functional studies. Both in the countries where basic competence in social and cultural studies needs to be developed, and in more advanced countries, there are opportunities for joint participation with institutions in the U.S. or elsewhere in studies of comparative or international problems. For example, in legal or political studies, institutions in the U.S. and abroad may form institutional ties, or develop exchanges of personnel, or undertake joint research. To learn, for example, about German legal problems or the Indonesian economy, an American institution may form a link with one in Germany or Indonesia. The geographic scope of such activities is determined more by management considerations and by opportunities than by predetermined choices of particular countries.

(5) People to be reached: In what kinds of people is competence to be developed? The primary target is the man or woman whose future or present career in education, government, business, communications, and elsewhere directly involves foreign areas and international affairs. He needs and wants the results of independent research, analysis, and thought on international and foreign problems. Beyond these more specialized groups lies the general citizenry, and especially what is often called the

"attentive public"; the program has been aimed, but more indirectly, at raising the general level of knowledge and competence concerning international problems.

(6) Selection of program techniques. Management considerations limit the choice. A much larger staff would be needed to review large numbers of individual applications. In only a few cases (fellowship programs, and now and then, individual exchange or research grants) can grants be made directly to individuals. In exchange activities, for example, grants have been largely to the institutions that administer exchange programs rather than to the individuals or groups that are going abroad or coming to the U.S. The typical technique, in international training and research as in other Foundation programs, has been to make grants to institutions, which in turn decide what specific individuals or groups should take part in the research or training.

Program Subdivisions of International Training and Research

The problems and needs for choices just outlined have arisen in each of the three main subdivisions of the International Training and Research program:

Foreign Area studies;

International Relations studies; and

International Legal studies.

These subdivisions are overlapping but roughly separable.

1) Foreign Area Studies - Foundation programs in foreign area studies arise out of the need in the United States for much greater knowledge of other countries and regions. We need to know more about the cultural

setting before we can expect to deal competently with foreign peoples and nations. There is an acute shortage of Americans adequately trained to deal effectively in government, communications, academic and other positions with problems relating to foreign areas. The primary aim is, not to train persons with specialized foreign area knowledge only, but to give economists, sociologists, lawyers, and others grounded in particular disciplines an "area dimension" to their competence.

Apart from the need for people with special area training there is a widespread need in the population as a whole for greater awareness of the distinctive features of foreign areas. International studies at the undergraduate level are almost wholly oriented toward western and classical civilization and have not drawn on the results of graduate non-western studies. Knowledge and understanding both at advanced and undergraduate levels are particularly deficient with respect to non-western areas and areas inaccessible to direct study because of Communist blocks to communication. Foundation foreign area programs have so far concentrated on Asia, the Near East, Africa, and the Soviet and East European areas.

2) International Relations Studies - The Foundation's programs in international relations seeks to respond to obvious needs. There are few people with professional training broad enough to cope adequately with foreign and international problems. Institutional bases for continuing studies of these problems are few in number and sometimes weak in quality. The colleges and universities have made only a start toward integrating their international and foreign studies in interrelated programs. The teaching of international relations in colleges and universities at the

undergraduate level needs improvement. Substantive research suffers from the inability of trained people to give it adequate time and is not typically directed to the major long-term problem in international affairs.

The programs deal not only with relations among governments but relations among peoples, leadership elites, interest groups, and cultural groupings. In a sense other programs may be subsumed under "international relations", and it should not be thought of as a separate subject at all, but as an effort to relate all the relevant disciplines to international problems. Knowledge of foreign nations and areas has an important bearing on competence to deal with them in relation to other nations and areas. Specialized functional studies such as legal studies are a part of the broader whole. The broad interest in International Relations Studies is on interaction of peoples as well as nations in the broad range of cultural, economic, political, social, and legal activities.

3) International Legal Studies - Foundation support for international legal studies has grown out of the need for developing more effective leadership in U.S. public affairs (an interest also of the Foundation program in Public Affairs) as well as the aim to improve competence here and abroad to deal with foreign and international problems. Lawyers have traditionally played a prominent role in American public life. From their ranks come many of our governmental, business, and community leaders. Professional needs and the requirements of public service alike call for strengthening legal research and training in the foreign and international field. Similarly, lawyers from important leadership groups in many foreign countries. An awareness of American legal thought and institutions and greater competence on their part to deal with foreign and

international problems can contribute to mutual international understanding.

"International legal studies" include not only the traditional fields of study in international public law, conflicts of laws, and foreign and comparative law, but a broad range of public and private activities in foreign countries and across national borders. These studies are intimately related to others concerned with international trade and investment and international organization, and with knowledge of and competence with respect to foreign areas.

The programs in international legal studies have five general objectives: to make training in foreign and international legal problems available in the normal course of legal education for American lawyers; to make training in American law and legal thought available to able foreign lawyers, many of whom occupy or will occupy positions of importance in their own countries; to provide intensive training to specialists whose careers in business, government, academic institutions, and otherwise will involve foreign and international activities; to support research that will benefit the general student, the specialist, the practitioner, the teacher, and the interested public; and to foster cooperative arrangements between U.S. and foreign institutions, particularly law schools, that will be mutually beneficial.

Other Foundation Programs Bearing on Training and Research Objectives

Most Foundation Programs now have activities or are planning additional activities that bear on the objective of improving, in the U.S. and abroad, mutual understanding and competence to deal with international and foreign problems. The following examples illustrate the overlap.

The Overseas Development Program sometimes includes institutional and individual research and training in economics and other social sciences. The Program in International Affairs serves most of the same objectives as International Training and Research but works in the U.S. primarily through non-academic groups and, overseas, has a geographic focus in Europe. Public Affairs has an interest in the development of democratic processes overseas as well as in the U.S., participates in programs of international legal studies as an important element in leadership development in the U.S. and is interested in strengthening the U.S. governmental processes for dealing with international problems. One of the four main areas of interest in the Foundation Program for Economic Development and Administration is "economic relations among nations"; this program supports economic studies and business school activities involving foreign areas and international relations. The Program in Education has an interest in the place of international studies in the general educational curriculum. Research in Behavioral Sciences concerns overseas peoples as well as Americans. Exchange activities are included, to varying extents, in most Foundation programs.

PART II

REPORT ON PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The following section reports in terms of program activities what has been done since the program was started in 1952. The activities are grouped under six heads, which indicate the way the Foundation has set up its operations for administrative and budget purposes:

Foreign Areas

International Relations

Training Fellowships
- Foreign Areas
- International Relations

Undergraduate Teaching in Foreign and International Studies

Exchange Activities

International Legal Studies

Special Grants

The report describes typical grants for each program activity and not every grant that has been made.

Foreign Areas

General - Grants have been made to improve training and research of Americans on subjects relating to Asia, the Near East, Africa, and the Soviet and East European areas. From the beginning in 1952 the Foundation has devoted close to $4 million, not including the funds for individual training fellowships, to these purposes. These grants have been largely for (a) the development of basic tools and aids necessary for both training and research, (b) the establishment in American universities of at least a minimum number of continuing graduate centers of foreign area study, (c) the building

up of knowledge on these areas through support of research, and (d) the development of training and research resources in certain foreign areas.

Training and research programs have not been developed evenly among the several areas or among countries within each area. In order to meet the needs of highest priority, the Foundation has tended to concentrate its efforts upon different problems and areas at different times: the Near East during 1952 and 1953; African studies in the United States during 1954; the China field in 1955.

Asia and the Near East - Grants totalling about $2,700,000 have been made to support activities relating to Asia and the Near East.

In 1952 Princeton was the only organized graduate center of Near Eastern studies in the United States. The Foundation has made substantial grants to two other institutions - Columbia University and the University of Michigan - to help meet the need for graduate study centers on this important area. Most of the funds were used to assemble high-quality faculties drawn from a variety of subject-matter fields.

Grants totalling almost $950,000 have been made to increase through research the stockpile of knowledge about important foreign areas. For example, one to the University of California was to support a three-year comprehensive study of contemporary Indian politics. One to Cornell University makes possible a similar study of Indonesia over a period of four years. Both of these grants were made with the condition that the studies be conducted with the help of qualified Indonesians in order to leave an important residue of research training in the host country.

Two other grants are for the study of the contemporary politics of particular foreign areas: one to the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy for

a study of the development of socialism in Japanese society and political life; another to the University of Southern California for a study of the impact in Japan of Soviet political influence.

A grant to Cornell University made possible a three-year study of the Indian Village development program. Its purpose was both to meet American needs and at the same time (a) to increase a foreign country's knowledge of its own problems, (b) to evaluate the results of other Foundation programs.

China's critical and growing importance in the world, its inaccessibility to Americans, and an apparent fall-off in American university training and research activity in China in spite of new and rising needs, led to a particular effort in 1955 to develop a program on China. In the past year, grants of $774,960 relating to China were made to stimulate fuller use of already existing training and research resources on Modern China, and to encourage national and international cooperation in training and research.

To illustrate: a grant was made to Harvard for basic research into the background in modern times of Chinese economic development, and to Columbia for similar research into modern political developments in China. Both projects are attempting to break open wider research possibilities for others. Both will create a number of badly needed tools and aids. Both will seek to set up cooperative relationships with persons and institutions elsewhere, especially in Japan, Formosa, and Hong Kong. Smaller grants were made to two universities important in this area, the University of Chicago and Stanford, to help them maintain at least temporarily, essential elements of their training program, threatened this year by declining enrollments.

The development of basic training and research aids is illustrated by a grant to the American Council of Learned Societies to begin preparation

for over twenty-five Asiatic languages, of linguistic analyses, dictionaries and graded readers, which are indispensable for even minimum training and research needs. Other grants have been made to (a) the Middle East Institute in support of its Middle East Journal to assure an outlet for publication and dissemination of research results and for a continuing survey and report on research in progress; (b) Stanford University's Hoover Institute and Library to increase its effectiveness as a national training and research resource; and (c) the Far Eastern Association to enable it to include South Asia within its program and to strengthen it generally as a national, inter-university instrument for attacking problems of training and research on South and Southeast Asia and the Far East.

Grants to strengthen foreign training and research institutions have been made in Asia. One grant, for example, was made to strengthen the library of the U. N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East for the benefit of people and institutions both inside and outside the area. Another grant was made to the University of Rangoon to strengthen its Economic Research Center, and through it to add to the very small stock of trained economists in Burma. Still another has been approved to support a program of research and research training in the University of Indonesia's Economic and Social Research Center in cooperation with the University of California. Added together, these projects involving foreign institutions promise not only to help build up economic and social training and research skills in Southeast Asia, but to accelerate the development of American training and research programs.

The importance of foreign skill in the social sciences and related humanities led the Foundation in 1955 to add to the staff of its Near East

office a training and research specialist to devote his full time to training and research activities in the Near East area.

Africa - Until 1954 there was a single graduate center for African studies (Northwestern University) and this was confined to anthropology and linguistics.

Seven grants totalling $706,000 have now been made in support of African studies. The two largest grants were made to strengthen and broaden the institutional base of American graduate training in African affairs.

They enabled Northwestern University to broaden and Boston University to develop graduate study centers to include faculty members from all of the relevant social sciences, to enlarge their library resources, to support faculty research, and to provide financial assistance at a minimum level to research publications. A smaller grant has been made to Howard University to improve undergraduate offerings in the African field and to inaugurate graduate training leading to the Master's degree.

Two grants have been made to foreign institutions in support of their training and research resources: one to the long-established International African Institute in London and the other to the University of Natal in the Union of South Africa to help it develop its young but promising interdisciplinary social science research program.

Another Foundation activity designed to increase competence of Africans themselves has been a fellowship program carried out by the Institute of International Education since 1951. Under this program some 24 scholarships have been provided (15 for undergraduate and 9 for graduate work) for students from Nigeria (12), Gold Coast (6), British East Africa (5), and, during the current year, for one African from Natal University. This program has been

discontinued as of the end of this academic year, on the ground that the training in America of Africans should be based on a more careful survey of African wants and needs.

Soviet and East European Areas - Soviet and East European studies in America have been relatively well developed. Therefore, it has not been necessary to encourage at this stage any increase in the number or size of America's advanced training centers on Russia. Only one grant has been made in support of a training program. This was made to Notre Dame, which is attempting to develop competence on the non-Russian areas, so far neglected in Soviet and East European studies. To stimulate production by the many individual scholars already trained and now scattered widely throughout the country, a project has been supported to enable the inter-university Joint Committee on Slavic Studies to identify and support for completion and publication promising individual research undertakings by mature scholars. The Foundation has also given supplementary support to the principal outlets for shorter research studies, the American Slavic and East European Review, the Journal of Central European Affairs, and the Annals of the Ukrainian Academy.

The main effort in this area field has gone, however, into supporting and encouraging national cooperative attempts to make training and research on the area possible in spite of the inaccessibility of that area to Americans. A series of grants has been made to the Library of Congress, the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and others, to support research among escapees and refugees, to help get out of the Soviet Union documentary materials available nowhere else, to share these among American university libraries, to prepare and publish guides to the existence

of such materials in the free world's libraries, to translate and publish some of the most important of these materials, to review the effectiveness of these systems, and to explore for possible additions to them.

International Relations

Program Activities - Fellowship programs and undergraduate teaching in the broad field of international relations are described in other sections of this report. With regard to advanced studies, only two large grants have been made.

A major grant has been made to strengthen an already organized training and research program at the graduate and professional level in the United States. The grant was made to Columbia University, which gave assurances that the activities supported by the Foundation would become, by the end of the ten-year grant period, a continuing part of its own educational program. Columbia itself has over the years devoted substantial funds to build a program in international affairs. The program has been designed to balance teaching and research, to enlist the active participation of relevant social sciences and humanities and the Schools of Law and Business, and to relate closely the work in international relations with foreign area study.

The Foundation grant to Columbia will enable it to add to its faculty in American foreign policy, foreign economic policy, international sociology and interregional and comparative studies, provide additional time for research by its senior scholars, strengthen its Near and Middle East Institute, and give financial support to students in its graduate faculties, to law students wishing training in international relations, and to selected foreign students.

The only other grant in this field was made to the University of Delhi to help in the establishment of a School of International Affairs. This grant was made to help provide in India itself a strong training institution at both the undergraduate and advanced levels, in a field of study for which Indians heretofore had to depend for the most part upon British universities. The grant was made to support scholarships for Asian students, a program of library acquisitions, and a Professorship of American Civilization.

Training Fellowships

Foreign Area Training Fellowships - In 1952 the Foundation announced its first national competitive foreign area fellowship program. This was aimed at increasing the number of Americans with training in the history, culture, and current problems of Asia and the Near East. The objective has been to give persons with thorough training in some disciplines of the social sciences, humanities, or law additional training with respect to a particular foreign area. In October 1952 the Trustees appropriated funds for a similar program relating to Africa. In 1954 the Foundation announced its third foreign area training fellowship program, one relating to the Soviet Union and East European area. Altogether the Foundation has devoted about $2,500,000 to 400 Americans under these programs for periods ranging from one to three years.

The basic aim has been to draw persons of highest quality into the foreign area field. The primary criterion for selection has therefore been the ability and promise of the individual applicant. In many cases fellowships have been renewed on the principle that training in depth would greatly increase the returns on earlier investments.

Asia and Near East Program - The Foundation has trained 273 Americans under this program. Applications for fellowships have levelled off from around 700 in 1952 to around 600 in each following year. Most applications come from the academic community, and relatively few from government, communications and business.

Almost 80 percent of the awards have gone to persons in or preparing for teacher-scholar careers. Geographic interest has been heaviest in the Far East, followed in order by the Near East, South Asia and Southeast Asia.

African Program - Although funds for these fellowships were appropriated in 1952, the African Fellowship Program was not publicly announced until 1954. Awards for African study have been made to 28 individuals, all in or preparing for the academic field. Four special awards have been made through the Institute of Current World Affairs to persons in journalism, law and medicine.

Soviet and East European Program - Applications under this program have numbered close to 450 in each of the past two years. Altogether 99 Americans have been assisted in their Soviet and East European training. All except one of these fellowships have gone to persons in or preparing for an academic career.

Program Administration - In 1954 the Foundation asked Howland H. Sargeant, a former Assistant Secretary of State, to analyze the Foundation's three-year fellowship experience. Mr. Sargeant recommended that certain modifications should be made in the programs but that the Foundation should continue to administer them directly in order to relate them closely to other Foundation activities, to keep the staff in touch with problems of training

and research, and to build up a body of know-how and competence in fellowship administration.

Modifications in the Program - The principal modifications made in the fellowship programs over the past year or so include the following:

(1) Diversion of larger amounts of available funds to relatively more advanced candidates in keeping with the principle of training in depth.

(2) While keeping individual promise as the basic criterion, making awards insofar as possible to persons in "under-represented" disciplines and geographic areas.

(3) Increased emphasis upon pre-departure briefing of fellows going overseas.

(4) Small grants to major Asian or Near Eastern training centers for grants-in-aid to students whose needs can best be detected and measured on the campus.

(5) Use of part of the fellowship funds to meet certain special training needs on the basis of individual selection.

(6) Development of means for continuing evaluation of the fellowship programs.

Results of the Programs to Date - The impact of fellowship programs in operation only four years is difficult to measure but questionnaires, meetings with small groups of ex-fellows, and discussions with individuals give some indications of promise. Three-fourths of the ex-fellows are in universities. Most are able to utilize their area training in special area courses. All are teaching in a discipline and are able to utilize some of their area training in conventional courses.

Few are devoting or express a desire to devote all their time to area work in organized area study centers. They are well distributed in colleges and universities throughout the United States, and are teaching at both the undergraduate and graduate level. Most of them testify to their desire to teach part-time at least at the undergraduate level in conventional discipline courses.

The publication record of former fellows is good. Over 90 percent have published at least one article growing out of their fellowship experience; half have more than one article to their credit.

Participation in radio and television programs has been high. Most have been called upon frequently to lecture to non-university groups. Their student counselling, foreign student advising and committee activities have increased substantially.

The impact that many fellows have had on their colleagues in the host country, through contacts with individuals and groups and through correspondence after their return, has been noteworthy.

Finally, many fellows through the collection and translation of documents are building up a stockpile of teaching materials on foreign areas which, when organized properly, will meet a strongly felt need at the undergraduate teaching level.

International Relations Training Fellowships - An equally important aspect of building American competence in training and research involves the training of an adequate number of unusually able persons competent to teach and do significant research in problems bearing upon international relations -- persons who in turn can train others to work effectively in the field of international relations in government, the professions, communications and the

academic world. This goal was reflected in the announcement by the Foundation in the early fall of 1955 of an International Relations Training Fellowship Program providing support to trainees in the academic year 1956-57.

This fellowship program reflects a broad interdisciplinary concept of international relations. It rests upon the assumption that competence in the field of international affairs would be greatly augmented by combining training in international relations as it has been conventionally conceived with training in either economics, history, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, social psychology or a related field, or by combining it with training in the history and culture of one or more nations of Asia, the Near East, Africa or the Soviet and East European area. This program reflects the assumption also that persons in the social sciences, other than international relations, or in one of the related humanities or law, would be able to make a larger and much needed contribution to the understanding of international and foreign affairs if they were given the opportunity for advanced graduate study in the substance of international relations. Although the competition is open to persons who have completed requirements for the Ph.D. except the dissertation, the Officers have hoped that the impact of the program might be more quickly felt if a substantial response to the program came from persons already having a doctorate or law degree and having three or four years teaching experience behind them.

Undergraduate Teaching in Foreign and International Studies

Our concern here is with improvement of the quality and content of the teaching of international studies in American colleges and universities. It is not our aim to support the addition of new courses to the undergraduate

curriculum.

Teaching of graduate students and undergraduates is not strictly separable. Teaching at either level would benefit by improvements at the other. The main focus of current explorations, however, is on the undergraduate college level. There is widespread experimentation with the teaching of international studies around the country at numerous institutions, but there has so far been lacking a systematic and continuing exchange of experiences among the participants. Staff plans are now considering ways to help this experimentation and interchange, through a series of conferences.

Activities have so far been largely confined to exploring the problems involved, including examination of numerous proposals submitted by colleges, and discussions at ACITR meetings.

Only one grant has been made, for a summer conference on the teaching of international relations at the State University of Iowa in the spring of 1955. Twelve younger professors participated in the conference, which discussed over an eight-week period the problems of organizing and teaching the basic courses in international politics.

Exchange Activities

From the beginning of the Foundation's International Programs - particularly after the establishment of the Division of Overseas Activities in January, 1952 - support for exchange activities has been based on the following assumptions: (a) that exchange training for foreigners or Americans can effectively achieve cultural, technical or educational goals only if it is related to specific program objectives; (b) that without greatly increased knowledge of the process of exchange the best designed projects will fall short of their objectives; (c) that unless American institutional facilities for dealing with the flood of exchange students and with their training programs are greatly improved, the potential benefits of exchange will not be realized as fully as they might be.

The Foundation has tried to strengthen the general management of exchanges by assisting agencies that perform services on a national scale rather than to scatter its effort among numerous service groups operating at the local level. This activity has been labelled "exchange strengthening".

Hoped-for benefits from exchanges do not invariably follow from the experience of foreigners in the U.S. or of Americans abroad. Difficulties in adapting to foreign conditions, cultural and language barriers, and varying degrees of professional competence impose problems that have not been adequately studied or understood. In the interest of dealing more effectively with these problems of exchange training in a cross-cultural setting, the Foundation has encouraged exchange research and evaluation.

These separate but related exchange activities, including individual and group projects, have been regarded as tools helping to achieve international training and research projects and the further exploration and development of new training and research activities.

Exchange Strengthening

To date Foundation support, totalling $2,447,605, has been largely concentrated in three national organizations concerned with the management of exchange programs both on the campus and in the community (Institute of International Education, National Association of Foreign Student Advisers, and Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students).

The flood of foreign students and visitors has now levelled off. The agencies mentioned have been increasingly effective in handling such matters as selection of candidates, admission practices of American universities and campus-community extracurricular activities. Meanwhile the Training and Research program has grown. With these developments has come a growing awareness of the need to explore another and perhaps more important dimension of "exchange strengthening" -- the long-range educational implications of exchange activities for the American academic community. What part do foreign students and scholars, and foreign experience by Americans, play in the long-run interests and needs of American colleges and universities and in their responsibilities toward American and foreign students? In this connection the Foundation has made a small grant to enable the American Council on Education to establish the Committee on Institutional Projects Abroad. This Committee is concerned primarily with the administrative and the substantive problems arising out of government-sponsored sister-university contracts. Having helped to reduce the area of conflict between American universities and the government on administrative matters, it is now giving major attention to the question of how American universities can make use of these agreements to strengthen their long-range international programs and interests.

The role of the undergraduate student in furthering the international interests of the university has been largely overlooked. Such international programs as have been developed by students have been the result, usually, of the initiative of individual student groups, and have most often been carried out with little relation to, or guidance from the university. Experience has shown that student projects, if properly designed, can significantly contribute at a number of levels to the development of mutual understanding both at American and foreign universities. They can also help to build a channel of continuing communication between American students and students in critical areas. In December, 1954, the Foundation sponsored a meeting, under the auspices of the Experiment in International Living, of some seventy adult and student leaders interested in short-term summer student exchange projects. They examined the ways in which students might take a more active role in the universities' international activities and help to establish meaningful contacts with foreign students.

Research and Evaluation. "Strengthening" objectives call for better understanding of the process of exchange training in a cross-cultural setting and an identification of what needs to be done to make this type of activity most productive. These studies are designed to measure achievements of particular programs of exchange and to provide the knowledge needed to enable both American and foreign institutions better to accomplish their objectives. For example, what lessons does the experience under the Fulbright program hold for planning other exchanges? Or, what have been the actual attitudes developed by Indian students in studying and living in the United States, and what can be done to promote better attitudes in the future? The Foundation has made grants totalling

$309,000 for projects including: the Central Index of Educational Exchangees, established by the IIE (a comprehensive current machine-carded record of both foreign and American exchangees since 1919); the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Cross Cultural Education, which has conducted studies that begin to provide dependable knowledge about some of the factors in exchange training (such as difficulties in adjusting to foreign conditions); and studies on the foreign student in the New York area, on the value of orientation, and on the effect of foreign experience upon young Americans and their home communities.

Exchange Projects.

The Trustees have recently authorized fellowships for promising individuals both Americans and foreigners, to undertake field work or study in other countries. This fellowship program is not restricted geographically. In many cases Fellows under this project will serve to lay the basis for future international training and research projects.

Reports indicate a need in South Asia and the Near East for improved student-faculty-university relationships. The Foundation has made a grant to the National Student Association for its program of fellowships to enable student leaders from underdeveloped countries to study and observe the role and responsibilities of American students in student government.

Many of the activities of the Training and Research Exchange staff relate to programs in other parts of the Foundation.

International Legal Studies

The Foundation has made grants totalling $6,307,475 in support of international legal studies. Of this $5,650,000 went to six U.S. law schools -- California (Berkeley), Columbia, Harvard, Michigan, Stanford and Yale.

These major institutional grants were largely in the form of liquidating capital sums for ten-year periods and of endowments. They provide funds for professorships, fellowships, research, and for a variety of supporting activities such as travel, conferences, and collaborative work among law schools. They permit a considerable degree of flexibility, giving each law school scope for developing its foreign and international studies in an experimental way that reflects each one's particular interests and resources. In three cases contributions were made for the construction of essential physical facilities. The inclusion of fellowship funds in most of these grants has made it possible to bring foreign lawyers to the U.S. for study.

No institutional grants have yet been made abroad. One grant, however, has enabled three U.S. law schools and six in Japan to undertake a three-year program of exchanges of law teachers, judges, and advanced students for training in the law of the other country. An individual grant was made to the Dean of the Law Faculty at the University of Delhi to make possible a year's visit to the United States. Here he is visiting American law schools and leading figures of the bench and bar, with a view to revising Indian legal education, fostering joint research (particularly in constitutional law) and promoting cooperative arrangements between Indian and American law schools.

The grants to American law schools are making possible expanded research programs. Another major research grant of $300,000 was made to the American Law Institute, to analyze the interaction of international law and U.S. domestic law as it concerns the conduct of U.S. foreign relations and to formulate a Restatement of U.S. Foreign Relations Law. This ought to result in a significant piece of substantive research and help to train an important leadership group of American judges, practitioners and teachers.

A grant to the American Society of International Law will make possible fifteen regional meetings in various parts of the country at which local lawyers and scholars and foreign visitors will discuss topics of timely interest involving international law.

In addition to its general program of international legal studies, the Harvard Law School has a special program of research on tax law. This program will increase the numbers of persons here and abroad competent to deal with tax problems affecting economic growth and international trade and investment, and will add to the body of knowledge on foreign tax law and administration.

Special Grants

Some grants have been made on an ad hoc basis that do not fall in any of the program activities outlined above. A grant was made to the New Asia College in Hong Kong to give Chinese students, largely refugees from Communist China, an opportunity to study Chinese culture and history. Support has also been given to the Institute of Race Relations in the Union of South Africa, a group formed to study the problems arising in the multi-racial population of the area.

PART III

PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

This section briefly proposes, for each of the program categories discussed in Part II, the main directions of the effort in International Training and Research over the next ten years. We are not here suggesting that the Foundation should commit itself to any specific course of action over a ten year period, but are assuming that such a length of time is useful for purposes of staff planning. Present planning, of course, must in any case be tentative. It is possible and useful, however, at this stage to form broad judgements as to what lines of activity have been well launched, what ones need more intensive development, and some new ones on which a start could be made.

General

Past efforts have been largely concentrated on training as distinct from research. The two, of course, are not neatly separable and are in fact complementary. As more people are trained, the quality and quantity of research can be expected to improve. In the future, however, more attention should be given than in the past to promising possibilities for research, both in individual and group projects, and to research on specific long-range problems in international affairs.

Another main line of future development should be to support working relationships between American and foreign institutions. These can yield multiple benefits: they help to identify able scholars and promising students in foreign countries; they make easier and more productive American research in areas that are sensitive about being studied by foreigners; they may

produce gains in cross-cultural training that more casual visits and exchanges cannot; both sides will usually have much both to teach and to learn; American activities abroad on a cooperative basis may leave a residue of knowledge and working methods in countries where studies are less advanced. These kinds of mutual arrangements are perhaps furthest along, at least in planning terms, in international legal studies. There may be opportunities for extending such benefits to other program areas.

Among the program categories in international training and research, International Relations has so far received relatively least attention and resources. As outlined in this report, some important steps have already been taken or are in an advanced state of planning. The pace and scope of these activities should be increased over the next few years.

With respect to both U. S. and foreign competence, much remains to be done relating to all areas of Asia, the Near East, and Africa.

Foreign Areas

Geographic Areas - General Emphasis: While there may be exceptional opportunities for activities relating to other countries on an *ad hoc* basis, the general scope should continue to include Asia, the Near East, Africa, and the Soviet and East European area.

Asia and the Near East: The staff should try, over the next few years, to find opportunities for developing training and research programs, embracing the social sciences and humanities, with special attention in the United States to South and Southeast Asia.

Other needs which the staff should try to help meet in the future are:

Journals for publication and dissemination of research results and for training in the cases of South and

Southeast Asia.

Preparation of language tools, such as linguistic analyses, dictionaries, textbooks and readers; these are needed for the whole area.

Coordination on library acquisitions and management among U. S. institutions, particularly with respect to the Near East, South and Southeast Asia.

Improved communication among area specialists, particularly with respect to the Near East and Southeast Asia, which can be encouraged through stronger professional organizations and more frequent meetings.

Research - the gaps in all of the social sciences or humanities with respect to the area are so great that almost any research by a competent scholar would be a valuable contribution; finding competent scholars (apart from fellowships and institutional programs already under way or planned)will call for a search with the help of professional societies.

Teaching materials, prepared by senior scholars, which are needed with regard to the whole continent, for use in teaching at all levels.

Development of indigenous competence, particularly in Southeast Asia and Near East, to overcome a shortage of scholars in the social sciences and humanities and of institutions that can undertake advanced training or research programs; there may be promising opportunities

to develop working relationships between U.S. and Asian or Near Eastern institutions that have a mutual interest.

Japan, although in a different category, has been relatively neglected. There indigenous resources for training and research are stronger than in most of Asia. Much remains to be done to develop working relations between the U. S. and Japan. A special staff visit will be made to Japan in the near future.

Africa: Except for the two African graduate study centers in the United States, there has been little training and research activity with regard to the continent south of the Sahara. The entire range of African problems remains an important target for the future. A preliminary survey has been made by a consultant, and a visit by Foundation staff to Africa is planned for the near future to evaluate some of the potential opportunities for action.

Geographic Scope. Except for support of limited research programs, a private American foundation can probably not work effectively in the areas controlled by Belgium, France, Portugal and the Union of South Africa. Furthermore, the independent countries of Ethiopia and Liberia seem to have only limited ability to absorb further outside assistance in the near future. It seems likely that Foundation activity would be possible and most useful in certain of the British-controlled territories (particularly the Gold Coast and Nigeria) which may soon be independent, and possibly in some U. N. Trust Territories.

Program Opportunities. Even in these territories, where there is already a pattern of national government and some African leadership to direct it, an American foundation would face a number of limiting factors.

Several possible types of activities, however, will be looked into:

Provision of expert advisers who can help African leaders to study their training problems and to develop programs to deal with them. Selection of actual projects would depend upon first-hand appraisal of the need and of African personnel and institutional resources for carrying them out. Such projects should probably aim primarily to develop indigenous resources for training.

Training of African educators in American institutions. This activity is corollary to the above. Selected American institutions might provide specially designed training in public administration, foreign service administration (particularly for the Gold Coast), agricultural sciences, and certain social sciences.

Support for development of new African institutions of higher education. The most apparent needs (which would develop only over a considerable time) are for the general development of the proposed University of Eastern Nigeria and the University of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in Salisbury. Such support would be outside the limits of the program; it might be considered on an *ad hoc* basis, as were the cases of the New Asia College in Hong Kong and the Institute of Race Relations in South Africa, or considered in other parts of the Foundation.

Soviet and East European Areas: Research and training with regard to these areas is already relatively well developed. The principal future

problem, as in the past, is that not many Americans can visit or work in the areas. The Foundation will continue to explore, with the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies, ways of easing this problem. One possible Foundation contribution might be to help provide a system and resources for rapid action by individual qualified scholars in case temporary opportunities for visits to Soviet areas develop.

International Relations

Organized Training Programs - Opportunities should be sought for helping to develop organized training programs in international affairs. These should not only involve the social sciences, humanities and relevant professional schools, but also relate closely the work of international relations to the work of foreign-area training institutes. It may be possible over the years just ahead to help develop three or four training centers that would combine functions of training graduates, undertaking research, and developing new teaching materials and methods.

Research - For International Relations as for Foreign Area studies, a major problem relating to research will be (a) to find competent research scholars and evaluate their research proposals, and (b) to work out arrangements whereby these scholars can have time to do significant research.

Substantively, among the more neglected but important target areas are those involving study of long-range American foreign policy problems; assessment of the impact of military developments, especially nuclear, upon international relations and organization; comparative studies of the political process; and studies of the relationship between the cultural and social forces operating within nations and their attitudes toward foreign and international problems.

Relations Between U. S. and Foreign Universities - An important group of activities, little explored to date, involves continuing relationships between U. S. and foreign universities in the international relations field. One such relationship involving American and Turkish universities is now being explored by the institutions concerned.

Training Fellowship Programs
(Foreign Areas and International Relations)

The national need for persons with specialized training with regard to foreign areas or international relations remains high. The imminent large increase in enrollment and the interest in better informing the undergraduate body in foreign and international affairs promise employment for all persons so trained.

Present training fellowship programs administered by the Foundation should be continued at around the same level, but, as has been done in the past, with changes in emphasis and procedure in the light of experience from year to year. For example, it may seem desirable to farm out, as was done last year under the Asia and Near East programs, some of the fellowship program funds for grants-in-aid to be administered locally by foreign-area study centers. If opportunities for qualified students to study in the Soviet and East Europe increase, help might be provided.

A continuing evaluation of fellowship programs should remain an important target for the future.

Undergraduate Teaching of
Foreign and International Studies

The Foundation activities in this field in the immediate future will be largely exploratory. The first task is to learn more about the character and dimension of the problems through a continuing and systematic interchange of experiences and views, over a five-year period, on the improvement of teaching on foreign and international subjects at the undergraduate level.

Some of the problems identified as needing further experimentation and exchange of information among teachers are: 1) there is a need for a new integration of international studies with the existing regular courses for undergraduates; 2) international studies at the undergraduate level are almost wholly built around Western and classical civilization and have not drawn on the results of graduate non-Western area studies programs; 3) the traditional course in international trade or finance does not adequately deal with the broader policy problems of economics in world affairs; 4) the contributions of anthropology, social psychology and sociology are not used to the full in developing understanding of foreign areas and cultures, and inter-cultural relations and communications; and 5) teaching materials and teacher training reflect all the above shortcomings.

Support may be given to various types of experiments aimed at improvement of the undergraduate teaching of international studies, such as a second summer seminar at the State University of Iowa and certain other projects aimed at the improvement of undergraduate teaching of international studies.

Exchange Activities

Continuation of Activities - Exchange activities should continue to be a basic means of furthering research and training objectives. Activities already begun that should be continued include:

Exchanges of Persons (other than those directly related to other program activities): Individual and group exchanges should be continued on the established pattern, and as a means of exploring new training and research possibilities (such as Americans finding foreign institutions with whom ties might be developed, or foreigners surveying American resources in fields of interest to them).

Evaluation and Research: Selected organizations and individuals should be supported in their continuing research into factors

that affect the usefulness of exchanges and exchange-training.

Exchange Strengthening: Administrative support should be continued for national agencies (such as the Institute of International Education) that manage programs of foreign students and visitors. In some cases this might take the form of long-term grants.

Additional Future Problems: Among the problems that bear generally on exchange activities to which increasing attention should be given in future years are:

1. Pressure of rising American student population on our educational resources. As the great wave of American students seeking higher education mounts in the next decade, colleges and universities will be under pressure to curtail both their own interest in international training and research and the number of foreign students in the United States. In the years ahead colleges and universities will need help to coordinate and relate all elements of their international and foreign programs in the most effective way, and to continue international programs.

2. Better selection of foreign trainees. This would call for work with foreign governments to improve their own programs to assist their nationals in study abroad, and for support to the U. S. governmental and private agencies concerned in the selection process.

3. Training for Americans going abroad. The few initial projects now under way should be supplemented in order to provide more effective preparation for Americans who plan to work or study abroad.

4. Foreign student environment. The ability of the foreign student not only to absorb training, but to make use of his training

is dependent upon the general atmosphere or setting within which he carries out his training and personal adjustment. The problem for the most part can be dealt with effectively only at the local level and will call for combined campus-community efforts.

5. Special training needs of foreign students. Much remains to be done to tailor training programs in American colleges and universities to the specific needs and limitations of foreign students.

International Legal Studies

Additional Grants to American Law Schools. In its preliminary consideration of grants in this field, the Foundation recognized that grants smaller than the initial ones might be made to strengthen programs of international legal studies in a dozen or more qualified law schools. If international studies are to become part of the mainstream of legal education and reach into all parts of the country, schools other than a few national centers should be assisted in carrying out plans in the field. Over the next year or two, such grants should be made, covering periods of five to ten years.

Inter-American Legal Studies. Several law schools have specific interest in inter-American studies, in the context of a more general interest in the comparative study of law and training foreign lawyers. Individual law school interests vary, but include as aims one or all of the following: to meet the growing professional and business needs in the U. S. or Latin America for knowledge of a Latin American or the U. S. legal system; to train Latin American lawyers in U. S. legal thought; to help Americans acquire a competence in civil law; and to develop international law as it affects hemisphere relations. The benefits of programs in legal studies could extend substantially beyond

the legal aspects in contributing to understanding in hemisphere affairs. In this as in other programs involving foreign law schools, mutuality of interest would probably lead to organizational ties and joint work with institutions in Latin American countries.

Joint U. S.-Foreign Programs. Several U. S. law schools are now interested in forming working relationships with law faculties and institutes in other countries - for example, in India, Turkey, Germany, and Latin America. These developments may lead to requests for grants to foreign law schools and institutes for exchanges of students and professors and joint research with U. S. schools.

Training of Specialists and Teachers. As the international legal studies program moves into its second year there is general recognition, among law schools that have not received Foundation grants as well as those that have, of a need for selectivity in foreign areas to be studied and foreign lawyers to be trained. Several schools wish to concentrate on the training of law teachers, U. S. or foreign, competent to deal with foreign systems of law and international problems. Support for such training could help to break a current bottleneck.

Research. As experience grows and competence develops under the international programs, it is expected that substantially more research in the field will be undertaken by law schools, professional societies, and institutes.

Expanded Program. The experience thus far in international legal studies indicates that there will be opportunities for worthwhile grants beyond the original planning budget. In the event that the budget were enlarged, the bulk of the additional funds should be granted to overseas activities.

Ford Foundation

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DON K. PRICE
VICE PRESIDENT

April 15, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Ed:

I am attaching an agenda and supplemental materials for the one day meeting of the Advisory Committee on International Training and Research on April 29.

It is our hope at the meeting to have a general discussion with the members of the Committee concerning the Foundation's international training and research programs. In the past, Committee discussions have been devoted primarily to the Fellowship programs and to grants for institutional support and research relating to Asia and the Near East, Africa, and the USSR and East Europe.

At the April 29 meeting we would like for the first time to discuss certain more recently developed programs as well as to discuss the Foundation's international training and research programs in the aggregate.

Because this is a fairly broad subject, involving a substantial amount of detail, we shall assume that the attached written material will be read for background information and will not need to be repeated orally at the April 29 meeting.

For example, the status of the Fellowship program and developments subsequent to the Sargeant survey are fully reported in the attached supplemental material and the Agenda does not specifically pose questions for discussion concerning this program, although Committee members may wish to raise questions themselves.

The newer program plans which we particularly desire to discuss with the Committee are those relating to studies in international relations, to China, and to the training of foreign nationals.

We also regard it as important that sufficient time be left for the final item on the agenda which is an overall discussion of the content, emphasis and directions of the Foundation's international training and research programs.

I am delighted to inform you that we have just received from George C. McGhee his acceptance of appointment to the Advisory Committee. George will fill the vacancy left by John Gardner's resignation and will bring to the Committee discussions considerable experience in Asian and Near Eastern affairs.

The Committee meeting will take place at 10:00 a.m. on Friday, April 29th in the Conference Room on the 15th floor of the Foundation offices, 477 Madison Avenue.

We look forward to a very stimulating discussion.

Sincerely,

Don K. Price

Don K. Price

Enclosure

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON
INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Meeting of April 29, 1955 - 10:00 A.M.
Conference Room - 15th Floor
477 Madison Avenue

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International Training and Research Program: Outline

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS

AGENDA

The subheads of this agenda (except IV) correspond to the several staff papers which are appended.

I. International Relations Program

As the Committee knows, the Foundation has been considering a training and research program in the field of international relations (defined as including not only academic programs that go under this name, but also the social sciences and humanities as they involve international relations). The appended paper under this title, representing the present stage in staff thinking, is offered as background for the Committee discussion. The paper expresses some tentative judgments and offers some general suggestions that we hope will stimulate ideas on the questions involved in this International Relations Program.

1. The general questions on which Committee advice is now requested are: What kind of significant contribution can educational institutions make in this field? How can the Foundation help them to make this contribution?

More specific questions are:

2. Can we look to the colleges and universities for intensive and imaginative thinking on current long-term international problems? Can they help the policy maker? Should more outside experience be brought into the academic world? Should there be greater focus on American foreign policy as such?

3. What end results should we aim for in research and training? Help for the policy-makers and opinion-formers? Improvement in knowledge and understanding on the part of teachers, researchers, students planning government careers, students and citizens in general? Which should be given priority? Are the needs for all so similar that distinctions are not very helpful?

4. Can the best results be expected from work within the disciplines traditionally concerned with international relations? Is there a need for more work cutting across disciplines, including the humanities? If so, how could it best be organized?

5. What particular substantive problems deserve increased attention? For example: Relations within the free world? Developments in regional groupings? Defense policy in relation to foreign policy?

6. Are the primary research problems the gaps in our knowledge of particular problems? Inadequate syntheses of existing knowledge bearing on international problems? Inadequate understanding of the decision-making processes?

7. Is the primary training problem a need for improving the quality of trained personnel rather than a need for greater numbers of trained personnel?

8. Can the Foundation rely primarily on the strengthening of existing academic institutions.

9 9. What does the Committee think of specific types of assistance such as fellowships for graduate students in international relations? Faculty fellowships? Internships for students or faculty? Summer seminars for teachers (perhaps including government officials and others outside the academic world) to exchange views, improve teaching materials and do research? Support for individual and group research? Preparation of teaching materials?

II. China Program

Since the last meeting of the Committee substantial progress has been made by the staff in developing a program of training and research relating to China. The appended paper under this title represents the present status of Foundation action and tentative staff planning for further action in this field.

Underlying this tentative program plan are several assumptions, stated below, relating to China. The general questions on which Committee views are sought are: Are these assumptions sound and tenable? What role do they suggest for the Foundation?

These assumptions are as follows:

1. That China has become so focal in world affairs that the degree to which we will be able to follow and understand developments there will help determine the problem of war or peace in Asia and the Western world; that the importance of China will continue; and that special planning and emphasis on China in training and research is therefore justified and required.

2. That in the national interest the minimal training plant made up of eight scattered university programs in the United States should be maintained in its essential components, even if national use of the programs continues to lag behind national need.

3. That the importance of areas such as Formosa, Hong Kong and Japan for essential field training and related research activities is great enough to justify the required investments.

4. That, while Chinese in exile or Americans of recent Chinese origin comprise a valuable research resource, primary emphasis in training and research programming should be on developing and using cadres of competent Americans, through whom the contributions of the others can be drawn.

5. That the need for new and experimental approaches to both old and new China training and research problems requires a high degree of risk capital investment, with primary reliance on ideas, men and institutions, rather than on tightly drawn project outlines.

III. Training of Foreign Nationals Program

The Foundation has worked with exchange-training activities for four years. Through this work we have become aware of the need to increase the training capacities of both American and foreign institutions in certain fields of major importance to underdeveloped countries. The appended paper under the above title sketches the Foundation's experience and tentative plans in this field. To assist us in exploring how American universities might establish specially designed programs for training foreign nationals, we engaged William C. Johnstone, Jr. (Professor of

Asian Studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and formerly Deputy Administrator of the State Department's International Information Administration in charge of Exchange Programs). He was asked to canvass the experience of exchange training programs under the auspices of government and private agencies and to analyze the many problems that arise from the standpoints of the trainee, the American institution and the participating foreign country or institution. We are listing below, as questions on which Committee advice is sought, some of the major problems identified by Mr. Johnstone that remain unresolved in present staff plans.

1. Is it feasible for selected American universities to mobilize sufficient specialized knowledge about underdeveloped countries to develop training in, say, the social sciences or public administration, so as to be truly responsive to the needs of a multi-national group of participants? If so, can projects of this type best be developed, in general, through the university administration, special faculties, separate university-related institutes, or Area Centers?

2. In terms of the long-range educational interests of American universities, are special training programs of the type indicated, for selected individuals at a few universities, more important than a program that would help universities in general to provide better training for the large numbers of foreign students and specialists that they will continue to have in any case? Can the two types of programs be made to benefit one another?

3. In terms of the basic long-range objective of strengthening the capacity of institutions in the underdeveloped countries to provide training for their own nationals in fields important to development, how can participation by foreign institutions be assured in such matters as financing, selection and placement of trainees on their return home?

4. To what extent is it realistic to expect an American university to take responsibility both for planning the American program and working out arrangements with foreign governments and institutions? To what extent is participation by the Foundation both in the United States and in the countries represented likely to be required?

5. How can the several suggested approaches best be integrated into a feasible pattern that will serve the long-range needs of both American and foreign institutions?

IV. Oral Report by Cleon Swayzee

On overseas aspects of training and research activities in Southeast Asia and the Near East.

V. Other International Training and Research Programs

There are appended staff papers reporting on the Foreign Study and Research Fellowship Program for 1955-56, the Area Programs and the International Legal Studies Program

No special agenda items relating to these programs are raised for Committee discussion. Any comments the Committee may wish to offer will be welcome.

VI. International Training and Research Programs: Overall Discussion

In the appended Outline a staff effort, which does not represent approved Foundation policy, has been made to state the general purpose and working objectives of the international training and research programs and to list and briefly characterize the interrelated component programs. It would be helpful to the staff to have the Committee's general appraisal of the programs in the aggregate.

What are the Committee's views on overall plans for the international training and research programs as presently outlined: on their general scope, content and direction? on specific strengths and potentials, gaps and weaknesses, over-emphases or under-emphases?

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

Problem

1. Our problem is to determine the aspects of research and training in international relations on which the Foundation should concentrate. Whether or not such studies constitute a separate discipline, or fit neatly into the current curricular rubrics for various branches of the social studies, need not greatly concern us. In a field so diverse and far-reaching, however, cutting across many of the established academic disciplines, it is particularly important to identify the particular aspects that seem most in need of further development. Moreover, faced with limited resources in time and trained talent, it is important to decide the main direction of Foundation effort, recognizing that many kinds of problems other than those here selected for attention are now, and ought to continue to be, the subject of academic study. We must consider first what useful contribution the colleges and universities can make in the study and development of international relations, and then how the Foundation can help them to make their potential contribution.

The Present Situation

2. Need for Depth. Governments, international organizations and private groups have devoted much attention to matters of economic growth and material advancement, in which the U. S. is recognized as the world leader. It is much less clear that the U. S., or other free nations generally, have succeeded in clarifying and communicating their larger human purposes. This is a problem of basic American attitudes for which the colleges and universities do not

bear the sole, or perhaps even the major responsibility. They should be able, however, to contribute more significantly than they now do to a much needed development of the affirmative purposes of free peoples and a broadening and deepening of the understanding of international problems. Problems in international relations are normally regarded as the special preserve of certain social sciences. Studies in this field are usually devoted to special segments of particular interest to individual institutions or scholars, often unrelated to current problems, seldom seeing problems as part of a whole or drawing from related studies in the humanities.

3. Separation of Academic and Non-Academic Worlds. The academic world is too often divorced from the world of action. Here again the fault lies largely in general American attitudes now prevailing. With proper support, however, colleges and universities should be able to give more attention to studies aimed at improving the understanding of practical foreign policy issues. Studies seldom undertake a searching analysis of current major problems. On the other side of the coin, the academic world could benefit from the experience and insights of outside persons--former and present government officials, journalists, clergymen, businessmen with foreign experience and the like.

4. Quality, not Quantity, a Problem. The quantity of people engaged in international studies poses less of a problem than the quality of their performance and lack of focus in research and teaching. The U. S. has ample academic institutions for undertaking significant studies in international relations. Most universities and colleges offer traditional courses in these studies, though the division of responsibility among departments and disciplines varies widely. Some, including centers specializing in international studies, have programs in research. There is a

mass of teaching materials in the form of texts, articles, and published lectures, though little is focussed on major problems of foreign policy.

5. Lack of Opportunity for Research and Fresh Approaches. There are few opportunities for scholars and teachers from a wide spread of institutions to get together to exchange ideas and debate major issues. Frequent encounters of minds, even more than increases in the volume of published material, would be helpful to stimulate useful fresh thinking. At present--in this as in many other fields--few institutions can spare teachers from regular academic duties to pursue research activities that would both improve their own competence as teachers and add to the body of knowledge and understanding. A related problem is the tendency of research groups to operate separately from those primarily engaged in teaching; research work often is not adequately geared with general problems of training.

6. Major Gaps in Substance. Since individual institutions, and often individual scholars, pursue studies of particular interest to them, there are bound to be important specific gaps in the content of both research and teaching programs apart from the general deficiencies noted above.

(a) Institutions have not given much attention to the problems of military developments, especially nuclear developments, as they affect national foreign policy and international relations. Research and teaching are largely lacking as to the broad interplay of defense and other aspects of international relations, in dealings both with the Communist world and the free nations.

(b) There has been considerable stress on area studies (language, history, cultural background and current problems of particular nations, areas, or ethnic groups) designed to train area specialists. Also, many

studies have been undertaken on a "functional" basis of world-wide problems of political organization, economics and law. A middle ground that fuses these two approaches has been largely neglected--studies in depth of regional groups of nations having a broad common denominator, in cultural growth, current attitudes and problems, and geographic nearness, to give fresh insights to functional problems in political and economic order.

(c) General courses in international relations--such as international law, organization and economics--are more widely found than research studies and courses of instruction to improve understanding of current issues in American foreign policy. There is a need for more research and training with this specific orientation.

(d) Some useful projects have been undertaken studying economic development in the under-developed areas. Much more should be done to clarify the interplay of economic, political and cultural factors in the emerging under-developed nations; the needs for, and effects of, outside assistance in various forms; and relationships among under-developed countries in particular regions, and between them and the industrial nations, particularly the U. S.

Target Groups

7. The aims of a program of studies in international relations, in terms of persons they would be designed to help should be to:

(a) Improve the general level of knowledge and understanding of students and of citizens generally concerning problems in international relations.

(b) Make available to public officials and policy-makers and private groups influential in opinion-forming, the results of independent research, analysis, and thought on international problems.

(c) Improve the learning and understanding of persons who intend to enter, or are now in, careers directly involving problems in international relations.

(d) In pursuit of the above aims, to improve the stock of knowledge and understanding and add to the opportunities for constructive thinking among teachers and scholars in international relations.

8. There are not as great differences in the nature of studies that would help these different groups as might at first glance appear. Broader understanding, deeper insight, and orientation toward pressing current problems are important for all. The research project that throws the light of all pertinent disciplines on current problems may not only help the person searching for a decision on an important question of foreign policy but add to the body of knowledge and understanding important for the teacher, the general student, and the more specialized student, or other person, seeking a career that directly involves international relations. Similarly experiments in the organizing of courses and new syntheses of familiar material from interrelated disciplines may point up problems leading to new research.

9. Studies designed for the special training of government officials involved in international relations, businessmen, journalists and the like, may nevertheless pose special problems. Often these must be tailored to special needs. To the extent that they do, they are not further considered in this paper.

General Foundation Approach

10. In deciding what activities to support, the Foundation can choose between or blend two general approaches. It could decide on an *ad hoc* basis to support particular projects that seem reasonable and helpful. Or, it

could seek actively to promote programs of research and training that relate to a central idea and insist that programs given support fit into a coordinated pattern built around that idea.

11. The two approaches need not be mutually exclusive, and neither by itself is wholly desirable. The ad hoc approach, if not carefully watched, might encourage further splintering of the field through uncoordinated special studies and teaching programs, leave present curricular barriers intact, and leave important unfilled gaps. On the other hand, the Foundation itself probably could not, even if it wished to, prescribe a coordinated pattern of research and training for institutions and individuals who should have a high degree of freedom and initiative in pursuing projects that seem to them to have significance.

12. A possible way of blending the two approaches is to create a new center, or give massive support to some existing center, that would undertake a comprehensive program of research and training. Such a center could be helpful in mobilizing thought on current policy problems, organizing comprehensive research, and, if open to large-scale outside participation, improve the level of teaching. There would be risks, however, that such a center would emerge as a sort of unofficial State Department, that trained talent would be concentrated rather than diffused, and that the country-wide level of research and training would be hurt rather than helped. These risks might be reduced by the growth of several such centers. In any case, there is room for some imaginative experimentation in comprehensive research and teaching programs at particular institutions.

13. Guidelines. The Foundation approach probably should fall somewhere between the two extremes mentioned. In any case, it is useful to try to

formulate in advance a central idea for programs and some general guidelines for Foundation support:

(a) In general, the Foundation should encourage research and training in depth--studies and courses that draw on the contributions of many disciplines, including the humanities, and that are focussed on current problems of a long-term character in American foreign policy. Communism presents one of the major international problems and studies helping to deal effectively with the Communist world are of continuing importance. The Foundation, however, finds its best opportunity for new programs in the relatively neglected but clearly related problems of bringing a higher degree of order and sense of common purpose into the relations among free nations.

(b) Within this broad purpose we should encourage research and training in depth on a regional basis with the object of identifying the forces promoting or obstructing better organized cooperation among the nations of particular regions, between those particular regions and others, and with the United States. Such studies and courses would not only fit the pattern of present trends (the development of the Atlantic community, U.S.-Latin America cooperation, regional organizations in Asia, and the like) but could give sharper focus and more concrete content to functional studies of defense, economic development and political organization. It would be hard, but not impossible, for academic participants to define the proper scope of regional studies in depth involving many disciplines and to avoid the dissipation of effort in studies having only marginal bearing.

(c) The Foundation should support other research and training projects concerning current problems in foreign policy that can contribute usefully to policy-making within the government and to better understanding among the

opinion-makers and the public at large. Among others, problems of military defense need to be more fully studied and better integrated with other aspects of international relations. Problems arising from the aspirations of emerging nations in under-developed areas need deeper attention.

(d) In its initial phases, Foundation activity in support of research and training in international relations can probably best concentrate on institutions, groups, and individuals in the United States. Here the need for improvement is great and studies can contribute to the development of American foreign policy. As soon as feasible, however, foreign scholars and leaders of thought and opinion should be brought into Foundation-sponsored activities.

Specific Types of Activities.

14. The following types of academic activities should be considered for Foundation assistance where they fit into the aims and guidelines outlined above:

(a) Faculty fellowships would permit present teachers and scholars to take a year off from regular academic duties from time to time and devote a year to research and study either in residence at their home institutions, or elsewhere. This should improve the quality and scope of research, help to break down the barriers between research and teaching functions, and improve the knowledge and competence of teachers.

(b) The Fellowship Program for area research and training could be supplemented with fellowships in international relations, to orient area specialists toward the current problems of relations among nations in a particular area or region, between them and other areas, and particularly between them and the United States.

(c) Interneships in government agencies concerned with international relations for teachers and scholars would increase their knowledge and

understanding. There are some obvious difficulties in arranging such interneships: the need for lengthy security investigations of people who would be dealing with sensitive matters and the pressure of day-to-day business on government officials which makes it hard for them to give helpful attention to internes. The possibility of establishing such interneships, however, should be further explored.

(d) Travel funds can be provided in appropriate cases not only for those who receive faculty fellowships under (a) above, but for summer research and study projects of other teachers.

(e) Summer sessions at which scholars and teachers may meet, exchange ideas, debate issues and hear lectures from authorities who might not otherwise be available to them, could help significantly to stimulate thinking and improve understanding. Public officials and others could participate with mutual benefits. These sessions offer a most useful way of widely disseminating the results of new research, new syntheses of available material, and new ideas for the organization of regular courses of instruction. Summer sessions would call for funds to help finance their administration, lectures, and possibly living and traveling expenses.

(f) Grants to centers that have comprehensive programs of research and training would permit additions to staff that would strengthen their ability to fill some of the gaps in international studies outlined above.

(g) While only a few such projects are sufficiently advanced in planning to be considered at present for financial support, the Foundation can encourage experiments in teaching--such as study programs that cut across departmental and curricular lines, integrated programs in law and international relations, and programs that draw on extra-academic talent--that show promise of giving greater depth and focus to studies in international relations along the lines here outlined.

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS

CHINA PROGRAM

The amount of testimony on the need for more attention to training and research relating to China has been impressive. It has not, however, been consistent. Individual reports, often impressionistic, have disagreed not only upon needs but even on the existence or value of resources available for meeting needs. There is no national group looking at these problems overall, and there has been a notable lack of ideas and of national leadership from the universities upon which the Foundation could draw.

Against this background, the Foundation undertook to conduct a rapid survey of present training and research resources and activity on China in the United States, the Far East, and Western Europe. The Foundation engaged for this purpose Paul Langer, a political scientist and historian, and a specialist on the Far East, fully competent in Japanese, Chinese and Russian, and already generally familiar with training and research facilities on these areas here and abroad. He has prepared a detailed report of his findings and conclusions. In this paper, his report will be summarized and the main lines of possible Foundation program effort recommended by the staff highlighted for discussion. It should be noted that Langer's study has attempted to determine not only the important consensus of felt needs among university people in this field, but also opinions about needs held by responsible non-specialists concerned with meeting America's growing need for knowledge of China. It should also be noted that Langer focussed his survey on the training of and research by specialists. There still remains the problem of seeking better balance in primary, secondary and collegiate teaching by infusing into curricula more Far Eastern and Asian subject matter, to be considered within a broader framework.

I. FINDINGS

Training: There are eight advanced training programs on China which taken together comprise America's basic plant in this field. In these programs, the number of students willing to undertake training in depth on China has dropped about

50% in the last three years alone. In language training, upon which research competence on China depends, declines are still sharper. At Columbia, for example, enrollment in elementary Chinese has dropped from thirty to ten in the same period. At this level of enrollment in elementary courses, and with the normal "mortality rate" in this difficult language, essential advanced language offerings are seriously threatened in many hard-pressed universities. If such courses are dropped and qualified teachers forced to leave the field, fewer fully-trained specialists on China will be available five years from now and, more importantly, our national China training plant upon which any future training build-up depends, will have deteriorated.

Additional qualitative loss flows from the trainees' inability to get field experience in mainland China. So far no systematic substitute for this experience, organized in overseas Chinese areas still accessible, has been created. The advanced trainees who do go overseas tend toward Japan, and nowhere in Japan, Formosa or Hong Kong has any efficient mechanism for providing advanced language training in a Chinese setting been devised.

American training programs suffer from imbalance. Traditionally their emphasis has been on the humanities and their interest in the ancient and classical. Even in this relatively well-covered sector, the coverage of fields has been narrow and microscopic; no adequate history of China from the earliest times has been attempted even by those capable of it. In the social and behavioral sciences, certain important fields such as economics, scoiology, political science, public administration, and geography are still so under-represented as to be almost non-existent in some cases.

In the first post-doctoral years, so little opportunity exists to deepen and complete training by applying it on the job or in research that many of those who have survived the rigorous years of study leave the field or, remaining in it, lose their newly-acquired and untried skills.

China Program

Research: Overall research production on China is decreasing, and at the same time there is a marked tendency either to remain within or to return to study of the Chinese antiquities. An expert estimate puts the number of Americans qualified for research on China at less than one hundred, outside government. Half of these are immersed in miniature studies of China's ancient past. Of the rest, comprising the entire pool from which we can hope to draw increased knowledge about modern China, most are historians or students of literature and language. There is only a handful of political scientists, geographers, sociologists, and economists, qualified and willing to study China, and almost none of these is pursuing full-time research now. Almost nothing has been done on the economy of China, contemporary, modern or pre-modern; no attempt has been made to prepare even in outline a political history of China since 1911; sociological studies are rare; as yet little attention has been given to China's international relations, especially those with Asian countries. What has been accomplished or attempted shows increasingly the results of defects of training, already referred to. For example the economics section of a recent symposium on Communist China had to be written by a specialist on the economy of Eastern Europe who lacked at that time the skills necessary for the task.

For all research on China, certain restrictive factors, some new and some old, apply across the board. Heavy teaching schedules reduce time available for research. Individual researchers are often geographically remote from adequate research libraries, are widely scattered, and lack enough opportunity to consult together on related interests and problems. Funds for the maintenance and development of major research collections are inadequate on the one hand, and on the other there are no coordinated systems like those developed in Russian studies for procuring, distributing and reporting on contemporary Chinese documents, restricted in export by the Communist regime.

For the better represented fields essential research aids, developed from pre-modern materials, are obsolescent. For the underworked and newer fields essential aids are almost completely absent. Few area research and training efforts are so ill-served with biographical and other dictionaries, encyclopaedias and atlases, hand books of political and economic organization, glossaries of new terminology, translations of basic materials, and teaching materials on all levels.

No serious attempt has been made to compensate for lack of research access to the field by developing research use of Chinese human resources in this country or abroad or by establishing cooperative relationships with Japanese researchers whose work on China is in some fields superior to our own.

II. CONCLUSIONS FOR FOUNDATION PROGRAM.

General: American training and research facilities on China are better developed quantitatively than those for South or Southeast Asia where the first basic programs are yet to be established. These facilities, however, are not directed toward modern China in the main, nor are they organized to cope with the new research and training problems posed by the closing of mainland China to Americans. As a result, there is no single country of comparable size, population and importance about which we know so little as about China today. Furthermore, the gap between what we do know and what we need to know is steadily widening, as China's role in world affairs becomes more critical on the one hand, and training and research activity on China falls sharply off on the other.

In the broadest terms, five related needs emerge sharply. First, the field needs to be generally encouraged and revitalized by clear and substantial expressions of Foundation interest and confidence. Second, the essential core of existing training and research facilities should be maintained at present levels in order to make possible any future build-up required. Third, there should be more use of these

facilities and of other training and research resources already available here and abroad. Fourth, use of available resources should, wherever possible, be directed and organized toward solutions of needs and problems already identified or which will emerge. Fifth, there is a need for a representative, non-Foundation group or organization to assume responsibility for coherent planning and action on certain problems common to all research and training on China, and national in scope. In the meantime, the Foundation will undoubtedly have to continue for a year or two a consistent central effort to survey, stimulate, initiate, or help coordinate in this field. It is clear that in the universities there is a good basis in interest and energy, and in training and research resources already available, upon which to build effective program along these lines. The Langer survey, itself, has already had an important positive effect on the morale of the field and on the willingness of important individuals in it to start working and planning forward together.

Guide lines for a Foundation program, based upon these findings and conclusions are as follows:

Training: Help maintain existing training facilities; develop training in disciplines and fields now underrepresented or non-existent; develop new and more efficient advanced field training, especially for language in overseas Chinese areas.

Research: Support to studies, individual or institutional, now possible with existing personnel, materials, and research aids, combined with encouragement to the creation of new aids as a corollary task; emphasis upon modern studies, especially in the underrepresented fields; encouragement in the development of new combinations among Americans, Chinese, and others possessing complementary research skills, so that larger increases in present research production will not have to depend so fully upon an intensified training process; selective support to research on the pre-modern in order to secure overall studies basic to an understanding of the present

but not yet undertaken by the traditional Sinologists; encouragement to international cooperation for the use of research resources, including Chinese in exile, in Japan, Formosa and Hong Kong; support to the development of cooperation and standardization in procuring and reporting on scarce contemporary documentary materials.

Cooperation and National Planning: Encouragement to the development of independent national planning for identifying problems and needs, and for attempting to develop systematic and cooperative solutions; encouragement at the same time to the construction of less broad cooperative efforts related to such specific tasks and problems as systematizing procurement and standardizing reporting on procurement, or organizing overseas advanced language training; continuation in the meantime of a higher degree of Foundation responsibility for identification of needs, priorities and selections, than would ordinarily be required.

III. PROGRAM ACTION

Three grants made in the last six months, and two still under consideration, aim at some of these objectives and provide some basis for next steps toward others. These are:

1. The University of Washington: $12,220 for the completion in Hong Kong and Seattle of a memoir history of the Chinese Communist Party, being prepared by a young American scholar in collaboration with a former key member of the Party's leadership group, now in exile.

2. The University of Chicago: $22,500 and

3. Stanford University: $15,000, as emergency grants to maintain on the faculty and in their China training programs key teachers and essential course offerings in advanced Chinese language.

4. Columbia University: $420,189 for a coordinated effort to open up and assist substantive research in politics on China since 1911, and to create some of the basic aids upon which such research must depend. Over a 5-year period this project would undertake both the creation of biographical reference works for this period, and broader research studies as these become possible through the biographical research

approach. It will also identify and assist where necessary both individual researchers in this field located elsewhere than at Columbia and prepared to undertake other such studies; and individual Chinese in exile qualified to prepare significant memoir literature, after the pattern of the University of Washington grant above. For this and related purposes, cooperative relationships will be established in Japan, Formosa, and Hong Kong, as well as at the Library of Congress and other university centers in the United States.

5. Harvard University: $277,000 for a similar effort over a five year period to open up research in economics on modern China. The central process will be the preparation of a survey economic history of China from the beginning of the modern revolutionary period in 1840 to 1940, but within this frame individual studies in greater depth on selected problems, brought up to date, or falling entirely within the current period, will be conducted both by the project and by individuals elsewhere than at Harvard but supported from the project. The preparation and publication of various research aids will be undertaken at the same time. Cooperation in Japan, Formosa, and Hong Kong will also be sought.

These projects, which parallel each other, have been in touch with one another and coordination is already arranged for informally.

With these projects ,if followed up consistently, important steps toward the objectives outlined above will have been taken. For example, in the Harvard and Columbia projects, economics and politics, there are potential solutions to problems in these fields other than those which are their immediate objectives. Both will construct national committees of consultants and advisors. It is already planned to call upon these groups for consideration of the so far unsolved problems of recruiting superior young men into training in economics and politics combined with training on China and maintaining them in this training to the required depth. In both cases, also, the substantive content of the projects offers an excellent opportunity for training. Funds to make possible the necessary consultations and

conferences independent of the Foundation have been provided for in the grant requests

The representation both projects will require in Japan, Formosa and Hong Kong offers another opportunity both to develop a more widely applicable systematic use of research resources in those places, and to create economical inter-university systems of coordinated procurement of key contemporary documentary materials.

None of these projects, however, will provide even temporarily a method for more effective use of overseas areas for training, especially needed for advanced language. Facing this need, the State Department is now establishing an experimental language school on Formosa. Informal assurances have been given by the Foreign Service Institute that this school can be made available for advanced candidates from university programs and faculties on a limited basis but looking toward the possibility of enlargement as feasible. Universities consulted informally have responded warmly, and a modest inter-university project, to be conducted independently of the Foundation, could undoubtedly be established if we encourage it.

The use of other overseas institutions for both training and research purposes needs to be explored further. While the FSI-inter-university language project and the research projects in economics and politics do offer in their overseas representatives and relationships one means of exploration, the Foundation staff will make its own investigations in the course of overseas trips now planned.

There is no immediate possibility for organizing more effective and cooperative procurement of the documentary material available from time to time in Hong Kong and Formosa. A related problem is the diversity in Chinese recording and cataloging systems which seriously handicaps coordination in both procurement and use of these materials. A Joint Committee of the American Library Association, the Far Eastern Association and the Library of Congress is attempting to develop the needed standards, and this group could easily develop into a vehicle for improving the procurement system. This development will be followed closely.

In addition to attention already given to the encouragement and support of substantive research in politics and economics, a staff effort will be made to identify and support similar research undertakings in sociology and anthropology, and in the general field of contemporary Chinese culture (contemporary literature, as it reflects and serves the Communist regime, and the content and use of other mass communication vehicles in popular Chinese education). Cornell and possible U.S.C. offer possibilities here. In other underrepresented fields such as geography and public administration, there would appear to be little opportunity for developing projects centered on universities of strength. Here and elsewhere, it will be necessary to make individual research grants either for full-time or part-time research, if the Foundation is to do anything at all in certain important fields.

For the much needed and long overdue general history of China from 2000 B.C. to at least the beginning of republican China, there is only one good possibility. At the University of Chicago, Professors Creel, Hucker, and Kracke, representing the best in the old Sinological tradition, are capable of this work and ready to undertake it. With Kracke maintained at Chicago under the grant reported above, this possibility remains open and is under consideration.

With the Far Eastern Association becoming more and more an inter-university organization of younger and more vigorous men in this field, it is possible that it can eventaully assume many of these planning and operational responsibilities. They are making some tentative steps in this direction and may be able to avoid old university rivalries and cleavages between the traditional and the modern study of China. The staff will follow this development closely.

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS

TRAINING OF FOREIGN NATIONALS

Background

In the course of the Foundation's overseas study and research fellowship program, under which scores of young Americans have visited countries in Asia and the Near East, the question has frequently been asked, here and abroad: Why does not the Foundation enable young Asians and Near Easterners to study in the United States under a "reverse fellowship program"? Although the Foundation has provided training opportunities for a sizeable number of foreign specialists in a number of fields important to overseas development, we have been aware of other needs that are not being satisfactorily met. Our recent explorations of whether and how to develop a training program for foreign nationals that is at once broader, in terms of the fields of discipline, and more systematically planned, in terms of the needs and interests of both foreign and American institutions, have resulted in several related proposals, herein outlined.

Since these proposals are, in a sense, a logical development of the Foundation's past experience with exchange-training activities, the Committee's examination of them will be facilitated by a brief review of some of the Foundation's major programs in this field.

Since 1951 the Foundation has given considerable support to American organizations engaged nationally in the effort to improve the general handling of foreign students and visitors who have flocked to the United States in greatly expanded numbers since the second World War. This support, termed "exchange strengthening" for short, has gone principally to the Institute of International Education, the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers, the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, and the American Council on Education. Our support

has been directed at improving the administration of these organizations in their efforts to handle the logistics of exchange, expand facilities for better hospitality programs throughout the country, professionalize the Foreign Student Adviser operations at American universities, assist universities in their handling of sister-university contracts, and create greater awareness both on the campus (among university administrators) and in the community (among civic leaders) of the need to make more effective use of the foreign students in our midst to increase our understanding of people from other countries. However, we have become increasingly aware that the academic and social problems of foreign students cannot effectively be dealt with entirely on a national basis, and therefore have been giving serious study to the ways and means of supporting imaginative local campus-community efforts designed to create an atmosphere in which special training programs of the type discussed below can more fully achieve their academic objectives.

In addition, through its support to studies on exchange of persons being conducted by the Social Science Research Council and others, the Foundation has given considerable stimulus to current efforts both to understand the process of intercultural education and to measure some of the effects of it. The findings that are beginning to emerge from these studies are providing insight and specific knowledge that can be applied both to special training programs for foreign personnel and to the daily handling of the mass of foreign students who will continue to seek their advanced education at American universities.

The specific exchange projects which the Foundation has itself supported have ranged from individual fellowships for senior specialists to a variety of group projects, and have, in most cases, been directly related to overseas development programs. Illustrative of such projects are the following: the training of a group of Pakistani women in various aspects of home economics, to equip them to accept senior teaching posts at the newly organized Karachi College of Domestic Science

and the College of Home Economics at Lahore; the training of two teams of Turkish secondary-school education specialists (at the University of Illinois) for the purpose of assisting the Turkish Government in its current efforts to reorganize its educational system; the Southern observation trip provided for 22 State Directors of Extension from India to enable them to see the Extension Service in operation in the United States and also to view the close, continuous relationship between the research laboratory and the Land Grant College and the individual farmer.

All of the Foundation's considerable experience during the past four years with overseas development and training and research programs, as well as with specific exchange projects, has led to the conclusions:

(1) that from the standpoint of the national interest in strengthening the free world, it is important for American universities and American scholars to develop not only more general knowledge about underdeveloped areas, but also a greater capacity to teach both American and foreign personnel to carry out training programs in priority fields in those areas;

(2) that in the long run the success with which the underdeveloped countries build democratic institutions, and the skilled leadership necessary to sustain them, will depend upon the capacity of indigenous foreign institutions to train their own scholars, researchers, administrators, political and social leaders; that even greatly expanded technical assistance will not assure the results sought by development programs in these countries without indigenous training resources;

(3) that these two objectives are complementary and therefore can best be achieved through a combined and coordinated approach founded on mutual interest; and therefore,

(4) that with sufficient time to assure continuity and with adequate focus on the needs and resources of both foreign and American institutions special programs for training of foreign personnel can not only significantly strengthen academic and political leadership in underdeveloped countries, but can also improve American knowledge of critical foreign areas and American academic resources regarding those areas.

The Foundation's exchange-training activities, and those of other agencies, have indicated that these objectives cannot be attained by running large numbers of individual foreign specialists through standard courses at American universities, nor by so-called sister-university relationships which involve massive university efforts

to accelerate simultaneously a great variety of development activities. The objectives can be attained only through carefully designed and sharply focussed programs which are responsive to the educational requirements and interests of both American and foreign institutions and are, therefore, especially tailored to meet the specific long-run needs of foreign institutions and the defined interests of cooperating American universities. It is in this sense that the following proposed programs for training foreign nationals are designed to add a new dimension to the Foundation's exchange-training efforts and effectively fill the need for "reverse fellowships."

Special Training Program

In a recent memorandum to the Foundation's Overseas Representatives a proposed special training program for foreign nationals was outlined as follows:

> The major elements in the proposed program come from two sources: (1) the desire of the underdeveloped countries for training of their personnel in the United States and (2) the proposals of numerous U.S. institutions for assistance in the development of special training programs for foreign nationals, and for Americans as well, in fields such as rural extension, public administration, economic planning, research methodology, teaching of English, in relation to the underdeveloped countries.
>
> Our ultimate objective is to develop a program adequate to meet both of these needs in a significant way. However, in order to keep the program manageable at the outset and to gain experience, it is proposed that during the first year or two the program be confined to (1) small groups of carefully selected nationals from the underdeveloped countries who desire training in the United States; (2) two or three top-priority fields, which may also be important for the training of Americans in relation to the underdeveloped countries, and (3) no more than a handful of American institutions which have the capacity for laying on special training programs of the sort required.

At a subsequent meeting in New York of the Foundation's Overseas Representatives (from Pakistan, India, Burma, Indonesia and the Near East) this proposal was explored at some length. Although the discussion disclosed many substantive and operational problems, there was general agreement that special training programs in certain priority fields were needed to meet vitally important educational and social

needs of countries in Asia and the Near East. It was the general consensus that the program should be organized along the following lines:

Despite the rather broad range of priority fields in which training is needed in these areas, the following fields, among others, appeared to have considerable importance: general economics, social science methodology, and public administration practices. In addition, most of the Representatives felt that training in American Studies would have significant long-range benefits.

Emphasis should be upon general and, where possible, interdisciplinary studies, rather than on the highly specialized training that typifies American graduate education.

As far as possible, courses should be designed on the problem approach in a context appropriate to the trainees' countries, and, where appropriate, as an integral part of the proposed program practical case materials should be produced for each of the special fields undertaken.

Senior, mature foreign teachers and administrators in a position to affect policies would be given first consideration, and advanced American students should be included. All participants should be recruited.

Because of the diversity of training problems in each field selected, and the probable differences in the level of competence and the stated objectives of the foreign participants, and because of the complexity of the task of developing special training courses to meet the varied needs of foreign participants, it would be desirable, during the initial stages, to limit the effort on the American side to a very small number of institutions that would be willing and able to organize special courses of the type indicated.

American universities undertaking this program would have to have as members of the staff persons with experience in the countries represented. The need for special area knowledge might also be served by including in the teaching staff at each of the participating universities leading teachers from one or more of the countries.

Despite the many difficulties of developing in the American institution the special training facilities to meet the needs of participants from each country represented, it is important, if possible, that multi-national foreign teams be sought as the objective of the program. Without such an objective, there would not be large enough numbers in any particular field in a single university to warrant that university's undertaking a special training program over a period of many years.

In the interest of accelerating the institutional benefits abroad, the possibility should also be explored of having qualified Americans work or teach in each of the foreign countries represented, as an integral part of the two-way training effort.

It is important that the responsibility - and as much as possible of the initiative - for developing and carrying out this training program be in the hands of the participating American institutions. It is apparent, however, that the Foundation staff both at headquarters and overseas would have to be prepared to participate to a considerable extent during the initial development period in order to assure that the actual training program, the selection of trainees, and the general administration are effectively responsive to the needs and interests of both American and foreign participants.

Our study of this proposal is based on the understanding that the problems of training foreigners in the United States are too complex in both their American and foreign aspects to be subject to effective attack with one all-purpose training program. Many separate programs are needed, directed at the central purpose of strengthening the research and training facilities and personnel resources of educational institutions in the United States and in underdeveloped countries. The Foundation, in its exchange strengthening and evaluation efforts, its special exchange-training projects related to overseas development, and its research fellowships, has been concerned with important aspects of these related problems, and in the course of these activities has identified some of the gaps that need further study. In connection with its review of the Foundation's overseas training and research activities, the Advisory Committee itself has pointed to the fact that American foreign area research requirements cannot be adequately met unless and until indigenous scholarship and research resources are developed in other countries capable of providing more of the basic social, economic and political data upon which America's research and training efforts depend. The proposed special training program is but one of several activities designed (a) to give greater cohesion and focus to on-going Foundation exchange activities, (b) to add several new dimensions to efforts to train foreign nationals in the interest of the long-range needs of both American and foreign institutions, and (c) in the process to try to demonstrate new and improved methods that might serve the national exchange-training effort.

Some of the other exchange-training activities which the Foundation is exploring are sketched below.

Related Exchange Activities

Supplementary Training for Foreign Nationals

As important as is the development of new training programs for foreign nationals in certain selected fields, it is undoubtedly also important to provide more effective training for the great number of students from countries in Asia, the Near East and Africa who are already in the United States and who will continue to flock to American universities. The special training program outlined above can at best reach only a very limited number of foreign leaders in three or four important fields, whereas each of these countries is represented in American schools by a great number of young potential leaders in a wide variety of socially and educationally important fields of study. For example, during the 1953-54 academic year, the following numbers of students from the indicated countries were studying in the United States: India - 1486, Pakistan - 233, Iran - 961, Iraq - 669, Israel - 859, Burma - 117, Jordan - 529, Turkey - 433. The majority of the students from India, Pakistan, Burma and Turkey were engaged in graduate studies. Although a large percentage of these students were in such fields as engineering, and medical and natural sciences, a significant number were pursuing studies in business administration and individual social sciences, particularly economics, political science, sociology and international relations.

Although efforts have been made in certain universities to give special attention to some of these foreign students, for the most part the students are pursuing courses designed to meet the backgrounds and future needs of American students. In most fields this curriculum has very little relationship to the professional responsibilities that foreign students must undertake on their return

home. In order to take better advantage of the large number of foreign students who will continue to seek their advanced training in American universities, it would be desirable (1) to encourage the development of certain special training aids for these students in American universities, and (2) to develop supplementary courses to give people who have specialized in the natural sciences, engineering, medicine and other technical subjects, an over-all view of the social and economic context in which their field of discipline will have to be pursued to be effective on their return to their home country. In some cases this could be accomplished by the development of seminars that would run concurrently with their regular courses of study. In other cases it might be necessary and worthwhile to extend a trainee's program for a semester or two to provide a more systematic insight into the application of the trainee's specialty for the solving of social and economic problems.

Assistance to Other Governments in Planning their Foreign Training Programs

Many governments today, such as Iran, Iraq, Burma, Gold Coast and Nigeria, sponsor and financially support large programs for the training of their young potential leaders in other countries, including the United States. These programs typically suffer from lack of definition and focus and in many cases inadequate understanding of the country's priority training needs. In all cases they are severely handicapped by insufficient current information concerning the training facilities of particular American universities, with the result that many of the trainees not only are poorly selected but are also pursuing the wrong courses in inappropriate universities in the United States. The objectives of the Foundation's Training of Foreign Nationals program could be greatly served by enabling governments, on request, to employ advisers to assist in the re-examination and reorganization of their own increasingly large exchange-training programs.

Improvement of Programming of International Activities at American Universities

With the rapid expansion during the past seven years of a wide variety of academically-centered international programs, sponsored by both government and private agencies, there is an increasing awareness on the part of educational leaders of the need for a re-examination of the role of universities in the nation's expanded overseas development programs and other activities. With a few exceptions, universities have played a largely passive role in relation to the exchange of individual American and foreign students and to the development of sister-university and other group projects, with the result that the resources of many universities are being seriously drained or distorted by these activities. Evidence provided by the Princeton Conference of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, the recent deliberations of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, the National Conference on Exchange of Persons sponsored by the Institute of International Education, and the work of ACE's Committee on Institutional Projects Abroad on sister-university arrangements, suggest that many educational leaders consider it of prime importance to identify ways in which the American academic community can begin to exert more active influence over international programs which require university participation. In developing programs for training foreign nationals, the Foundation should be aware of the need to strengthen the capacity of American educational institutions to achieve this objective.

Student International Activities

Our experience with the extracurricular international projects of American undergraduate students during the past four years, and our recent, rather intensive survey of certain projects being carried out on American campuses, have led to the conclusion that certain student international exchange projects can make an important contribution to Foundation program objectives and broad interests:

for the stimulus they provide to American students, professors, university administrators, and members of the off-campus community, to expand their interests and training efforts relating to Asia, the Near East and Africa;

for the contribution they can make to increased professional interest in these areas among students and faculty;

for the vital link of communication and common interest they can forge between American students and their decisively important counterparts in these areas;

for the interest they create, and the insights they provide, for more long-term projects designed to strengthen the foreign student community, involving not only exchange of students, but exchange of materials and development of other forms of cooperative effort;

for the contribution they make to the growth of leadership responsibility and capacity among American students.

University students, particularly in the less developed countries, are of decisive importance to a free society; they comprise the very limited corps from which most of the teachers and leaders for vast areas of the world must be recruited. Whether or not countries like India, Japan, Indonesia, Burma, the Gold Coast develop the skills and leadership to build and sustain vigorous democratic institutions, or succumb to authoritarianism of the Left or the Right, will depend in part upon the capacity and incentives of today's students. Student organizations can become a positive force throughout the free world for increasing the leadership capacity and social incentives of young people and directing their talents toward productive goals. Students in the United States, with their highly developed and strongly encouraged sense of social responsibility, as expressed through student government and extracurricular activities, have much to offer students from other countries.

Though foreign undergraduates come to the United States in great numbers each year, relatively few have opportunities to make lasting associations with organized American student groups. American students are showing increasing interest in helping their counterparts from other countries to organize effective

student activities. They are better able to do this in many ways than adults, because young people have common problems and aspirations which provide a basis for confidence and understanding. Therefore, many American international student projects are in a position not only to help expand knowledge and interest about other countries, but also to encourage student initiative and responsibility in other countries, to develop the leadership capacity and responsibility among foreign students, and in the process to build an effective bridge of communication. The programs of the Stanford Foreign Scholarship Committee and activities of Project India at UCLA and Cal-Indo and PIC at Berkeley are among the best of these.

In considering projects of this type in relation to the broad Training and Research objectives, the Foundation would continuously try to balance the impact on the American campus with the long-range needs and interests of the foreign academic community. This means that short-term American student projects would have to relate significantly to the increasing concern in countries like India, Iran, Egypt, Indonesia, about the urgent need for effective long-range attack on youth and student problems.

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS

AREA PROGRAMS

Since the last meeting of the Advisory Committee there have been no major developments in regard to area programs, except for the development of a program relating to China, which is the subject of a separate paper. The staff has devoted its time primarily to consideration of the direction which further Foundation support to area programs in this country and abroad should take. In this connection Mr. Swayzee has taken an extended field trip of ten weeks to South and Southeast Asia and to the Near East, where he has given special attention to the opportunities for indigenous training and research, which are of interest to both the Training and Research Program and the Overseas Development Program. Mr. Swayzee will give a report on his trip at the meeting of the Advisory Committee.

In regard to South and Southeast Asia, two small grants have been made to support activities in the area. A two year grant of $15,000 was made to support the research program of the Economic Research Institute of the University of Rangoon which is the only worthwhile economic research activity in Burma today. A grant of $25,000 for three years was made to strengthen the library resources of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, which is assuming increased responsibilities as a center for regional planning studies in Southeast Asia, not only for government, but also to universities of the area and for Western scholars.

In addition, staff attention has been devoted to the need for strengthening present American university programs on South and Southeast Asia and for creating the base for more adequate future coverage. Among proposals made to the Ford Foundation are the following. The University of California has requested support over five years for a major Southeast Asia Studies program, centered around Berkeley's already considerable interest in and experience with Indonesian training and research problems. In this connection, a small grant is being considered to enable two California faculty members to make an exploratory visit on behalf of the University to South and Southeast Asia this summer and fall, which will help to strengthen and broaden the scope of the University's interest in the region. Cornell University has requested support to continue and expand the work of the Cornell Center at Bangkok, financing for which is no longer available from other sources. Also under consideration in relation both the the Training and Research Program and the Overseas Development Program is a request from the Department of Economics at the University of Indonesia, for a sizable program of training in research methods in economics and the social sciences.

In regard to the Near East, the Foundation is happy to report that Dr. Howard Reed, presently Assistant Director of the Islamic Institute of McGill University, has accepted an appointment as program specialist for training and research matters on the staff of the Foundation's Near East Representative. Dr. Reed will assume his duties with the Foundation in the near future. In view of Dr. Reed's appointment, and in view of the Foundation's

support for Near East Studies Programs at Columbia and Michigan, we are planning to devote a substantial portion of available funds for Near East studies over the next year or so to support training and research activities within the area. At the same time, the Foundation will have to consider requests for general support of Near East training programs from Harvard, Princeton and McGill and renewal requests expected from Columbia and Michigan.

In regard to Japan, two major grants have been made in the past for the support of substantantive research, one to the Fletcher School for study of the Japanese Social Democrative Movement, the other to the University of Southern California for a study of the Soviet Impact on Contemporary Japan. In the coming year, it is planned to develop a broader planning base for support to training and research on Japan. Mr. Price and Mr. Howard have already visited there for this purpose, and Mr. Munford will follow this up with a more extended visit in the fall. Mr. Milo Perkins is presently in Japan for business reasons and has volunteered to act as an informal consultant.

Soviet and East European grant activity has concentrated upon the development of new and improved research and training tools, and upon important substantive research, a basic assumption being that existing American training programs on the Soviet Union are adequate to national needs, at least for the present. Future Foundation program activities will probably aim at broadening and increasing the teaching and research output of the growing number of qualified men in this field.

Because of the rather active grant program in support of African studies in 1954, no major proposals are now under consideration for this field. The staff is continuing to explore the opportunities in the African field and it is expected that a member of the staff may visit Africa within a year.

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL STUDIES PROGRAM

As the Committee knows, five grants totaling $4,950,000 have been made to enable the law schools at Harvard, Columbia, Michigan, Stanford and the University of California at Berkeley to strengthen their programs in the field of international legal studies. More recently a grant of $5,000 was made to Duke University for a conference of teachers of international legal studies in the South to discuss the strengthening of their programs in this field.

In addition to following the progress of the above grantee schools, the staff has devoted its major effort to the review of numerous applications from other law schools and to the preparatory planning work that is a prerequisite to the making of additional sizable grants in this field.

Don Price and John Howard during their overseas trip last winter discussed law studies with law school deans, members of the bar and judges in a number of countries in Asia and the Near East. Considerable interest was shown in cooperative activities with the United States in this field, and concrete proposals have been received from New Delhi, Cairo and Istanbul. It is also anticipated that a few well qualified American law schools will send representatives to countries in Asia and the Near East and elsewhere to determine in what manner cooperative activities between American and foreign law schools can best be carried out.

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS

REPORT ON THE FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM, 1955-56

The staff has almost completed the granting of fellowships under the national competitive program for 1955-56. It has virtually finished, since the last meeting of the Advisory Committee, a full cycle of campus visits, selections, and granting of awards under the national program. Grant letters for the Soviet and East European Program, the last to be covered, are expected to be mailed by May 1.

The staff has also planned special complementary fellowship activities in the Asian and Near Eastern field for 1955-56, as another step in advancing the training in depth and the utilization of investment already made which the Advisory Committee has stressed.

In both planning and administration, major emphasis has been placed on implementing the recommendations of Mr. Howland Sargeant which were reviewed and discussed by the Advisory Committee in considerable detail at its last meeting and which received the Committee's general endorsement. Special attention has been given to the following recommendations:

> That the Fellowship Program be related more closely and purposefully with other Foundation activities -
>
> That the program show increased emphasis on training in depth and in correcting underrepresentation in discipline and geographic area -
>
> That the Foundation experiment in "farming out" funds to major Asian and Near Eastern area centers in this country for grants in aid that can best be administered locally.

General Program Activities

Integration with Other Training and Research Activities

In recent months, the Fellowship Program has been related more closely to other training and research activities of the Foundation as a means of enlarging benefits to both. During the past nine months, this objective has been promoted by the visits of Mr. Price, Mr. Howard, and Mr. Swayzee to Asia and the Near East. There they have

observed Fellows in their foreign environment and have discussed with them problems of overseas study and research. Mr. John Everton also met with current Fellows in Japan, Indonesia, and Burma. Such field trips have also provided the opportunity for relating the work of the Overseas Representatives more purposefully to the Fellowship Program. In this regard a meeting was recently arranged between the Overseas Representatives and the Asia-Near East national Screening Committee in order to pass on to the Committee the experience of the Representatives in regard to foreign training and research problems and the research proposals of prospective candidates.

Another illustration of productive interrelationship was our experience in developing a China Program. Having made a survey of the "discipline" needs in the China field, the training and research staff assisted the Asian Screening Committee in identifying applicants to meet these needs.

The resources of the full staff were also drawn upon in developing a "farmed out" fellowship program, discussed below, to be administered by universities offering Asian and Near Eastern studies programs. The combined experience of the research and training staff was most helpful in evaluating university resources, pointing out training needs that should be met, and helping to organize the program.

Campus Visits

The staff visited college and university campuses in the fall to encourage applications from highly qualified persons and to establish and maintain faculty contacts. Included were 57 representative institutions, two-thirds of which had been visited the year before. The number of liberal arts colleges visited was increased substantially in order to promote knowledge and understanding of the junior fellowship opportunities.

Considerable time was spent locating faculty members who would take an active role in recruiting promising talent. In all, persons from three groups were reached:

> Undergraduates, some of whom leared of the possibility of a foreign area study career at a time when they were considering career choices;

Graduate students and faculty members who have had little or no foreign area study; and

Graduate students and faculty members who are committed to area studies but who had little or no information on the program beyond the published announcement.

It was found that the objectives of the Fellowship Program are not yet well understood in many institutions. Explanations and interpretations are needed by both faculty members and students. Many sought advice on formulating their study programs.

Insofar as the programs were understood, they were well regarded and were supported in principle. Great interest was shown in the junior fellowship opportunities, both at the small liberal arts colleges and at the major universities. The general consensus was that this phase of the program would be most helpful in attracting students to the area studies field at a time when the physical sciences and government are drawing them away from the social sciences in general.

Revisiting campuses compounded the investment of the visits last year. Staff members established relations with key people at various institutions. (It is interesting to note that we have had our first inquiry from one of the schools visited about the possible appointment of a former Fellow to the staff.) Faculty appreciation of the personal visit was expressed everywhere, both for the information communicated, and for the psychological value of knowing that the Foundation was following up previous leads and is concerned with the campus and what is going on there. It was generally agreed that the benefits of staff visits to the campuses, when visits are held to the "fall recruiting", proved limited, and that these visits should be made throughout the year.

Utilization of Fellowship Benefits

The opportunities in U.S. institutions for former Fellows to utilize and preserve the competence produced by the Fellowship Program continues to be a subject of study. Incomplete statistics so far available on former Fellows show a very high degree of useful and purposeful employment. As an experiment, the staff will prepare background information on former Fellows and those whose fellowships are soon to expire and make it available on request to colleges, universities, government agencies, and the learned

and professional societies. During the campus visits last fall, the staff initiated several discussions with selected departments of the "underrepresented" disciplines, exploring the use of foreign area content in discipline studies and the possible use of former Fellows in staffing such programs. The staff will continue to initiate such discussions at appropriate opportunities.

This year, a first step was taken to promote the dissemination of Fellows' research findings. In the past, not all Fellows have submitted their findings to the Foundation. Fellows are now being required to submit progress reports at least every three months and a final report on completion of the Fellowship. They are also required to provide the Foundation with two copies of any publications. Wherever feasible, their research findings are to be sent to the countries in which the research was done as well as to interested American institutions.

Counselling and Advising Fellows Going Overseas

It continues to be the Foundation's position that the major responsibility for work plans and field activity must rest with the Fellow himself and his university or other professional advisors. At the same time, greater effort is being made to provide the 1955-56 Fellows with information that will enable them to exercise initiative more intelligently.

Considerable information on housekeeping, government regulations and research facilities has been compiled from reports of Fellows in the field, to be made available to new Fellows on request. Lists of ex-Fellows and Fellows already in the field who might profitably be consulted will also be provided on request. Pre-departure briefings, again on request, will be arranged with representatives of the United States Government, the United Nations and private agencies, including the Foundation's desk officers.

In some cases this year, the Screening Committee has recommended formal orientation for Fellows who have little knowledge about the area to which they are going because of inadequate facilities at their own institutions. Arrangements are being made for them to receive extensive briefing at centers in foreign area study.

Many former Fellows have encountered suspicion on the part of persons abroad that they have motives other than scholarship. This year, each Fellow is advised

to obtain a letter of identification from his institution, stating his relation to the institution and the nature of his research project. In addition, the Foundation is offering each Fellow a letter identifying him as a recipient of a Foundation Fellowship.

The Screening Committee continued to be conscious of the need to select persons possessing appropriate personal qualities that make for "good representatives" abroad. The Presidents of the academic institutions with which the selected applicants have been affiliated were asked to comment on these qualities. Particular care has been taken to see that work programs are so designed that they can be modified to meet possible changes in the working situation of each country. When possible, the Committee advised promising applicants on the need for modifying programs that were unrealistic.

Asian and Near Eastern Program

Of the $500,000 appropriated for Asia-Near East Fellowships for 1955-56, approximately $335,000 is being devoted to the national competitive program, compared with $400,000 in 1954-55.

Approximately $75,000 has been set aside for grants to selected academic institutions for grants in aid in support of campus study.

Approximately $90,000 has been set aside for special fellowships to be granted on an individual basis.

These are discussed in turn immediately below.

National Program

This year, 520 new applications were received for Asian-Near Eastern Fellowships. As of April 15, 69 awards had been made with 39 going to new applicants, and 30 for extensions. Final selections for this year's awards will not be completed until May 15 when an additional 19 requests for extensions will have been

reviewed. If all are granted, there will be 20% fewer than last year, reflecting the cutback in funds allocated to the national program this year.

In the awards made to date academic fields are represented as follows: 24%, history; 18%, political science; 16%, economics; 10%, international relations; 10%, linguistics; 8%, anthropology; and 6% in sociology. The remaining 8% are in geography, literature, journalism, and law.

Selections for this season's fellowships show an increased emphasis on training in depth and on the correction of underrepresentation in discipline and geographic area. About 60% of the funds devoted to the national competitive program are going for extensions and renewals of past awards, as compared with 40% in 1954-55. High priority disciplines and areas were kept in mind during the fall recruiting and during the screening. As a result, there is no undue concentration in India and Japan in this year's awards.

Underrepresentation requires continued and constant attention. The shortage of economists and sociologists in the general Asia-Near East area persists. The shortage in all disciplines for most areas other than India and Japan has by no means been met.

The national program was concentrated on the teacher-researcher type of person. Special emphasis was laid on combined discipline-language-area competence, advanced candidates, and persons who are carefully prepared for field experience.

The Foundation's Overseas Representatives were of considerable assistance to the Screening Committee this year. They not only reviewed the study plans of all applicants up for final selection, but they met with the Screening Committee briefly in New York before the granting of awards. The Screening Committee found particularly valuable the Representatives' advice on the applicant's particular research and study programs, on research priorities in the host country, and possible field problems.

The Overseas Representatives also discussed the principal operations of the Fellowship Program in terms of their field experience. Their views may be summarized as follows: On the whole Fellows coming to their areas were of high calibre. They pointed to a need for greater emphasis on formulation of projects. Some felt that greater use should be made of United States university area programs for providing advice to Fellows concerning their programs as well as needed research and research resources in their area of specialization. In some instances it was suggested that research projects might be framed in terms of on-going developmental programs in the area and undertaken in cooperation with such programs. Wherever feasible, such a plan would serve both to get the Fellow into the stream of work in the host country and at the same time render some service to it. It was recognized, however, that in recommending such arrangements the staff must exercise due regard for the Fellow's own interests and program.

This year, the Overseas Representatives will again be supplied with full information on the plans of Fellows working in their areas. Fellows are being urged to correspond with the Representative before leaving the United States. They are also being provided with funds to visit him on their arrival overseas; and the Representatives will continue to counsel Fellows generally, particularly during the "settling in" process, and to introduce them to research institutions and other local contacts relevant to their programs.

"Farmed Out" Fellowship Funds

This is a one year experiment in decentralizing in part the Fellowship Program. Grants ranging from about $2,500 to $13,000 will be made to perhaps eleven universities which offer integrated Asian and Near Eastern area work, with advanced courses leading to the degree of Ph.D. The universities would provide grants in aid for campus study to promising students who are working, or intending to work, in Asian and Near Eastern fields. Grants in aid would be limited to $1,200 per student.

$75,000 has been allocated for this experiment, and staff work is continuing on the specific grants.

Special Fellowship Needs

Action on four other fellowship needs identified by Mr. Sargeant and discussed by the Advisory Committee is still in the planning stage.

Refresher Fellowships: It is expected that four fellowships at about $10,000 each may be available to persons 35 and older who have been teaching foreign area courses (but not necessarily in an area center) and who are in need of a visit or return to the area of interest.

Young Faculty Fellowships: Four additional fellowships might be offered to young faculty men, not to develop foreign area expertise, but to "raise the water level" of foreign area interests in the conventional disciplines. Recipients would be men who do not expect to become "specialists" but who might be expected to devote one-fifth to one-third of their time, on returning to their campuses, to their newly acquired foreign area interest.

Education Leadership Fellowships: Four other fellowships might be offered to key liberal arts college administrators to support visits of three to six months to Asia-Near East areas as a means of encouraging the infusion of non-West Euoprean materials into liberal arts college curricula.

Non-Academic Fellowships: Other fellowships would be offered to exceptionally promising candidates in the government, communications, and business fields.

In all these special cases, recruitment would be on a highly individual basis.

1955-56 Soviet and East European Awards

This year, there was a drop of about 40% in the candidates for Soviet and East European Fellowships. Although the number of applicants was smaller, all members of the Screening Committee felt that quality was distinctly higher this year.

Out of the 177 candidates for Graduate Area Training Scholarships, 34 scholarships, including 16 extensions, were awarded. Of the 163 applicants for pre-and post-doctoral area research training fellowships, 26, including 13 extensions, were given.

About a fourth of the grants were given in the field of history; 20%, international relations; 15%, political science; 10%, economics; 10%, Russian literature. The few other awards were in anthropology, geography, law, linguistics, and sociology. This represents an increase in the number of awards to political scientists and students of Russian literature.

It is interesting to note that three-fourths of the awards were for work in Soviet studies.

At the March meeting, the Advisory Committee recommended that funds should be made available by the Foundation to adequately screened Fellows as a means of providing them with essential field experience, if and when visits to the USSR became possible. Within the past year, three qualified Fellows obtained visas and were given additional funds to make their trips possible.

1955-56 African Studies Program

This was the first year in which the Foundation has sponsored a national African Studies Fellowship Program. 112 applications were received and 18 awards were made.

Although the Screening Committee was conscious of the fact that anthropology was the least "underrepresented" discipline and was quite deliberate in giving higher priority to other fields, six awards were in anthropology. This reflects the fact that the number of qualified anthropologists far exceeded the number of qualified candidates in all other fields. Three grants were given to Fellows in the field of history, three in political science, and two in economics. The remaining awards were in the fields of education, law, philosophy, and sociology.

Underrepresentation in all disciplines, except for anthropology, still exists. Further staff work is needed to determine how best to encourage applications from highly qualified persons in these disciplines.

April 12, 1955

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS

OUTLINE

Purpose:

The basic purpose of the international training and research programs is to support activities which contribute significantly to the knowledge, the competence, and the mutual understanding needed for dealing effectively with foreign and international problems. High among these problems, in the mid-twentieth century, are the threat of nuclear devastation, the reconfiguration of world power, the spread and challenge of Communism, the emergence of independent nations in Asia intent upon economic development and political equality, the divisions among the free nations, the failure of the old and the need to create a new and more adequate international order, and the new needs for United States leadership in the community of free nations.

Working Objectives:

In the interrelated programs here outlined, the Foundation seeks opportunities to enlarge the contribution which the United States and other nations can make, primarily through their educational institutions and personnel, to the resolution of problems affecting international relations. The training and research staff works in many of its activities in cooperation with other programs of the Foundation which share in pe the same purpose. The training and research programs have three working objectives:

1. The support of activities in the United States and abroad which will train, or increase institutional and personal capacity to train, teachers, researchers and practitioners in economic, social and political fields bearing upon foreign and international problems.

Overall T&R Program

2. The support of original research designed to increase basic knowledge of United States foreign relations, important foreign areas, and international activities and organizations.

3. The support of efforts to raise the level of general understanding of foreign and international problems.

Program Categories:

1. International Relations Program

This program, which is still in a formative stage, is concerned with problems of the relations among nations. In a field that is so diversified and far-reaching it will be necessary to select particular aspects in which further development will be useful. The program is concerned not only with special academic centers that concentrate on the study of international relations, but with the traditional academic disciplines to the extent that they involve training and research in international affairs. It is concerned also with the contributions that colleges and universities can make to assist the governments, the United Nations, and other international organizations.

2. Area and Comparative Programs

The emphasis here, in contrast with yet over-lapping the "international relations program," is upon the study of national societies and geographic areas, the institutions and processes within them, and comparisons of different societies and areas. Our principal concern is with those developments that throw light upon the behavior of peoples in the contemporary world. This program is concerned both with the contribution colleges and universities in the United States can make to American competence and with the contribution they can make to or receive from the competence of other peoples.

The main areas with respect to which training and research activities are currently being carried out are Asia and the Near East, the USSR and East Europe, Africa, and, to a limited extent, Western Europe. The United States is also importantly an "area" in activities which involve the participation of peoples of other countries in regard to such matters as American civilization, English language instruction, and American training and research methods.

The following types of training and research activities are inter-related and often appear together in "package" projects. They may involve grants either to United States or to foreign institutions, with special attention to cooperative activities:

A. Institutional Support for Area and Comparative Programs.

B. Support to Foreign Training and Research Institutions.

C. Research Projects.

D. Research and Teaching Tools and Publications.

E. Language Instruction.

3. International Legal Studies Program

The primary objective of this program is to develop greater understanding of international affairs among persons trained in the law, from whose ranks come many of our governmental, business and community leaders. There are three approaches to this objective: (1) to make training in international problems an integral part of undergraduate studies at law schools; (2) to provide similar training for able men from foreign countries, and (3) to conduct research, train teachers and give specialized training in particular problems of the world order and the world economy. "International legal studies" are broadly conceived as embracing studies of

international transactions and problems from the standpoint of the lawyer, with full utilization of university resources and collaboration of the respective law schools with other university departments. High among the practical problems of such a program is the task of broadening the content of international legal studies while developing them into a discipline like other aspects of the law, that is, of translating international problems into teaching materials that will accelerate the processes of education and training. The development of an adequate body of knowledge for teaching and research will require the organization of inquiries designed to close the gap between law in action and law in the books.

The program does not come exclusively within the International Training and Research programs and has a separate budget.

4. Fellowship Programs

The Foreign Area Study and Research Fellowship programs represent part of the Foundation's effort to help meet the need for knowledge and understanding of foreign areas that has arisen in the United States as the nation has assumed increased international responsibility. They are intended to help increase the corps of Americans with special knowledge of the culture, history and current problems of those foreign areas least familiar to Americans. For this reason the programs are concerned primarily with Asia, the Near East, Africa, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

It is the Foundation's intention that through its Study and Research Programs the recipients of Fellowships may prepare themselves for positions in education, government, business, communications and the professions where knowledge of these foreign areas is required. The distribution of awards is guided by the need for increasing the number of competent trained Americans in those disciplines

and areas now underrepresented in the United States. The fellowship programs are closely related and contribute to the other training and research programs.

5. Special Training of Foreign Nationals and of Americans

The objective of this developing program is to increase the supply of foreign nationals with the training needed to deal with contemporary social, economic, and political problems, and to strengthen the capacity of American institutions to provide such training not only for foreign nationals but for Americans as well. A more accurate title for such a program might be "Strengthening Institutional Resources for Special Training of Foreign and American Personnel."

The Foundation has undertaken this program, on an experimental basis, as the result of the following conclusions derived from its experience during the past several years:

A. That from the standpoint of the national interest in strengthening the free world, it is vitally important for American universities and American scholars to develop not only more general knowledge about underdeveloped areas, but also a greater capacity to teach both American and foreign nationals to carry out training programs in priority fields in those areas.

B That in the long run the success with which the underdeveloped countries build democratic institutions, and the skilled leadership necessary to sustain them, will depend upon the capacity of indigenous foreign institutions to train their own scholars, researchers, administrators, political and social leaders; even greatly expanded direct technical assistance by foreigners will not assure the success of development programs in these countries without such indigenous resources.

C. That these two objectives are complementary and therefore cannot be successfully achieved independently of each other; their achievement requires a combined and coordinated approach founded on mutual interest.

6. Exchange Activities

The relatively well-developed focus of this program is on the strengthening of private institutions and campus activities which service and support international exchanges of students, teachers, researchers, specialists and leaders; on the evaluation of international exchange activities; and on special exchange projects which support the Foundation's training and research programs or have special significance as experiments or pace-and-quality setters in the training and research field. In addition, the training and research staff advises and assists in exchange activities carried out by other Foundation programs.

7. Raising the Level of General Understanding of Foreign and International Problems

The objective of this program is basic to most of the preceding programs. Among the special types of activities it would be concerned with are those which create greater awareness of international relations and non-Western areas at college and secondary school levels. No special activities have yet been supported under this program heading alone.

~~D.W.S.~~
~~A. Sims~~
P.C.P

THE FORD FOUNDATION

MINUTES OF THE

MEETING OF THE BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

November 18, 1953

Present: Mr. Gray, Chairman; Mr. Dickey, Mr. Eurich, Mr. Gardner, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Spaeth.

Absent: Mr. Murrow.

Also present: Mr. Price, Mr. Howard, Mr. Arnold, Mr. Swayzee.

The Board on Overseas Training and Research met in the Board room in the offices of the Ford Foundation on the 8th floor of 655 Madison Avenue, on November 18, 1953.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Gray at 10:00 A.M.

The following actions were taken by the Board.

I. MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 15, 1953.

The Board considered the minutes of the meeting of September 15, 1953 and asked that they be recast in accordance with their discussion.

II RESEARCH - ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation #1: That a substantial part of the research and training efforts, within the area of BOTR concern, over the next five years be devoted to:

(a) development of training facilities in the United States
(b) development of research tools in the United States.

Recommendation #2: That a part of the training and research effort over the next five years be devoted, either through sister university relationships or by direct grants, to the training of foreign research personnel and to the development of research and training resources in Asia and the Near and Middle East.

The discussion of this agenda item reflected a recognition by the Board that this action involved certain risks growing out of the fact that training of foreign personnel might result in a resource which under certain circumstances might, in the future, be used against the interests of the United States. On balance, however, the Board felt that the risks involved in failure to train foreign personnel were greater than those resulting from implementation of the proposed action.

The Board also recognized the importance of careful selectivity of research projects submitted for support.

Recommendation # 3: That the Hall report and recommendations with respect to research assistance in the Arab states, Turkey, and Iran be adopted in general and implemented in so far as is feasible.

Recommendation # 4: That the major, though undetermined part of the project research resources devoted to areas of BOTR concern be used to support studies bearing directly on contemporary problems but that the Foundation not only be willing to consider pre-modern studies, but encourage the formulation and submission of such studies by the most promising scholars in the various fields of study.

Recommendation # 5: That with respect to areas of BOTR concern, the Foundation continue to support promising scholars in the conduct of research on a free-ranging basis but that in addition it continue its active efforts to "guide" the direction of research by assessing research needs, initiating programs, and encouraging experiments in integrated and interdisciplinary research.

III. COORDINATED COUNTRY STUDIES

Recommendation # 6: That the Officers of the Foundation approve the application of the University of California at Berkeley for a grant of $138,500, payable over a period of four years, for research into the structure, organization and operation of the political life of Indonesia, including the organization and administration of the political parties, leadership, issues and other political forces.

Recommendation # 7: That the Officers of the Foundation approve the application of Cornell University for a grant of $159,850, payable over a period of four years, for research into the structure, organization and operation of the political life of Indonesia, including the organization and administration of the political parties, leadership, issues and other political forces.

Recommendation # 8: That the Officers of the Foundation approve the application of Yale University for a grant of $65,000, payable over a period of three years, for research into the agrarian structure and policy of Indonesia, with special emphasis upon their impact upon Indonesian life.

IV. CYRILLIC UNION SUBJECT CATALOGUE AT THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Recommendation # 9: That the Officers of the Foundation make a grant of $61,000 to the Library of Congress for completion of its Cyrillic Union Subject Catalogue project.

V. PILOT TRAINING PROJECT IN INDIA

Recommendation # 10: That the Officers of the Foundation make a grant to the Delhi School of Economics (India) of up to $200,000 for a three-year period to provide orientation and training of specialists engaged in technical assistance and economic development activities in India.

VI. AFRICAN REPORT

Mr. William O. Brown, consultant to the Foundation on Africa, appeared briefly before the Board to answer questions pertaining to his preliminary report on African Research and Training Problems.

VII. THE ROLE OF THE BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Mr. Price, Associate Director of the Foundation, briefly outlined the problems and developments in the Foundation with respect to the recently organized Program Committee and to the organization of Foundation work in the field of international affairs. During this discussion, he referred to the role of the Board on Overseas Training and Research. He acknowledged, on behalf of the Foundation, the contribution which the Board had made to the development of the overseas research and training program and expressed the hope that the Board would be willing to continue as an advisory group to the Director of International Programs.

In response to questions relating to the scope of the Board's responsibility, Mr. Price expressed the view that the proposed arrangement would require the Board to assume responsibility only for its advice to the Foundation on questions submitted to it by the Foundation staff. In addition, however, he expressed the hope that the Board and its members would feel free to present their own ideas on any other matters relating to the overseas training and research field.

Further discussion, particularly as related to the Board's recommendation of Foundation support of foreign training and research resources, confirmed the original understanding that the Board's responsibility related only to policies and programs designed, either in the long run or the short run, to meet American training and research requirements.

It was acknowledged, however, that maximum effectiveness of the Board requires that it be kept fully informed on all other Foundation policies and programs which have a significant bearing upon its area of concern.

It was acknowledged that administrative policy considerations accounted for the geographic limitation upon the present scope of the Board's concern.

VIII. DATE OF THE NEXT MEETING

The next meeting was tentatively set for February 17, 1954, with the understanding that developments within the Foundation might make it desirable to change this date.

IX. ADJOURNMENT

The meeting was adjourned at 4:45 P.M.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

MINUTES OF THE

MEETING OF THE BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

September 15, 1953

Present: Mr. Gray, Chairman; Mr. Dickey; Mr. Eurich: Mr. Gardner; Mr. Perkins; Mr. Spaeth.

Absent: Mr. Murrow.

Also present: Mr. Howard; Mr. Arnold; Mr. King; Mr. Swayzee; Mr. Weiss.

The Board on Overseas Training and Research met in the offices of the Ford Foundation on the 9th floor of 445 Park Avenue, on September 15, 1953.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Spaeth at 10:15 a.m.

The following actions were taken by the Board:

I APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF MAY 5, 1953, MEETING

The minutes of the meeting of May 5 were approved as written.

II US REQUIREMENTS FOR PERSONNEL FOR SERVICE IN RELATION TO ASIA AND THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

Recommendation No. 1: That in the light of the Board's discussion of the staff's recommendation on the determination of foreign area personnel needs, the Board request the staff to develop and submit a project to test the practicability of developing criteria and procedures for determining American personnel needs in relation to India and Pakistan, for evaluating existing personnel supplies, and for assessing facilities and prospects for meeting such needs.

Discussion indicated the Board's agreement that such a study should avoid any attempt to obtain numerical answers but should concentrate upon the kinds of skills and competences required.

III THE FOREIGN STUDY AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM (ASIA AND THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST)

A. Recruitment of Fellowship Candidates

Recommendation No. 2: That an additional person be added to the staff to assist in 1) providing for more personalized and planned recruiting of fellowship candidates to improve the quality of Fellows, to promote training "in depth", to meet more adequately the needs among the several disciplines and among the several geographic areas, and to promote foreign area interest among U. S. professional schools (e.g. agriculture, journalism, engineering, and business administration); and 2) exploring ways of utilizing campus facilities more actively in the recruitment and nomination of all Fellowship candidates.

B. Non-Academic Fellowships

Recommendation No. 3: That the staff study the ways in which business might be assisted, in the light of Milo Perkins' recommendation relating to short intensive training opportunities, to make a positive attack upon the problem of foreign area training for its overseas representatives; and explore the desirability of Foundation support of plans which may emerge from these efforts.

C. Scope of the Fellowship Program

Recommendation No. 4: That the staff explore with The Fund for the Advancement of Education ways of collaboration in the provision of 1) "refresher" fellowships of not more than one year to older established area scholars; and 2) "enriching" fellowships to teachers in the humanities and social sciences.

D. Citizenship Requirements

Recommendation No. 5: That the restriction of Fellowships to United States citizens be removed to accommodate Fellowship applications from aliens permanently residing in the United States who can produce evidence to show that they intend to become citizens as soon as possible.

The Board felt that it would be unwise at this time to open the Fellowship program to Canadian citizens but suggested that it might be desirable to apply the citizenship requirement with sufficient flexibility to allow consideration of exceptional applicants from Canada.

E. Assessment of Character and Motivation

Recommendation No. 6: That the staff request the Fellowship Screening Committee to prepare a statement as to how it has gone into the assessment of character and motivation of Fellowship applicants in the past in making its decisions and what it feels should be done on this score in the future.

F. Increased Guidance for Fellows

Recommendation No. 7: That greater efforts be made by the Fellowship Screening Committee and staff to give positive guidance to Fellows in planning their training programs (especially overseas) to apply in doubtful cases the principle of receptivity of host country to proposed projects, and wherever appropriate, to arrange for integration of training projects into Foundation-supported research and action programs, or otherwise to maximize the Fellow's opportunities for local cooperation and guidance in the country where he studies.

G. Screening Procedures

Recommendation No. 8: That the staff organize three Fellowship subscreening committees, on the basis of regions within the United States, to make a preliminary screening of all Fellowship applications and to reduce the load on the national Screening Committee to no more than 150 applications.

H. Contingency Fund

Recommendation No. 9: That the Officers of the Foundation allocate an annual contingency fund of $20,000 from which the staff is authorized to make supplemental grants to Fellows (Asia and Near and Middle East Program) to cover unforseen professional, cost of living, medical, and dependency expenses.

IV NON-WEST EUROPEAN OFFERINGS IN LIBERAL ARTS CURRICULA

Recommendation No. 10: That the staff, in collaboration with The Fund for the Advancement of Education (1) initiate a survey among United States colleges and universities to discover the nature and purpose of educational offerings dealing with Asia, Africa, and the Near and Middle East, and to explore the question to what extent it may be urgent, desirable, and feasible to assist in widening these opportunities within the liberal arts programs, and (2) explore the various ways by which the Foundation might assist financially in strengthening the contributions of area studies to liberal arts education, for example, by stimulating the integration into basic courses, of the results of the study on non-European cultures and societies, by facilitating the introduction of area studies courses into a balanced liberal arts program, and by assisting colleges to broaden their faculties by adding scholars equipped to teach both an area and a discipline (for example, the BOTR might contribute, for three years, one-third of the salary of an economist equipped to give a course on the foreign area of his competence and two courses in his general discipline).

V SLAVIC STUDIES FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Recommendation No. 11: That the Foundation administer a Soviet and Slavic Studies Fellowship Program to be initiated for 1954-55.

VI PILOT TRAINING PROJECT IN INDIA

VII COORDINATED COUNTRY STUDIES (INDIA AND INDONESIA)

After discussion the Board asked that further consideration of these two items be deferred until its next meeting.

VIII OTHER BUSINESS

Mr. Gray suggested that he thought that it would be wise to rotate the chairmanship of the BOTR, but it was decided not to take action on the suggestion at this time.

IX DATE OF NEXT MEETING

The next meeting was set for November 18, 1953, in New York.

X ADJOURNMENT

The meeting was adjourned at 6 p.m.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Minutes of the Meeting of the Ford Foundation
Board on Overseas Training and Research
New York, New York, May 5, 1953

(Approved at Meeting of September 15, 1953)

Present: Mr. Gray, Chairman; Mr. Gardner; Mr. Murrow; Mr. Perkins; Mr. Spaeth.

Also present: Mr. Swayzee, Mr. Weiss, Mr. Arnold, Miss Lamb.

The Board on Overseas Training and Research met in the offices of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, Room 534, 575 Madison Avenue, on May 5, 1953. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman at 10:45.

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF FEBRUARY 2, 1953 MEETING.

The minutes of the meeting of February 2, 1953, were approved as written.

2. REPORT ON FEBRUARY TRUSTEES MEETING

Mr. Spaeth reviewed for the Board the action taken by the Trustees of the Foundation at the February 23-27 meeting. Since the Trustees wished to take action only on matters requiring immediate decision, the recommendations for the three-year projected fellowship programs were withdrawn. However, the Trustees approved an appropriation of $1,555,000 for institutional grants in support of research and training since additional funds for this part of the program would be needed before their next meeting. Mr. Spaeth observed that this authorization for grants to universities and other institutions would permit assistance to advance training as well as to support research, and that the language of the appropriation was broad enough to permit use of these funds for purposes comparable to that of the fellowship effort. Mr. Spaeth

described the review which the Trustees were undertaking of each of the Foundation's five major program areas. At the forthcoming May meeting the Trustees would review all activities in the international field, including the overseas research and training program. Since the May meeting would be devoted to program review, action on appropriations would be postponed until June.

Mr. Spaeth expressed his feeling that an appropriate point had been reached in the program of the Board on Overseas Training and Research where a valuable evaluation of both the fellowship and research activities could be made. He recommended that prior to the Board's next meeting the staff make a thorough study of the program to assess progress made, to point up weaknesses and gaps, to determine possible new approaches and directions, and to come up with staff recommendations for Board consideration. He felt also that the staff study should consider whether in the future the Board should be as much concerned with the details of administration as has been necessary in the first year, and whether a more effective use of the experience of the Board could be made by addressing the Board's attention to more fundamental program and policy questions.

3. FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS

3.1 Asia and the Near East

Mr. Weiss stated that the quality of the applicants was markedly higher than last year, but that while several non-academic selections had been made from such fields as government and communications, no candidates from the business field had been recruited. He reported the difficulty of drawing young career business people into the program, unless there was a recognition

of the value of such broadly-based overseas training on the part of the employers and an assurance by them that the promotion of these individuals would not be jeopardized by their period away from the firm while overseas. He mentioned a suggestion made by people at Princeton that a meeting of American business leaders be called to stimulate thinking along these lines.

Mr. Perkins expressed his great interest in this problem arising from his observance of the need for understanding and sensitivity on the part of American business overseas personnel to foreign cultures and peoples. He felt that the role of the Foundation should be to stimulate in the business community an awareness of the need for such training and suggested that a specific outline of a possible training program be developed in conjunction with one of the leading business firms having long-term investments overseas. He recommended that specific proposals be worked out in advance of any meeting of business leaders such as had been suggested.

Mr. Gardner concurred in this suggestion and expressed the view that the program be considered as a separate problem, with the possibility that different screening arrangements be established. Mr. Spaeth felt that, in consultation with people who were concerned with training programs in the government, business, and academic fields, it would be possible for the staff to work out an outline of a training program for business personnel as distinguished from the academic people. It was suggested that Mr. Warfield and the staff, in consultation with Mr. Perkins, might proceed to work out such a program with one firm.

Mr. Schuyler Wallace reported on the high quality of the applicants this year, which not only made the job of the screening committee more difficult,

but led them to concentrate more than last year on the group of superior academic people who in most cases were already engaged on research work relating to Asia and the Near East. He listed one case of a journalist who did not qualify for an award under the criteria of the screening committee, but who he thought could make a contribution in increasing American knowledge of these areas. Several members of the Board expressed an interest in seeing such cases reviewed under the non-academic program.

Dr. Wallace drew the following points to the Board's attention: 1) The college recruitment program had not been as successful as had been hoped and more attention must be given to recruitment of juniors in future programs. In this connection he suggested that the Board might consider making explicit in the announcement of future programs the fact that junior candidates will not be competing with the senior persons, thus encouraging universities to nominate promising candidates in both groups. 2) The Board might consider enlarging the scope of the program to include both senior research grants to American professors for refresher work in Asia and the Near East, and awards to non-Americans teaching courses on these areas in American universities. 3) Future screening procedures should be devised to reduce the number of applications coming to the national screening committee for final review, e.g. regional selection committees, or additional professional people doing the preliminary job. 4) The prospects are strong that next year there may be even a more highly competitive list; that highly qualified candidates will continue to apply.

Dr. Wallace also suggested that the Board might want to turn its attention at an early date to the future job opportunities of the returned Fellows. He

mentioned the possibility of stimulating courses on Asian and Near Eastern Civilizations in undergraduate colleges, similar to the work done by Carnegie. Mr. Gardner noted that many of the returned Fellows would take up general teaching responsibilities in their respectives disciplines, but could draw upon their experience overseas both in present courses and in new courses. Mr. Spaeth stated that the study which had led to the inauguration of the overseas research and training program had recognized from the beginning that the job was both to train qualified persons and to contribute to the general education of the American public about these areas. Therefore the major task before the Board was to select the appropriate means for maximizing the use of the personnel it was helping to train.

3.2 Africa

Mr. Swayzee stated that the preliminary reports from Mr. Brown indicate that he will submit a careful and thorough report on long-term requirements in African studies upon his return in the fall.

Mr. Swayzee reported that two recommendations for fellowships in African studies had been recommended to the Board by Mr. Rogers. He briefly reviewed the qualifications of the candidates, both of whom are journalists, and drew the Board's attention to the fact that these first two recommendations fell somewhat outside the scope of the program as initially viewed by the Board, which was to draw into African studies persons of established academic disciplines. The feeling of the Board was that the needs in this area were so great that they would view favorably making these awards, while expressing their understanding that Mr. Rogers will continue to search for promising persons in the academic field.

The ensuing discussion centered on the problems of the relationship of the two candidates to their respective papers, while holding the fellowship awards. Mr. Murrow and Mr. Perkins hoped that some arrangement could be worked out to enable the Fellows to keep their connection with the newspapers with the understanding that they would not be on assignment and that the newspapers would be limited in the amount of time they could claim. While recognizing the advantages of such an arrangement, several staff members questioned whether this might not be inadvisable in view of the Foundation's long-range programs overseas. It was felt that this question must be explored further. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: That the Board on Overseas Training and Research recommend that the awards be made and that the staff should determine what the relationship to the newspapers should be, after studying the matter carefully and consulting further with Mr. Rogers, keeping in mind, and being guided by, the expression of the Board's thinking. (53-5)

4. GRANTS IN SUPPORT OF RESEARCH AND TRAINING

4.1. Strengthening of Institutional Facilities

4.1.1 Columbia University, Near and Middle East Program

Mr. Swayzee reviewed the earlier consideration of this application, the subsequent conversations with President Kirk and Dr. Wallace, and the statement of the intention of the University administration to make the Near and Middle East Program an integral and permanent part of the University program. After discussion by the Board it was agreed that the grant letter should state that the Foundation had no present intention to continue the grant, after the three-year period, and that it was our understanding that the University would take such steps as opportunities arose to transfer the costs of this program

to the general University budget. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: That the Board on Overseas Training and Research recommend a grant of $150,000 to Columbia University for three-year support of the program of Near and Middle Eastern Studies (53-6)

4.1.2. Stanford University Hoover Institute and Library

Mr. Swayzee stated that the application of the Hoover Institute and Library had been held off the docket until the staff received assurances from Stanford University, similar to those requested from Columbia, as to the place of this institution in the general university program. The statement of the University's intentions had been received from President Sterling, as well as a description of steps already taken and contemplated to integrate the research and training program of the Hoover Institute into the University's total program. Mr. Gardner felt that there was enough evidence here of the University's intentions, and that there would be no point in holding off a grant which might help substantially to strengthen this program. However, he advised that the staff should strongly emphasize that the acquisitions be processed for use, and that the Library pick its fields carefully for specialization. Mr. Perkins proposed that the Board vote to approve the application subject to the approval of the absent members, Mr. Dickey, Mr. Eurich, and Mr. Murrow. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: That subject to the approval of the other three members, the Board on Overseas Training and Research recommend a grant of $225,000 to Stanford University to support over a three-year period the program of the Hoover Institute and Library to: 1) increase its services to scholars and other institutions, and 2) maintain and extend the procurement of certain research materials on Asia and the Near East. (53-7)

(NOTE: Following the meeting, consultation with the absent three members led to a modification in which the University was requested to use the grant for the Hoover Institute and Library exclusively to process materials relating to Asia and the Near East and to increase its services to other institutions. Mr. Gaither's letter of notification incorporated this condition.)

4.2. Development of research tools

In view of the limited time, discussion of these matters was postponed.

4.3. Problem Research

4.3.1. Cornell University, Research in India Evaluating Impact of Indian Agricultural Development Program

Mr. Spaeth stated briefly his conception of the two components of the Foundation's program relating to overseas areas: the overseas program designed to strengthen Asian weaknesses, and the program of overseas training and research in the United States designed to overcome American weaknesses in understanding of these areas. He recalled Mr. Dickey's original concern that our research activities be closely tied to practical problems, perhaps growing out of our other activities, in order to compound our research and training investment. He outlined the development of this project in consultation with Mr. Ensminger, the contribution that the Cornell-Indian research team could make to the total Indian evaluation now going on, the stimulation of sister-university relationships between Cornell and Lucknow, the training of American social scientists in overseas areas as well as Indian social scientists in American field research techniques, and the strengthening of Cornell as a training institution.

In response to a question from Mr. Murrow, Mr. Spaeth stated that Cornell's investigations would be intensive, and would provide valuable bench marks for the evaluation of the total Indian Community Development effort. Mr. Gray asked for information on the respective research and training aspects of the program and its relation to the Board's assignment. Mr. Spaeth replied that the program

included both research and training, and that while evaluation investigations such as this proposal could be taken care of through other Foundation funds, it was considered of interest to the Board in that it illustrated a pattern of how the Board's research program could be focused on significant current problems arising not only out of the Foundation's own overseas programs, but of other private and governmental overseas activities. After further discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: That the Board on Overseas Training and Research recommend a grant of $260,000 to Cornell University for a three-year project to evaluate the impact of the Indian agricultural and village development program in selected Indian communities.
> (53-8)

4.3.2. Coordinated Country Studies

Mr. Swayzee reviewed the history of the Board's interest in this proposed series of related studies, following its approval at the February 2nd meeting of the two-year research project to be conducted by Professors Swearingen, Langer, and Berton on "The Russian Impact on Contemporary Japan." He described the study which had been made by Professor Langer of the personnel and institutional resources available in the United States to conduct similar studies in other selected countries of Asia and the Near East. On the basis of these investigations, Mr. Langer recommended three research projects on the following countries: India, Indonesia, and Iran. Mr. Swayzee noted that certain details had yet to be completed, but that the staff thought it desirable to present them for consideration at this time, in order to get an indication of the Board's thinking and to determine additional questions which might be explored by the staff with the proposed research teams if the Board approved the program in principle.

Some concern was expressed with the designation of these studies as studies of "Soviet Techniques of Indoctrination and Control" and the staff replied that this had been a matter of which the staff, Mr. Langer, and all the project people were aware, and that the studies would not reflect this title in their final form. The Board's attention was drawn to the Indonesian project which stated more explicitly than the others the sensitivity of the area and the fact that field work must be done carefully and wisely, taking into account both the danger of investigating merely Communism per se, as well as the deeper understanding to be gained by broadening the study to include the wider context of Indonesian political life in general.

Even with these precautions, however, the staff recognized the dangers inherent in studies of this kind, in view of the fact that each of the three areas is sensitive and that the Foundation is conducting other activities in all three countries.

Nevertheless, the feeling was expressed that long-term studies undertaking to evaluate the vulnerability of these societies to Communist influence were greatly needed and should be undertaken. Several of the members of the Board questioned whether this should be done by the government, but there was general agreement that the best information available indicated that such studies in depth were not being done at the present time by any governmental agency. Mr. Gray suggested that one of the important fallacies these studies might disclose is the belief that economic well-being is all that is needed to stem the tide of Communism in these areas. He suggested that the staff work out appropriate and adequate liaison with the government.

Mr. Spaeth suggested that in view of the delicacy of the nature of the investigations in these sensitive areas he, together with Mr. Swayzee and

Mr. Mosely, who has followed the development of these studies very closely, should talk with all the people who would be involved in the projects. He would also want to satisfy himself that appropriate coordination and liaison had been established at Washington.

Mr. Gray stated that in view of the fact that the research people would have to plan their commitments before the next meeting of the Board in September, he would be agreeable to working out procedures whereby the Board could give its approval before the next meeting. After further discussion it was decided to appoint a sub-committee of Messrs. Perkins, Gardner, and Dickey to whom the staff could report after concluding its investigations. If the Sub-committee recommended that specific projects go forward, the rest of the Board would then be polled.

Mr. Gardner expressed his hope that these projects would have continual staff follow-up in view of the delicate nature of the research and the need for coordination. The staff concurred in this suggestion and called attention to the provision in the write-up of the projects for a coordinating mechanism. Mr. Spaeth suggested that the Foundation make clear in its directive that such coordination must be accomplished, and that either a member of the staff or a consultant, such as Mr. Mosely, be designated to follow the research very carefully and be responsible for the coordinating procedures.

The oral reports on the Near and Middle East Research Program and the Survey of U.S. requirements for overseas personnel were postponed.

5. Future Program

Mr. Spaeth recalled the Board's discussion at its last meeting of the projected overseas training and research program, including fellowships and grants relating to Asia and the Near East, Africa, and the Soviet and Slavic

areas. He reviewed the action of the Trustees in deferring action on the fellowship program and in appropriating funds for research grants. He stated the feeling of the officers that while they thought a contribution could be made in supporting Soviet and Slavic studies, they did not want the Board to feel under obligation to assume responsibility for administering any program it did not feel ready to undertake. He referred to Mr. Dickey's question at the last meeting, and added that while this was a new program for the Board, the advanced nature of Slavic studies left fewer uncharted areas and would thus be easier to administer. He also noted that Mr. Mosely would be able to provide expert guidance in advising on the Slavic studies research program. Mr. Gray stated that he felt Mr. Dickey's position was not that the Board should at no time administer a program in Slavic studies, but that he hoped it would only get into it gradually. After further discussion the Board agreed that it should state its interest in this program, but that it should leave for future discussion the question as to the extent of its activities in this field.

5.1.1 Library of Congress, Procurement of Slavic Materials

Mr. Swayzee reviewed the purpose of the proposed grant to the Library of Congress, and, in response to a question from Mr. Gardner as to whether the projects would be under the direct guidance of Mr. Mosely, referred to Mr. Mosely's great interest in the undertaking and our assurance that he would follow it closely. Mr. Gray expressed his belief that a great deal would be accomplished in the way of procurement of valuable materia for a small investment. After further discussion, and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RECOMMENDED: That the Board on Overseas Training and Research recommend a grant of $22,500 to the Library of Congress for improving the availability for American research of Slavic materials located in Western Europe and Finland. (53-9)

5.1.2 Slavic Fellowships for Non-Americans

Mr. Swayzee and Mr. Spaeth reported the reasoning behind Mr. Mosely's proposal to award fellowships in Soviet and Slavic studies to a small group of selected non-Americans from Western Europe and other areas: the fact that these studies were farther advanced and more soundly organized in this country, and the fact that these students might not only be slated for eventual service in their respective governments, but would form the nucleus of research groups. Mr. Gray questioned whether a policy decision in this instance would imply that the Board would open the other fellowship programs to non-Americans. Mr. Perkins suggested that this be considered an extraordinary case, that a policy decision not be made for general application, but that the Board consider other cases on their merit when they arise. After further discussion, and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RECOMMENDED: That the Board on Overseas Training and Research recommend a grant of $6,500 to Harvard University and a grant of $19,000 to Columbia University to assist a number of selected foreign students to pursue an intensive program of Russian study. (53-10)

6. Other Business

There was no other business

7. Date of Next Meeting

The next meeting was set for September 15th in New York

8. Adjournment

The meeting was adjourned at 5:00 P.M.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Minutes of a Meeting of the Ford Foundation
Board on Overseas Training and Research
New York, New York, February 2, 1953

(Approved at Meeting of May 5, 1953)

Present: Mr. Gray, Chairman; Mr. Dickey; Mr. Eurich; Mr. Gardner; Mr. Murrow; Mr. Spaeth.

Also present: Mr. Swayzee, Mr. Weiss, Miss Lamb.

The Board on Overseas Training and Research met in the offices of The Fund for the Advancement of Education, Room 534, 575 Madison Avenue, on February 2nd, 1953, pursuant to a call sent by the Secretary on December 23, 1952. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman at 10:00 A.M.

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF NOVEMBER 13, 1952 MEETING

The minutes of the meeting of November 13 were approved as written.

2. CURRENT TRAINING PROGRAMS

2.1 Progress Report on Asia and the Near East Fellowship Program

Mr. Swayzee reported briefly on the recruitment of the two roving staff members to conduct evaluation and follow-up activities. He noted that Mr. Harvey Hall had started his investigations in the Near and Middle East on January 15th, and that Mr. William Lockwood would be starting his evaluation work in the United States on a part-time basis this spring to become full-time after June when he plans to leave for Asia to contact Fellows now in that area. Mr. Spaeth reported the great interest of the Officers and Trustees of the Foundation in this built-in evaluation and assessment procedure. In response to a question from Mr. Murrow as to whether these were temporary or permanent appointments, Mr. Spaeth replied that they were temporary, pending a decision by the Foundation as to the long-term requirements of the entire fellowship program, as well as the permanent staff needs found necessary by the first-year evaluation.

Mr. Gardner proposed that it might be desirable to have Mr. Hall and Mr. Lockwood, after they had had a chance to contact some of the Fellows, prepare an explicit statement of the criteria they would use to judge the effectiveness of the fellowship program and the performance of the individual Fellows. The Board agreed that the staff should request such a statement from the roving staff members which could be reviewed and modified by the Board.

Mr. Spaeth reported that Mr. Iverson had already met with Mr. Hall and several of the Fellows in the Near East and that the overseas representatives in India, Pakistan, and Burma would be encouraged to set up similar meetings in their respective areas.

Mr. Weiss reported that the Screening Committee for the 1953-54 program was already in operation and included Dr. Wallace, Mr. Talbot, Mr. Wodlinger, and Mr. Thomas from last year's Committee and two new members, Mr. William Costello of the Washington Staff of CBS and Mr. Robert Clifford of the American Machine and Foundry Company. Mr. Spaeth said that members of the Division of Overseas Activities met with Mr. Benjamin Warfield, the non-academic recruitment officer in Pasadena during the past week and felt he was going about his job in the right way. Mr. Weiss stated that Mr. Warfield is taking some time to develop criteria for the selection of non-academic candidates and that his recommendations by the April 15th deadline would emphasize quality rather than quantity. Mr. Gray said that he thought this was in line with the Board's wishes, and raised the question as to whether the Board had ever considered the possibility of a separate deadline for the academic and non-academic parts of the fellowship program. After further discussion, and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the Board set no deadline for applications of non-academic candidates. (53-1)

Mr. Weiss stated that 496 new applications had been filed for the 1953-54 program and that 89 applicants of the first year's program had re-applied, making a total of 585 applications to be considered. Seven hundred and one applications were received for the first year's program. Mr. Dickey felt that the fewer number of applications in the second year might be indicative of the lack of incentive for people to go into this field, which was one of the chief reasons for the inauguration of the program. He suggested that the first year's program probably had cut down the backlog of graduates who needed assistance, and stressed the need to seek out promising undergraduates earlier in their academic career so that they could be attracted into the field before they had made firm commitments for their future life work. Mr. Gray requested Mr. Weiss to give the Board a breakdown as soon as possible of the 1953-54 applications to aid the Board in determining what further steps need to be taken to attract new people into the program.

Mr. Gardner noted the number of men who had been drawn into this field through their overseas experience and language training while members of the armed forces and suggested that the Board develop channels for getting information about fellowship opportunities to promising service personnel who would be eligible for fellowships after termination of their military duty. The Board expressed its great interest in developing contact with all three of the armed services, and Mr. Gray stated that he would be glad to discuss this with Assistant Secretary Hannah and others in Washington during the latter part of February. The staff was requested to draw up concrete suggestions for Mr. Gray to use as a basis for these discussions.

2.2 Progress Report on the African Program

Mr. Swayzee reported that Mr. William O. Brown had begun his survey

of long-term research and training requirements in the field of African studies. Mr. Spaeth stated that in his recent discussions with Mr. Brown he had been favorably impressed both by his personal qualifications and by the outlines of his proposed survey. The Board agreed that investigation by Mr. Brown of European training and research facilities and library resources on his way to Africa was a worthwhile undertaking. Mr. Dickey noted that the Board would benefit both directly from the survey and indirectly in contributing to Mr. Brown's competence in inaugurating the new African Studies Program at Boston University.

Mr. Swayzee reported that a firm joint commitment had been given by Mr. Phillips Talbot and Mr. Walter Rogers to undertake recruitment for the African fellowship program, and that the administrative details would be completed with them in the next week.

2.3 Progress Report on Survey of U. S. Requirements for Overseas Personnel

Mr. Swayzee reviewed the staff discussions with the Public Administration Clearing House and other interested agencies and stated that the PACH had drawn up a memorandum outlining the general aspects of the problem which the staff would send to Board members immediately following the meeting. Mr. Swayzee reported that the staff discussions had established the fact that all interested groups would be willing to cooperate and that the survey should be made by an outside non-employing agency. He discussed alternative possibilities of having the survey conducted jointly by several agencies since no one agency could handle all aspects of the problem, or of employing a consultant who could work with an advisory committee drawn from all the interested groups. He suggested the possibility that the Board might want to appoint a sub-committee which could work with the staff in developing the project.

In the ensuing discussion the Board reviewed the need both to improve the quality of trained personnel in existing jobs and to provide a manpower reservoir for future needs. While it agreed that it would be undesirable to attempt to predict too specifically future quantitative requirements for trained personnel, it felt that the survey should: 1) attempt to appraise in a general way both immediate job opportunities and future national needs, 2) rank both the areas and the competences for which training is required, and 3) assess training program in the United States to see if such people are being developed.

In response to a question as to whether the Board could properly go into such a nation-wide survey at the present time, Mr. Spaeth indicated the need uncovered in the Foundation's early consideration of research and training programs for such investigations to provide a basis for future Foundation action. The Board agreed that it should postpone further action until the members had a chance to read the paper prepared by the Public Administration Clearing House, and a subcommittee composed of Mr Eurich, Mr. Gardner, and Mr. Dickey was appointed to study the problem with the staff and to report back to the Board at its next meeting.

2.4 University of Michigan Field Training Program

Mr. Swayzee called attention to three items on the agenda relating to the Near and Middle East (University of Michigan Field Session, Columbia University, and the Integrated Research Program) and to two previous actions by the Board (Research Liaison Office in the Near East, and support for the Near Eastern Studies Program at the University of Michigan). He suggested that taken together these programs would constitute a substantial attack on this one important geographical area. He suggested that the Board might wish to keep this in mind as it considered each of the items.

The Board felt that its questions on the Michigan Field Training Program had been answered and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: that the Board on Overseas Training and Research recommend a grant of $35,000 to the University of Michigan for support of a field session on Near and Middle Eastern studies to be conducted in 1953-54. (53-2)

2.5 Columbia University Near and Middle East Program

Several members of the Board raised questions as to the future financing of the Near and Middle East Program at Columbia University after the expiration of a three-year grant by the Foundation, and the position of this Program within the general program of the University. The Board agreed that the staff should discuss these questions with the appropriate University officers and should obtain some indication of the University's plans for 1) development of foreign study programs over the next few years, and 2) future financing. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: that the Board on Overseas Training and Research indicate that it regards the request of Columbia University for support of its Near and Middle East Program as having merit, and, subject to assurances to be obtained by the staff as to the position of this Program within the general program of the University, would be glad to entertain a request for a grant at the next meeting of the Board. (53-3)

2.6 Intensive Summer Language Training Program

Mr. Swayzee reported that since this docket item had been prepared, he had received word from the University of Michigan that it was sponsoring an intensive language training program in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic during the summer of 1953. Since the importance of the proposed ACLS program lay more in the training method than in the specific Southeast Asian languages to be taught, he felt that this proposal might be withdrawn and that a consultant should be employed who could appraise the Michigan program and conduct a study of the whole

linguistics and language teacher-training problem. Further discussion by the Board revealed: 1) that it would be impossible to determine at this time how many of the 1953-54 Fellows would benefit from the ACLS program, and 2) that the ACLS did not view this as a project of extreme urgency. The Board agreed to withdraw consideration of the proposal.

The Board expressed great interest in the broad problem of linguistics and language training. It noted that a broad attack upon the problem would have an impact upon the whole educational pattern and would touch upon the interests of The Fund for the Advancement of Education. Mr. Gardner suggested several parts of the problem, however, which seemed to relate directly to the Board's interests: 1) the need to provide language expertise for people committed to overseas careers, 2) the impact of modern linguistics research on methods of area language teaching, 3) the relation of language training to an understanding of communication itself or to an understanding of an area, and 4) the development of techniques and facilities for the teaching of English to foreign nationals either here or abroad. The Board instructed the staff to continue to discuss this problem with a number of interested groups and attempt to find a qualified person who could conduct a thorough study of those parts of the problem with which the Board is concerned.

2.7 American Universities Field Staff

Mr. Spaeth reviewed the application of the American Universities Field Staff and stated that appropriations for training and research thus far approved by the Foundation's Trustees have not contemplated support for a program such as that of the American Universities Field Staff, which involves an experiment with a new type of educational effort. He reported that the Officers had reviewed the project and were favorably disposed to recommending

it to the Board of Trustees for a separate grant. Before placing it before the Trustees, however, the Officers suggested that the staff obtain the views and recommendations of the Board on Overseas Training and Research.

Several members of the Board indicated their close contact and interest in the work of Mr. Walter Rogers of the Institute of Current World Affairs and of the newly organized American Universities Field Staff under Phillips Talbot. Mr. Dickey expressed his great interest in the unique contribution which Mr. Rogers had made through his personal, individual, and highly flexible program, but expressed doubt as to the practicability of a sudden expansion of the American Universities Field Staff. He suggested that Foundation support be given in such a way as to encourage the AUFS to expand slowly and to build their program firmly into the universities. Mr. Spaeth noted that the greatest expense connected with the operation was the provision of funds to enable the staff members to return to the area of their competence every other year, and that Foundation support would be a contribution directly to the further training of these highly qualified men. Mr. Dickey suggested that the Foundation funds might be made available to the AUFS to send their staff men to the field and maintain them overseas. This would cover the major expense of the AUFS operation, and would obviate the need for arbitrary matching grants. After further discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: that the Board on Overseas Training and Research express its approval of the accomplishments to date of the Institute of Current World Affairs and the American Universities Field Staff, and recommend that a grant of $500,000 to the AUFS over a five-year period be favorably considered subject to the conclusion by the staff of an agreement with the AUFS that the Foundation grant be used to provide for the overseas refresher assignments of the staff members. (53-4)

3. CURRENT RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

3.1 Report on Near and Middle East Research Program

Mr. Swayzee reported that he had received a statement from the Social Science Research Council's Near and Middle East Committee, which blocked out in general terms an integrated research program for the Near and Middle East area as a whole. This statement resulted from early staff discussions with members of the Committee, and Mr. Swayzee felt that this collaborative effort on the part of research scholars was a hopeful development which might yield good results in other areas as well. The statement will be sent to the Board members, and Mr. Swayzee indicated that he planned to discuss it further with the Committee to ask them to formulate in more precise form the specific projects and to appraise institutions and individuals who might take part in the program.

Mr. Spaeth mentioned two programs of the Division of Overseas Activities in the Near East which might fruitfully be coordinated with this proposal: 1) the Social and Economic Research Institute at the American University of Beirut, and 2) plans for the establishment of an Arab Research Institute in the area.

3.2 Progress Report on Soviet Techniques of Indoctrination and Control

Mr. Swayzee reported that Mr. Paul Langer had started his investigation of resources available in the United States to undertake a series of coordinated studies on Soviet techniques of indoctrination and control in countries in Asia and the Near East. It is hoped to have a firm proposal for Board consideration at its next meeting.

3.3 Publication of Foreign Area Research

Mr. Swayzee recalled the presentation of this problem by Mr. Mosely and the discussion by the Board at its November 13th meeting, and stated that

subsequent investigation had satisfied the staff that this is a problem to which the Board should give serious consideration. He referred to the fact that other foundations had taken the position that research should find its way to researchers through the free market. Mr. Gardner and Mr. Dickey agreed that both Rockefeller and Carnegie adhered to this view because they felt that subsidization of standard forms of publication could not solve the long-run problem. The other foundations had hoped to see researchers and publishers agree to move toward newer and cheaper forms of reproduction.

Both Mr. Dickey and Mr. Gardner felt, however, that a more positive approach could be taken to attempt to find solutions to the problem. Mr. Gray noted that perhaps the greatest contribution the Board could make would be to establish procedures contributing to a solution of the problem, rather than to contribute directly and immediately to research subsidization itself. Mr. Murrow expressed the hope, however, that the Board would not close the door to a consideration of subsidization of worthwhile manuscripts, and the Board agreed that this was the sense of the meeting.

Specific suggestions made during the discussion were:

1. That the Board might encourage the publication of abstracts of area research studies similar to the Psychological and Chemical Abstracts.
2. That the staff might pursue further investigations with university presses to see if a revolving fund could be set up similar to that established by the Commonwealth Fund with the Harvard University Press. Mr. Swayzee indicated, however,

that the university presses already contacted by the staff had been reluctant to contract for a book list of the contemplated twenty-five titles or more.

3. That the scholarly journals, such as the Middle East Journal, might be encouraged to add registry sections listing unpublished manuscripts which the journals could then make available in microfilm or other forms to interested scholars.

4. That designated area centers throughout the country might be set up as central registries and depositories of research studies, which could be made available upon request. Mr. Murrow questioned whether the distribution would be very wide and would have much impact upon the public, to which Mr. Dickey replied that this might be an indispensable first step to wider publication and dissemination.

The Board felt that this was a problem which both it and the staff should pursue further, and agreed that the staff should investigate the above possibilities, among others, with a view to firm proposals for the Board consideration at an early meeting.

3.4 Progress Report on Land Tenure and Related Problems

Mr. Swayzee stated that there was nothing to add at this time to the written summary in the docket of the major conclusions of the Foundation-sponsored conference on land tenure and related problems held in early December. Mr. Spaeth indicated that the report would be studied by the Division of Overseas Activities and that recommendations relating to research on these problems might be brought up for Board consideration at a later date.

4. PROPOSED RECOMMENDATIONS TO FOUNDATION FOR SUPPORT OF FUTURE BOTR ACTIVITIES

Mr. Gray asked for comment on the proposed recommendation relating to the three-year projected fellowship program. Mr. Dickey asked whether the allocations were not subject to revision from year to year as future needs indicated, and Mr. Spaeth replied that funds were to be allocated upon the recommendations of the Board on Overseas Training and Research.

Discussion then moved to the part of the proposed recommendation relating to research. Mr. Gray asked whether the statement as worded in the docket item for the Trustees meeting reflected a change in that the grants were approved by the Director or an Associate Director designated by him rather than by the Trustees. Mr. Spaeth replied that this was not a change, that all Board recommendations for fellowship awards or research and training grants were made from the general appropriation approved by the Trustees for research and training activities and required merely the approval of these Officers.

Mr. Dickey questioned whether the Board was ready to decide whether to support specific proposals in Slavic studies. Mr. Spaeth replied that the recommendation to the Trustees was merely for a general appropriation from which specific grants could be made. The determination of research priorities would be made by the Board.

After further discussion, the Board approved the recommendation to the Trustees as stated, but asked Mr. Spaeth to communicate to the Board of Trustees that it was not ready to commit itself on specific allocations at this time.

5. OTHER BUSINESS

Mr. Gray raised the question as to whether the Board on Overseas Training and Research should make a report of some kind on its first year's

activities. There was general agreement by the Board that this should be done, and the staff was requested to prepare a preliminary draft which the Board could review and decide what circulation such a report should have.

6. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

The next meeting was set for April 20th in New York

7. ADJOURNMENT

The meeting was adjourned at 5:40 p. m.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Minutes of a Meeting of the Ford Foundation
Board on Overseas Training and Research
New York, New York, November 13, 1952

(Approved at Meeting of February 2, 1953)

Present: Mr. Gray, Chairman; Mr. Dickey; Mr. Eurich; Mr. Gardner; Mr. Murrow; Mr. Spaeth.

Also present: Mr. Howard, Mr. Swayzee, Mr. Weiss, Miss Lamb.

The Board on Overseas Training and Research met in the offices of The Fund for the Advancement of Education, Room 534, 575 Madison Avenue, on November 13, 1952, pursuant to a call sent by the Secretary on November 7, 1952. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman at 10:06 A.M. Mr. Spaeth introduced Mr. Howard, Deputy Director of the Division of Overseas Activities.

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF SEPTEMBER 17, 1952 MEETING

The minutes of the meeting of September 17 were approved with amendment.

2. REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON 1953-54 FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM.
2.1 Asia and the Near and Middle East

Mr. Weiss stated that the recommended action was responsive to the need expressed to attract larger numbers of college seniors and non-academic persons into the 1953-54 program. Mr. Weiss outlined the staff recommendation that applications from persons not now engaged in academic careers or study should not be handled through the regular Screening Committee, but through a consultant having broad knowledge of business, labor, government, and communications groups who would be employed both to recruit promising candidates from these fields and to make recommendations to the staff and the Board with respect to such candidates. In response to a question from Mr. Gray, Mr. Spaeth replied that the funds for employing such a consultant for the calendar year 1953-54 would be submitted by the Division of Overseas Activities to the Officers

of the Foundation as part of the administrative budget of the Board on Overseas Training and Research.

Mr. Gray asked whether provision should be made in the allocation of funds for the college seniors to utilize these funds for the general program if sufficient numbers of qualified candidates are not found. After further discussion, the Board agreed that the Screening Committee should be informed that it is the desire of the Board to recruit promising candidates in the younger group whether or not they had demonstrated a prior interest in the area. The Board would assume, of course, that the Screening Committee would recommend awards only to the most promising younger candidates.

Thereupon, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the Board on Overseas Training and Research recommend that the $500,000 appropriated by the Foundation Trustees at their October meeting for Foreign Study and Research Fellowships in Asia, the Near and Middle East be used to provide approximately 100 fellowships for 1953-54 substantially similar to those offered for 1952-53 with the following exceptions: an allocation of not less than $100,000 of the total amount for awards to college seniors or other younger candidates without previous graduate training in this field; and a second provisional allocation of $100,000 for candidates from non-academic fields, with the understanding that these funds may be utilized for any candidates should qualified non-academic candidates not be found. (52-21)

Mr. Weiss distributed drafts of the proposed application form for the 1953-54 Program, which could be used both for academic and non-academic applicants through the provision of optional questions.

After discussion, the Board requested Mr. Weiss to modify the application forms and the fellowship announcement along the following lines:

(1) that non-academic applicants should be described as those who are "not now engaged in academic careers or study".

(2) that academic applicants should be described as those who "are now engaged in academic careers or study or are planning to follow an academic career".

(3) that questions three and four on the confidential reference form should be modified to apply to all applicants.

(4) that the fellowship announcement should reflect the Board's desire to encourage younger applicants who may wish to begin study immediately in an area, irrespective of their intention of entering a graduate school.

Speaking to this latter point, Mr. Spaeth stated that it had been the tendency of the Screening Committee to think of graduate work as a standard pattern for the development of area competence. He thought that the Board could perform a significant function in stimulating experimentation in training patterns and that the Screening Committee should be encouraged along these lines.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the Board unanimously approved the announcement and application forms as amended.

The Board agreed that younger candidates who were engaged in academic studies at the time of filing application should be screened by the academic Screening Committee, whether or not their future programs were in the academic or non-academic fields.

The Board then considered the question of the handling of non-academic applications and the possible employment of a special staff consultant to

discover qualified applicants and to review, evaluate and submit recommendations with respect to formal applications. In response to a question raised by Mr. Gray as to the feasibility of employing one man for a period of five months to screen all applications from non-academic persons, Mr. Spaeth said that it was entirely possible that the consultant would discover not more than three to five qualified persons for whom awards would be recommended.

In response to a question from Mr. Eurich as to the variation of screening procedures between the academic and non-academic applicants, Mr. Weiss distinguished between the recruitment and selection functions and stated the need for active recruitment of non-academic personnel as compared with academic. Mr. Murrow expressed his concern as to the desirability of placing both recruitment and selection of non-academic persons in the hands of one consultant, whereupon attention was called to the statement as worded that the consultant, would "submit his recommendations directly to the staff". There was a suggestion that this be amended to read "submit his recommendations directly to a committee of the staff and the Board".

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the Board (1) recommend the employment of a staff consultant for purposes of recruiting non-academic fellowship candidates, and (2) recommend the establishment of a small screening committee for non-academic persons with the request that the staff make recommendations to the Board at its next meeting as to composition and personnel. (52-22)

With regard to the Screening Committee for the 1953-54 program, it was the sense of the meeting that the Board desired to carry forward the names of those who had served before, if at all possible. Upon motion duly made and seconded,

RESOLVED that the Board recommend that a six-member Screening Committee be employed for the 1953-54 program, carrying forward four members of the 1952-53 Committee and obtaining two members from the respective fields of journalism-communications and business. (52-23)

The Board approved the time schedule for announcement of the program, the filing of applications, and the announcement of awards. It also approved the staff recommendation that no action be taken with respect to the conclusion of any contractual commercial insurance arrangements, with the understanding that if the need for such coverage appears great this decision be reviewed.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

RESOLVED that unsuccessful applicants may reactivate their 52-53 applications by the submission of a letter so requesting, but that the Board would make no announcement to this effect. (52-24)

RESOLVED that recipients of 1952-53 one-year awards who had requested grants of longer duration be advised that they may reactivate their request for a longer duration support by the submission of a letter so requesting. (52-25)

RESOLVED that recipients of grants of longer than one year's duration be advised as soon as possible with respect to possible continuation of their awards past the first year. (52-26)

Mr. Weiss stated that it was the intention of the staff to come before the Board at its next meeting with recommendations for the continuation of the fellowship program for the third year.

2.2. Africa

In response to questions raised as to the wording of the recommended action, Mr. Spaeth stated that the objective of the program was to increase the numbers of people in universities with knowledge in the African field, by attracting

into the field a few carefully selected scholars representing a variety of disciplines. Mr. Murrow raised a question as to the length of the "short periods of study and travel" and the Board agreed that it would not look with favor on visits of less than three months' duration.

Mr. Gray suggested that the staff recommendations for a study of long-term African training and research requirements be amended to read "initiated by the staff." Mr. Spaeth noted in response to a question, that this staff study would be handled out of administrative funds.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the Board on Overseas Training and Research recommend (1) that the $150,000 appropriated by the Trustees at their October meeting for fellowships and grants in the field of African studies be used to attract a few individuals selected on the basis of established competence or promise permanently into the field of African Studies and to enable persons of established competence to improve and broaden their professional capacity through short periods of study and travel in Africa; and (2) that a study of long-term African training and research requirements be initiated by the staff. (52-27)

The Board discussed the staff proposal that a highly qualified person be engaged to search out candidates for African Fellowship awards. It was suggested that someone with a knowledge either of Africa itself or of underdeveloped regions, would be highly desirable, if available, and it was thought that the Board might be able to utilize the services of someone who had been a member of one of the Carnegie reconnanissance teams. Mr. Murrow noted that the Board would be employing two people, one to recruit for the fellowship program, and one to do the long-term study, and suggested that perhaps the two jobs could be combined. Further discussion developed the advantages and disadvantages of

combining the two jobs, and upon motion duly made and seconded it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the Board recommend a recruiting program be established with the hope that the staff can find one individual to perform both functions. (52-28)

2.3 Yugoslavia

Mr. Spaeth suggested that discussion of this question be postponed until luncheon at which time Dr. Philip Mosely would be joining the group. Mr. Spaeth reviewed briefly for the Board the background of the Foundation's East European Fund, of which Dr. Mosely is Director, and the decision of the officers of the Foundation that if a Slavic Studies Fellowship Program is to be established it should be set up under the Board on Overseas Training and Research. Mr. Spaeth underscored that there is no commitment by the Officers at this time, and that the Board would have to consider whether it would want to extend itself this far. However, if the Board agrees to go into such a program, recommendations could be made to the Board of Trustees at their February or April meeting looking forward to a possible program in 1954-55. In response to a question by Mr. Dickey as to whether action by the Foundation on Yugoslav fellowships depended upon the action of the Board, Mr. Spaeth stated that it was the preference of the Officers to set this up under the Board's program if the Board felt it wanted to go into this area.

After the luncheon discussion the Board agreed to defer consideration of possible Yugoslav fellowships until Dr. Mosely had submitted his proposal for Slavic fellowships of which this might be a part.

2.4 Roving Staff Member

Mr. Weiss reviewed briefly the action taken at the last Board meeting to

appoint a roving staff member and stated that action had been delayed because of further possible assignments for such a man in connection with the establishment of the proposed research liaison office in the Near East. The staff now recommends that two roving staff members be appointed, one to go to the Near and Middle East where he would have the additional assignment of investigating the possibilities of a pilot research liaison office in that area. The second would first consult in this country with college and university officials, and would then go to the Far East for follow-up activities with the Fellows there. Mr. Eurich asked how this proposal related to the role of the Foundation's representatives in the area and Mr. Spaeth replied that, while both Mr. Ensminger and Mr. Iverson had received lists of the Board Fellows in their areas and would serve in an advisory capacity for the time being, it would be unrealistic for us to expect them to provide the type of service which will be required in the long run. Furthermore, the Research Liaison Office will perform services for other scholars as well as for the Board Fellows.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the Board recommend that two roving staff members be appointed - one to go to the Near and Middle East where he shall have the additional assignment of investigating the possibilities of establishing a research liaison office in that area; the second to be responsible for follow-up activities with Fellows in the United States and those now studying in Asia. (52-29)

3. INTERIM PROGRESS REPORTS

3.1 Research Liaison Offices

The Board agreed that its action with regard to the roving staff members should also cover the Research Liaison Office recommendation.

3.2 Training for Specialized Mission Personnel

Mr. Spaeth reviewed the background of this problem and the Board agreed to have the staff conduct further investigations upon which it would present a

report to the Board at its next meeting.

3.3 Survey of Personnel Needs

The Board agreed that it would be preferable to retain an outside organization, such as the Public Administration Clearing House to conduct this survey.

4. DISCUSSION OF BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH AIMS AND PROGRAM

The Board was in general agreement with the statement of the aims of the Board's program. There was some feeling that an additional aim might be to promote wider public understanding and knowledge of the tension areas with which the Board is concerned, although Mr. Dickey expressed the hope that attention on this be deferred until the research and training programs were further along.

Mr. Gray recalled the original assignment of the Board to survey the broader problems of research and training needs and facilities in the United States and questioned whether the Board had been performing this function. There was a general feeling that the Board must continue to think of this as one of its prime functions as it moves forward in the consideration of specific research and training tasks.

The Board was also in general agreement with the statement outlining guides for selective support of research and felt that these could be used as general guides to be further clarified as specific projects were considered.

Discussion developed the following points:

(a) That the Board should build on existing strength, but that it will strive to avoid creating academic monopolies.

(b) That interdisciplinary research should be encouraged, but that the Board recognizes there are some research projects which might not lend themselves to this approach.

(c) That enlightened national self-interest might guide the research activities of the Board, with the recognition that this might mean encouraging indigenous peoples to get a fresh view of their own problems, as well as consulting with nationals of other countries on our own research to get the benefit of their knowledge, experience, and perspective.

(d) That some research projects should be organized around manageable and down-to-earth problems but that clearly some projects should be more broadly reviewed.

5. REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON SPECIFIC RESEARCH AND TRAINING PROJECTS

5.1 Soviet Techniques of Indoctrination and Control

After presentation by Mr. Swayzee and Mr. Spaeth and discussion by the Board, it was duly moved, seconded, and unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the Board on Overseas Training and Research (1) authorize the staff to explore alternative methods of organizing a series of coordinated studies on the extension of Soviet doctrine and control in countries of Asia and the Near and Middle East, and (2) recommend a grant of $61,000 for support of a two-year program of investigation into Soviet techniques of indoctrination and control in Japan to be conducted by Rodger Swearingen and associates. (52-30)

5.2 University of Michigan Field Session

After discussion the Board agreed to defer action on this proposal until a further statement was submitted by the University of Michigan clarifying the specific aims of the proposed summer field session in 1953-54, with the expectation that this would be considered at the next meeting of the Board.

5.3 Land Tenure

Mr. Spaeth reviewed the various submissions which had been received by

the Foundation on land tenure and related problems and mentioned the hope of the Foundation that a conference could be held in early December of persons with recent practical field experience.

5.4 Slavic Studies

At the luncheon meeting, Dr. Mosely presented a statement on the need for a program in Soviet and Slavic Studies, including graduate training, pre-doctoral training, post-doctoral research, and publication of research studies. He will present a further written statement to the staff upon which it is hoped to have Board discussion at a later meeting.

Mr. Murrow stated that he hoped the Board would seriously consider the importance of publications in Slavic and other fields and suggested a publications revolving fund. The research staff is actively studying this problem.

6. OTHER BUSINESS

There was no other business.

7. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

Mr. Spaeth conveyed the invitation of the Foundation Officers to the Board to convene in Pasadena early in January for a period of two or three days. Mr. Weiss was asked to contact the members of the Board and to arrange for the meeting to be held either in Pasadena on January 5-6, or in New York on January 7.

8. ADJOURNMENT

The meeting was adjourned at 5 P.M.

from Ed Emmon

THE FORD FOUNDATION

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Minutes of a Meeting of the Ford Foundation
Board on Overseas Training and Research
New York, New York, September 17, 1952

(Approved at Meeting of November 13, 1952)

Present: Mr. Gray, Chairman; Mr. Dickey; Mr. Eurich; Mr. Gardner; Mr. Murrow; Mr. Perkins; Mr. Spaeth.

Also present: Mrs. Hutchinson, Mr. Swayzee, Mr. Weiss.

The Board on Overseas Training and Research met in the offices of The Fund for the Advancement of Education, Room 534, 575 Madison Avenue, on September 17, 1952 pursuant to a call sent by the Secretary on September 3, 1952. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman at 9:55 A.M. Mr. Gray welcomed Mr. Cleon Swayzee as staff Director of Research.

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF JUNE 18, 1952 MEETING.

The minutes of the meeting of June 18 were approved with amendment.

2. REPORT ON FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM.
2.1 Final Report on 1952-53 Awards

Mr. Weiss stated a summary of fellowship awards had been sent to each member of the Board and referred further to a statistical report concerning the awards (Appendix A). He stated that $7,000 was left from the $480,000 appropriated for the Fellowship Program.

Mr. Spaeth reported that the Foundation Officers were concerned about two points with respect to the fellowship program: a) the failure to attract a larger number of college seniors; and b) the failure to attract a larger number of non-academic persons.

Mr. Schuyler Wallace, Chairman of the Screening Committee, met briefly with the Board and, in addition to his written recommendations (Appendix B), made the following suggestions: a) consideration be

given to a group insurance program; b) announcement of the 1953-54 program should be made before December 1; c) consideration should be given to expanding the program to include older faculty members with teaching experience; and d) consideration might be given to granting an additional $500 for summer study if the academic year had been completed satisfactorily.

Mr. Wallace further reported a) that the applicants of highest quality were in the areas of China and Japan and that those receiving awards to study in the area of China will do their work in Japan, Thailand, Hong Kong, Indonesia and the United States; and b) that the Screening Committee had asked the question regarding Communist affiliation of all applicants. One person had refused to state his position on grounds of principle and another said that he had been, but was no longer, a Communist. These two persons were referred to the staff and awards were made in each case after the staff had concluded that there was no basis in believing that there were Communist affiliations.

Mr. Eurich expressed concern that no awards were made to persons from business and industry. Mr. Wallace replied that it was difficult to screen such applicants because of their natural interest in finding business opportunities in the foreign country. Mr. Wallace stated that the Screening Committee had operated on the concept that this program was to develop knowledgeable persons with understanding and not to promote United States' methods or interests abroad.

Following Mr. Wallace's report, the staff was asked to prepare recommendations concerning the 1953-54 fellowship program including

possible arrangements for a group insurance program.

In discussing the amount of the individual awards, Mr. Perkins and Mr. Dickey suggested that awards should err on the side of being generous enough not only to attract the right candidates, but also to permit the holders of the fellowships to make optimum use of the experience.

The Board discussed at length problems of attracting non-academic persons to this program and suggested the program be separated into academic and non-academic phases. Mr. Murrow suggested the possibility of separate application forms for academic and non-academic persons. Mr. Wallace endorsed this suggestion, and the Board agreed that two application forms might be used.

It was generally agreed that the staff should keep in mind the problems of reaching the non-academic fields and the younger student, that age qualifications should remain as presently described, and that the program should not be expanded to reach the older teaching faculties past the Ph.D. degree, in preparing its recommendations for the 1953-54 program.

2.2 Administrative Follow-Up on Current Program
2.2.1 Previous Recommendations

A. Establishment of committees abroad to supervise Fellows

Mr. Spaeth recommended that some supervision for Fellows abroad might be obtained from the Ford Foundation offices in Pakistan and India and Beirut, where field projects are in progress and where the Ford personnel could assist Fellows in this program. He mentioned

also the University of Michigan's field station in Japan and the Cornell station in Bangkok.

After further discussion, it was agreed that no committee should be established abroad during the current year.

2.2.1

B. Appointment of Roving Staff Member

Mr. Spaeth suggested the appointment of one or two consultants to serve as liaison between the Board and the Fellows. Mr. Gardner and Mr. Perkins suggested that one man should be so employed on a permanent basis.

After further discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the staff submit recommendations for a roving liaison staff member to the Board as soon as possible. (52-18).

2.2.1

C. Quarterly Progress Reports from Fellows

Mr. Eurich noted it was necessary to consider the tax status of the grant in connection with any requirements placed upon the Fellows. Exemption of the grants would be seriously jeopardized in the event services were required or were being rendered to the Foundation or to any institution.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the Board on Overseas Training and Research shall not require progress reports from Fellows on grants from this Board. (52-19).

2.2.2 Further Staff Proposals

After considerable discussion, the Board requested the staff to prepare recommendations concerning the renewal of grants for a second year, based upon satisfactory completion of the first year's program.

2.3 Discussion of Fellowship Program for 1953-54
2.3.1 Survey of Needs

Mr. Spaeth reviewed briefly the scope of a projected survey of needs for training personnel for overseas careers, as well as a projected inventory of facilities available for such training missions. He suggested that Mr. Swayzee would submit early recommendations to the Board on these matters.

2.3.2 Fellowships for non-Americans and correlation of such Fellowships with the Foundation's Exchange Program

Mr. Spaeth reviewed programs presently supported by the Ford Foundation dealing with individual assistance to non-Americans, and indicated that at some future date the Board might be requested to coordinate these activities with its own program.

Mr. Eurich suggested that the Board might at that time consider possible assistance to the large number of foreign students studying in the United States.

2.3.3 Geographic Scope of Program

Mr. Spaeth reviewed the reasons for the Foundation's particular interest in training programs directed at Asia, the Near and Middle East, and indicated that interest had further developed recently in the African area. He suggested that if the Board should so recommend, it might be possible to extend the fellowship program for 1953-54 to include all

Africa. After some discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the Board recommend that foreign study and research fellowships be offered for 1953-54 in the African area. (52-20).

Mr. Murrow suggested that consideration might also be given to extending the program to include Yugoslavia because of the unique possibilities there for studying and living in a Communist society. Mr. Spaeth indicated that he would discuss this suggestion with the Foundation Officers.

3. RESEARCH PROGRAM

3.1 Grants Approved by Director of Foundation on Recommendation of Board

Mr. Spaeth reported that the Foundation had approved the recommendations of the Board on Overseas Training and Research at its meeting of June 18th.

With respect to research liaison offices in Asia and the Near and Middle East, Mr. Swayzee reported on a meeting convened by the Social Science Research Council. This group agreed on the value of establishing such offices, with functions as envisaged by the Board in its earlier discussion. The group emphasized the importance of a Director of recognized research competence. No agreement was reached on the question of American sponsorship of the operation. There was general agreement that the proposed budget of $25,000 a year for each center was inadequate, and that it would be better to use the $100,000 approved to establish one center for a three-year period. Preference for location of the first office in the Near and Middle East was unanimously expressed.

The report was followed by Board discussion which involved, among other things, the importance of continuing such offices over a period of time and the relative importance of service and research functions.

The Board requested the staff to present specific recommendations at its next meeting.

3.2 General Discussion of Memorandum on "Procedures for the Selective Support of Investigation Relating to Asia and the Middle East"

The Chairman suggested that the discussion not be confined to the memorandum; that it revolve around the aims, purposes and goals of the Board's research and training programs. He expressed the feeling that the Board would not fulfill its obligations if it simply approved and rejected applications for support.

In the course of the discussion the following principal points were made:

a. Research should serve the national interest by providing necessary research tools and by revealing problems of key importance.

b. Research should focus upon specific local problems and build outward to broader understanding.

c. The Board program should, insofar as possible, be related to, be coordinated with, and enhance the work in other Foundation areas.

d. Support of individual research projects should go forward simultaneously with the development of a general frame of reference.

e. There is much value in focusing attention on a relatively few key problems.

f. The results of research should be useful to a significant part of the population.

g. In considering research projects, emphasis should always be placed on the qualifications of the persons who are going to carry out the projects.

h. Functional problems such as the impact of religion on politics are as important as problems defined in geographic terms.

Following the discussion, the staff was requested to prepare a paper on Board on Overseas Training and Research Aims and Purposes for discussion at its next meeting.

4. DISCUSSION OF SAYRE-THURBER REPORT ON "TRAINING FOR SPECIALIZED MISSION PERSONNEL"

The staff was requested to prepare a statement on this report for presentation to the Board at its next meeting.

5. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

It was agreed that the date of the next meeting would be November 13 unless members were informed otherwise.

6. OTHER BUSINESS

Following completion of the Agenda, Mr. Chester Davis (Associate Director of the Ford Foundation) met with the Board. Mr. Perkins reviewed at some length a situation in Venezuela to which he felt the Foundation might effectively direct its attention, and inquired whether

or not this was an appropriate matter to bring before the Board. Mr. Davis indicated that the Foundation had not to date established any program for Latin America, but indicated that the officers would welcome such suggestions as this from the Board and that it was most appropriate for such suggestions to be discussed at Board meetings.

7. ADJOURNMENT

The meeting was adjourned at 5:20 P.M.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS
OF OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

1952 - 1953

A.	Total applications received		701	
	Recommended by Screening Committee		91	
	Recommended but awards not offered (Pre-modern group)	5		
	Fellowship awards refused	3		
	Postponed due to military service	1		
	TOTAL AWARDS GRANTED		83	
	TOTAL AMOUNT COMMITTED			$473,850.00

B. MALE RECIPIENTS 75
FEMALE RECIPIENTS 8

C. AGES -- 21 - 43

Average age 29

D. REGION OF ORIGIN:

East:	Connecticut	4
	Delaware	1
	District of Columbia	2
	Maryland	1
	Massachusetts	5
	New Hampshire	1
	New Jersey	1
	New York	20
	Pennsylvania	1
South:	Florida	1
	Kentucky	1
	Mississippi	1
Middle West:	Illinois	6
	Indiana	1
	Ohio	3
	Michigan	1
	Minnesota	3
	North Dakota	1
	Wisconsin	3

West:	California	18
	Colorado	1
	Nevada	1
	Montana	1
	Oregon	1
	Washington	3
Hawaii		1

E. AREA OF INTEREST

JAPAN - CHINA	31
SOUTHEAST ASIA	11
INDIA - PAKISTAN	15
MIDDLE EAST	27

F. STUDY

UNITED STATES (1st year)	41
ABROAD (1st year)	42
ABROAD (2nd year)	24

G. PERIODS OF GRANTS

7 MONTHS	1
1 YEAR	42
1-1½ YEARS	8
1½-2 YEARS	5
2 YEARS	26
3 YEARS	1

H. ACADEMIC DEGREES

B.A.	15	(12 working for Ph.D.)
B.S.	2	
B.S.S.	1	(working for Ph.D.)
M.A.	44	(38 working for Ph.D.)
M.S.	2	(1 working for Ph.D.)
L.L.B.	1	
M. Ed.	1	
Ph.D.	15	
J.S.D.	1	(Foreign degree)
None	1	

I. INSTITUTIONS FROM WHICH HIGHEST DEGREES RECEIVED OR AT WHICH PRESENTLY AFFILIATED

United States

Brooklyn College	1
University of California	8
University of Chicago	3
City College of New York	1
Clark University	1
Columbia University	15
Cornell University	5
Johns Hopkins University	2
Harvard University	5
Haverford University	1
Illinois	1
University of Michigan	2
University of Minnesota	4
New School for Social Research	1
Occidental College	1
University of Pennsylvania	3
Princeton University	1
Radcliffe College	1
Smith College	1
Stanford University	8
Syracuse University	2
University of Washington	4
University of Wisconsin	3
Xavier University	1
Yale University	5

Foreign

University of Lille	1
University of Fribourg	1

None 1

J. POSITION OF APPLICANTS

Academic Student	4
Graduate Student	45
Teaching	24
Government (Foreign Service)	2
Journalism	5
Clergyman (also a professor)	1
Other: Foundation-B'nai Brith	1
United Student Christian Council	1

July 24, 1952

Mr. Carl B. Spaeth
Director of Overseas Activities
Ford Foundation
914 East Green Street
Pasadena, California

My dear Mr. Spaeth:

As the result of their experience this summer, the Screening Committee wishes to make a number of observations designed, it hopes to improve procedures in the future.

1. It seems clear to us that the new fellowships should be announced as early in the fall as possible.

2. The date on which all applications should be filed should be February 15 at the latest. This will enable the student to incorporate in his application his marks for the full semester. It will also enable the Screening Committee to reach academic people while they are still on their respective campuses. It will also enable the student to apply to the Ford Foundation sufficiently early in the year so as not to complicate his employment situation for the following year if his application is rejected.

3. The confidential reference forms should have on them questions which will sharpen up the letters of recommendation. This can be done in a number of ways. The reference can be asked whether the student falls in the upper five per cent, the upper ten per cent, the upper fifteen per cent, or the upper twenty-five per cent of all students he has ever taught. Although this question is somewhat artificial, it does prevent a professor from referring to a student as "distinguished", "superior", or what-not, and then having it discovered that he is in the upper forty per cent of his class. Another line of questions sometimes used is: Would you be (a) reluctant, (b) willing, (c) pleased, or (d) eager to have the candidate as a colleague? A third variation of approach is to ask what the reaction of an award to a particular candidate would be from the candidate's fellow students, or from his professors.

4. Each reference should be furnished with a copy of the proposed project and requested to comment upon the project as well as upon the applicant.

5. Each project should be sent to someone with professional competence for an independent evaluation.

6. Each university should be requested to send in two separate priority ratings. The first should rate the students; the second, the projects presented.

7. The membership of the Screening Committee should be enlarged so that it can be broken down into three area sub-committees dealing with: (a) the Near and Middle East, (b) India and South Asia, and (c) China and Japan. In addition, its personnel should have greater diversity of professional background than the present committee has had. For example, there should be not merely political scientists and historians, but economists as well.

8. For the purpose of final review these sub-committees might report to an executive committee made up of the chairman of the three sub-committees and two other persons with a more general interest. Whether this executive committee is necessary or not is a matter for further thought.

9. Although telephoning produced some results, the results were in no way comparable with the results obtained by personal interviews. Interviews, however, should be conducted by two persons rather than one if it is at all possible.

10. A conscientious effort should be made to interest a larger number of superior newspaper men, radio commentators, etc. in the program. This might be done through the newspapers, radio networks, schools of journalism, etc.

11. A similar effort should be made through the labor unions to interest superior trade union people in the project.

12. An attempt should be made to recruit directly from the colleges superior students. The number recruited from the colleges this year has been surprisingly small. In this connection due regard must be had (a) for a student's intellectual ability, (b) his stamina to stand the rigors of backward areas, and (c) his capacity as a self-starter. This latter may or may not be indicated by the extra-curricular activities in which he engages.

13. In view of the general weakness in the number of applicants interested in Southeast Asia, Pakistan, and to a lesser extent, India, an attempt should be made to stimulate greater interest in these fields. Interest in the Near and Middle East was suprisingly strong, but even so, additional interest might wisely be stimulated further.

Although additional suggestions will undoubtedly occur to the members of the Committee, these are the principal recommendations which the Committee wishes to make at this time. The members of the Committee have promised that

as additional suggestions arise they will communicate them to me at a later date. I shall consequently write a supplementary letter on this subject some time early in the fall.

Cordially yours,

Schuyler Wallace
Chairman
Screening Committee

July 25, 1952

Mr. Carl B. Spaeth
Director of Overseas Activities
Ford Foundation
914 East Green Street
Pasadena, California

My dear Mr. Spaeth:

The members of the Screening Committee of the Foreign Study and Research Fellowship Program have asked me to convey to you a number of reflections relative to the further development of Near and Middle East and Asian studies.

First, they believe that the current program has been very much worthwhile, both in making it possible to accelerate the expertise of fifty or sixty scholars who had already developed an interest in the field and in "buying into" the field a number of others who, as yet, are only on the fringes.

They believe that the program should be repeated next year and for a number of years to come. The scarcity of experts in the field is so obvious that further development of this recommendation is hardly necessary. Emphasis next year, however, might well be placed upon the recruitment of superior youngsters directly from the colleges rather than the acceleration of the expertise of those already in the field. A particular effort might be made to build up the applications of first-class candidates in the fields of Southeast Asia, Pakistan, India and the Near and Middle East -- in the order named.

Although the current program in no way placed an undue burden upon any American educational institution, steps might well be taken to strengthen the graduate offerings in these several fields -- particularly in the social sciences. This might be done (a) by underwriting supplementary library acquisitions, (b) by providing travel funds for the senior members of the staffs of the various area programs, (c) by letting it be generally known that research funds are available for carefully conceived research projects relating to these areas and (d) by supplementing provisions which have already been made (the Smith-Mundt Act) for bringing visiting professors from the various areas of the Near and Middle East and Asia to educational institutions in the United States. In addition, particular institutions which

have shown significant vitality in any one of these fields might wisely be given individual support.

In addition to strengthening the work at the graduate level, serious attention, in the opinion of your Committee, should be given to the problem of expanding Asiatic studies in the liberal arts colleges throughout the country. This might be done through the development of such courses as Contemporary Eastern Civilization now being given in Columbia College, or through the more orthodox departmental approach.

The stimulation of such courses will not only bring about a very much worthwhile reorientation of American college education and the broadening of that education per se, but it will provide the posts in which those who acquire expertise in these fields can earn a lving; and incidentally, provide America with a stockpile of experts whose expertise may be of critical importance in the event of a national or international emergency involving these areas.

Finally, the members of the Committee suggest that consideration be given to the desirability of under-writing a South and Southeast Asia journal to function both as a channel of communication and as a catalyst in this area.

As the above indicates, the members of the Committee feel that the whole program is eminently worthwhile and should be implemented in every way possible.

Cordially yours,

Schuyler Wallace
Chairman
Screening Committee

THE FORD FOUNDATION

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Minutes of a Meeting of the Ford Foundation
Board on Overseas Training and Research
New York, New York, June 18, 1952

(Approved at Meeting of September 17, 1952)

Present: Mr. Gray, Chairman; Mr. Dickey; Mr. Eurich; Mr. Gardner; Mr. Murrow; Mr. Perkins; Mr. Spaeth.

Also present: Mr. Weiss; Mrs. Hutchinson

The Board on Overseas Training and Research met in the offices of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, Room 534, 575 Madison Avenue, on June 18, 1952 pursuant to a call sent by the Secretary on May 29, 1952. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman at 9:50 A.M.

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF MAY 22, 1952 MEETING.

The minutes of the meeting of May 22 were approved with amendment.

2. TRAINING PROGRAM
2.1 Foreign Study and Research Fellowship Program
2.1.1 Final Report on Preliminary Screening

The members of the Board reviewed the summary statement prepared by Mr. Sibley for the Screening Committee. (Appendix A)

Mr. Spaeth indicated that Mr. Sibley had been prone to rule out a large majority of the college seniors without extensive experience or previous evidence of interest in the area and suggested that this was in conflict with one objective of the program.

The Chairman raised the question of granting fellowships to persons who are or have been employed by intelligence agencies of the U. S. Government. It was recognized that the policy agreed upon in the May 22 meeting - that no fellows may work even part-time for any other organization while receiving subvention under this fellowship program - did not

fully cover this situation. After further discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the Board will not knowingly make a training or research fellowship award to any individual currently identified with intelligence operations of the Government, and that further, the Board does not regard it as normally feasible to consider fellowship applications from persons on leave from such agencies, unless proof is presented in the case in question, that the person will devote his full time and efforts to the objectives and purposes of the fellowship program. (52-8)

2.1.2 Progress Report from Screening Committee

After a preliminary review of the memorandum from the Screening Committee (Appendix B), the Chairman invited Mr. Schuyler Wallace, Chairman of the Committee, to meet with the Board. Mr. Wallace reported for the Committee comprised of Mr. Harold Atwood, Standard Oil of New Jersey; Mr. Robert P. Martin, Columbia Broadcasting System; Mr. Phillips Talbot, American Universities' Field Staff; Mr. Lewis Thomas, Princeton; and Mr. David Wodlinger, Institute of International Education. He reported that the Committee was considering 250 applicants, and had now examined 120 applications of which 27 appeared worthy of further consideration and personal interview.

Mr. Wallace mentioned that there was disproportionate concentration of interest and quality in certain geographic areas with Japan ranking high, China second, and India third. For Southeast Asia the situation appeared less favorable and for the Near and Middle East still less promising. Mr. Wallace indicated that the Committee desired to reopen some 100 additional applications of younger candidates, and estimated

on the basis of present experience that the Committee would finally recommend between 60 and 70 awards.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that, notwithstanding the action taken in Resolution 52-5, the Screening Committee be, and hereby is, authorized to re-open any and all fellowship applications rejected in the preliminary screening by Mr. Sibley, with particular reference to applications submitted by younger persons without previous indicated interest or graduate training along the lines indicated in the fellowship application. (52-9)

Mr. Wallace stated that thus far the telephone recommendations have corresponded closely to the written statements. In answer to a question, Mr. Wallace said that about one-half of the applicants being considered by the Screening Committee came from some 12 institutions including the University of California, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Stanford, and Yale, and that the other half came from other institutions or organizations scattered over the country. He stated that the overwhelming number of applicants were academic in nature, 15% being business men, architects, journalists, et cetera. Mr. Wallace said that no breakdown had been made between academic and government service applicants.

Mr. Wallace referred to his written report and inquired whether a medical certificate covering both mental and physical conditions of the applicant should be required before a fellowship is formally awarded. After discussion it was agreed that the Fulbright medical requirements should be examined and that the staff should be authorized to set up

a reasonable and practical system to explore the mental and physical abilities of the candidate.

Mr. Wallace asked whether a disclaimer of employment by any intelligence agency of the government should be required of candidates. It was decided that resolution 52-8 was adequate to cover this situation. Mr. Perkins stated that it was important to deal with this question positively and not ask a negative disclaimer statement from the applicant.

Mr. Wallace raised the question of granting subsidies to so many members of one institution that the Board in effect was subsidizing the institution, for example, the Hoover Library at Stanford. After discussion, the Board agreed that no individual or institution should be penalized simply because of the number of applicants from that institution.

Mr. Wallace stated that it seemed unwise to the Committee to make two or three year awards without supervision, and recommended that continuance of awards be conditioned upon the performance of satisfactory work at various stages of the Fellow's program. Mr. Spaeth suggested that perhaps small committees of three persons could be established to supervise the Fellows in the Near East, the Middle East and in Asia and questioned whether universities might resent such supervision over a student enrolled in that institution. Mr. Wallace replied that in the case of a Ph.D. candidate such supervision might be delegated to a university well qualified in the particular field of study. He stated that in cases where the university is not so qualified and in the non-

academic group committee supervision would be very valuable.

After further discussion the Board agreed that some method of supervision, including annual review of two and three year awards, should be set up and that this might be discussed under the item on administration of fellowships in the agenda. Mr. Wallace stated that this was sufficient guidance for the Committee.

Mr. Wallace stated that the Committee felt that the minimum six months' period of field work abroad established by the Board should be extended to one year, except for those with extensive field work experience. The Chairman explained that the six months' period had been suggested only to rule out the "vacation type" proposals. Mr. Gardner suggested that an area specialist would have to stay longer while a functional specialist might be able to travel rather rapidly from country to country and still do an effective job. Mr. Wallace said that he would report to the Committee that a one-year period might be insisted upon for the area specialists, but that this would not be a rigid rule. Mr. Wallace asked whether the Board planned to consult informally with the State Department before a formal award to any applicant was made. He indicated that he felt this policy would subordinate the Board to the State Department to an undesirable degree. Reference was made to the minutes of the May 22 meeting, stating that the Board has agreed "that no formal procedure would be established with regard to inquiries with foreign embassies, and that this matter could best be handled on an ad hoc basis after discussion with appropriate personnel in the State Department." The Chairman

stated further that the passport and/or visa of the Fellow would be considered his clearance by the State Department, and that he knew of no government machinery in the F.B.I. or elsewhere to ascertain with certainty whether an individual was a member of the Communist party. Mr. Wallace stated the Screening Committee wanted to be on record that they could not screen with any certainty on the loyalty question.

After some discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unamimously:

> RESOLVED that in pursuance of the Board's determination to withhold any and all fellowship grants from persons whose loyalty is to some government other than the United States of America, and in full recognition of both the difficulties of determining such loyalties as well as the dangers of false accusations concerning the loyalty of any individual, the Screening Committee be, and hereby is, instructed to take such steps as it deems feasible, including direct interrogation, during personal interviews with fellowship applicants to determine the past and present loyalty of fellowship applicants. (52-10)

Mr. Wallace raised a question concerning the date when fellowships would be expected to go into effect. The Board agreed that fellowship programs should generally be started during the 1952-53 academic year. However, they agreed that candidates for later dates would be considered in special cases.

Mr. Wallace suggested that the Board allow at least ten weeks for the Screening Committee process in the event these fellowships should be offered a second year.

Mr. Wallace inquired into the Board's policy concerning grants to permit fellowship holders to take their families abroad. The Board agreed

that this problem should be handled on an ad hoc basis.

The Chairman then excused Mr. Wallace and declared a ten minute recess.

2.1.3 Further Policy Determination Including Responsibilities of the Board for Final Selection

The Board discussed at some length the responsibilities of its own members and its staff with regard to the final selection of fellows upon completion of the work of the Screening Committee. Mr. Gardner and Mr. Dickey recommended that the Board delegate the final selection responsibility to the staff with the understanding that the Recommendations of the Screening Committee would hold generally.

After further discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that the final decision with respect to each fellowship application be and hereby is delegated to Mr. Spaeth and Mr. Weiss with the understanding that any or all members of the Board may be consulted with regard to particular individuals and with the further understanding that Mr. Spaeth and Mr. Weiss will follow the recommendations of the Screening Committee in all cases recommended for rejection and, except in the case of overriding extenuating circumstances, in all cases recommended for acceptance. (52-11)

It was further agreed that a summary list of the applicants and their projects should be sent to the Board. It was agreed that the awards would be made in the name of the Board on Overseas Training and Research.

Mr. Murrow suggested that letters of rejection should be sent as soon as possible in order to enable the applicants to make other plans.

Mr. W iss stated that the first of such rejections would be mailed about the first of July. The Board agreed these letters should go as soon as practicable.

2.1.4 Administration of Fellowships for Winners

The Secretary reviewed the memorandum on the administration of fellowships (Appendix C). It was agreed that the letter of award to candidates would be discussed with counsel in order to protect, if possible, the non-taxable status for the recipient, and to protect the Foundation from liability on legal, health, or accident grounds, and to permit the Foundation to terminate a grant which is not being used for the purposes intended.

It was generally agreed that the recipient would make all his own physical arrangements on such matters as housing and travel.

Mr. Murrow strongly urged the appointment of a roving staff member whose chief responsibility would be to visit all fellowship holders in the U. S. and abroad, discuss their programs with them and bring back to the Board the benefit of their experiences.

Mr. Gardner emphasized the opportunity presented to try new patterns and methods. He posed the questions: What kind of Fellows do we want? Are we reaching the best sources for recruitment? Should we make a fresh start and survey the needs for both academic and business people? He further emphasized the importance of starting such a survey now and endorsed Mr. Murrow's proposal that a member of the staff be assigned to travel in the various areas of the program, meet the Fellows and report back on various personnel requirements in the international field.

The Chairman suggested the research director might be responsible for this job.

Mr. Spaeth suggested that the research director should have two assistants, one in the area of training persons and the other in basic research. He also endorsed Mr. Murrow's suggestion that a man be appointed to travel and survey the field. Mr. Perkins stressed the value of having the person talk to nationals of the countries and ascertain the needs as they see it. Specifically, he mentioned the lack of adequate personnel in many of the underdeveloped countries in business procedures, accounting, and bookkeeping.

Upon a summary statement by the Chairman, the Board unanimously agreed that Mr. Spaeth endeavor to follow up on the suggestion to obtain a traveling research staff member as soon as possible.

It was agreed by the Board that Mr. Spaeth, Mr. Weiss, and such other Foundation staff members as they may wish to consult will determine the method of payment to the winners.

Concerning the tax status of the awards, the Secretary suggested that the Board could benefit from the experience of the Fund for the Advancement of Education in their Faculty Fellowship Program, which is at present awaiting a final ruling by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The Board agreed unanimously that a stipend would not be increased to cover the amount of any income tax, and that the Fellow would be responsible for all tax payments.

After discussion, the Board agreed that each Fellow would be asked

to make informal quarterly progress reports.

It was agreed that a disclaimer statement regarding publications which may result from the Fellow's study be requested in the letter of contract; that the Fellow will be given an official letter of appointment for his use in establishing contacts; and that a form for the acceptance of the award on these conditions will be enclosed for the Fellow to sign and return.

Concerning miscellaneous questions of policy (Item II on Appendix C) the Board agreed that the list of winners and a brief summary of their projects would be released to the public and might be given to any agency, governmental or otherwise, so requesting. It was agreed that the list should be sent to the State Department for their information. Mr. Dickey emphasized the importance and reciprocal value to the Board of such cooperation with the State Department.

It was agreed that lists of unsuccessful applicants should not be exchanged with other agencies, but that the staff and officers might use their discretion in the handling of an individual case upon inquiry from another group.

(The Chairman recessed the meeting for luncheon and reconvened the session at 2:40 p.m.)

In discussing continuation of the fellowship program for the second year, Mr. Gardner stressed that the program should be closely related to a survey of needs, which should be started as soon as possible. In response to the suggestion that the academic terminology of the application

form might have discouraged candidates from the non-academic fields, Mr. Murrow urged that two application forms -- academic and non-academic -- might be used, and asked that the Screening Committee be consulted on this matter.

After further discussion upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously;

> RESOLVED that it is the sense of the Board on Overseas Training and Research that the overseas training and research fellowship program be continued for a second year, and, further that the staff be, and hereby is, directed to initiate such planning and recommendations as may be appropriate in the circumstances for consideration at the next meeting of the Board. (52-12)

3. RESEARCH PROGRAM

3.1 Status of Proposal for Research Center in International Communications

Mr. Spaeth reported that the opinions of the Board as expressed at the May 22 meeting had been fully reported to the Foundation officers, and that conferences were held on June 11th and 12th with Provost Buck, of Harvard, Vice-President Stratton, of M.I.T., and Director Millikan, of the Center of International Study. The Officers have asked that the proposal be revised in the light of the criticisms offered by the Board to: (1) more sharply define the scope and objective of "Research in International Communications", (2) to describe with greater particularity and definiteness some of the initial projects of the Center and the personnel available for their direction, and (3) to state how and by whom future research planning will be done, with suggestions of the type of research projects which might result from such planning. The

revised proposal will be reviewed by the Director of the Division of Overseas Activities and will go to the Foundation Trustees for final action. Mr. Gaither asked to have his appreciation conveyed to the Board on Overseas Training and Research for their review and evaluation of this proposal.

In answer to a question from Mr. Murrow, Mr. Spaeth stated that if the Foundation decides to proceed with the project, the Board on Overseas Training and Research has no further responsibility for it. Mr. Gardner commented that the opinions of the Board on Overseas Training and Research had already had marked effect on the consideration of the proposal.

Mr. Murrow inquired whether the Board on Overseas Training and Research might now subsequently support a research program in the field of international communications. Mr. Spaeth agreed this might well be done, and urged that all such projects be thought of comprehensively as part of the total Foundation program.

3.2 Status of Projects Submitted to the Board

Before giving consideration to individual projects, Mr. Eurich urged that the Board devote some time to discussion of over-all policies, and specifically to the document on selective procedures, presented to the Board at their last meeting without analysis. He recommended that all projects be considered in the over-all perspective of the Board's program of research and training.

Mr. Gardner suggested that over-all policies would be forged

over the next few years by reference to concrete examples in program experience. The Chairman cited the example of the fellowship program as one in which the Board was learning as it proceeded. Mr. Spaeth stated that projects to be recommended at the current meeting were largely to develop basic tools and did not represent a commitment for research in any subject area, such as land reform.

Mr. Eurich urged that, if the Board should approve any projects, prior to the formulation of general policies, it should make clear that such projects are intended as test-borings on a temporary basis. Mr. Perkins joined in this position and questioned the ability of the Board to judge the need and the value of results in specific projects. He suggested it would be advisable to await the appointment of a research director. The Chairman expressed the view that it would be safe for the Board now to consider "basic tool" projects, such as language instruction, translations and the collection of geographic facts.

Mr. Spaeth recommended that Project No. 1 entitled "A Program for the Development of Basic Implementation for American Study of Asian Civilization" (Appendix 4), be approved and supported to the extent of $250,000. He stated that there was demonstrated need for such a project and that the requesting agency, the American Council of Learned Societies, was highly competent in this type of job. Mr. Murrow questioned this cut from the original request

of $750,000 for a three-year period, and asked if it were intended that the project should go on for just one year. Mr. Spaeth replied that it would mean a general scaling down of the program over a three-year period, and that if this recommendation were approved by the Board, he would suggest that the Board instruct the staff to discuss the plan and the methods of limiting the work with the American Council of Learned Societies.

Mr. Murrow questioned further item three of Project 1, concerning a current digest of the Far Eastern Press. He inquired if such a digest might not be done elsewhere and for less money. He felt that items one and two concerning translations and language implementation might be better suited to the work of the American Council. Mr. Perkins mentioned that under Army supervision during the war a very good job had been done on elementary study guides. He inquired whether the American Council was planning to start from such material or whether they were beginning work anew. Mr. Spaeth replied that the ACLS had worked with the Army and the Navy in preparing those guides.

There was general discussion of item three concerning the Press Digest, and the example of the Soviet Press Digest was analyzed. The Chairman pointed out that this Digest was primarily a service function and different in nature from other items mentioned in the proposal. The Board generally agreed that the idea of a press digest required greater exploration of method and need.

The question of a three - year grant was discussed with the conclusion that such a grant would not normally permit annual review as in the case of the fellowship program.

The Chairman pointed out that study guides and translations did not need to be continuing work but could be terminated, and he suggested that the ACLS should be asked to revise the proposal and state their plans for the reduced grant of $250,000.

After further discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: (1) that the staff be directed to request the American Council of Learned Societies to re-draft the proposal previously submitted, with a view to its limitation to part one on basic language tools; (2) that if this is done to the satisfaction of the staff, the staff be authorized to recommend that the Director of the Foundation approve a grant of $250,000 to the American Council of Learned Societies for support of a three-year program to produce basic language tools for study and research in relation to Asia and the Middle East; and (3) that parts two and three of the original ACLS proposal should be deferred at this time, without foreclosing possible future consideration. (52-13)

Mr. Spaeth then presented Project 6, "Development of Southern Asia Studies in the United States", for the attention of the Board with the recommendation that the proposal be limited to paragraph three, entitled "Provision of Field Work Facilities." Mr. Spaeth stated that the staff recommendation included field stations not only in Southeastern Asia, as this proposal suggests, but also in the Middle East area. He stated that these field stations could be supervised by the Joint Committee on Southern Asia (American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council) and recommended $50,000 for each of the centers for a two-year period.

In answer to a question from Mr. Perkins, Mr. Spaeth stated that the centers might be in New Delhi and Beirut, and that surrounding countries would be served from those centers. He further stated that such field stations would be of great service to the Ford Fellows abroad, especially younger ones without experience in the particular country, and that if these stations remain small as was now contemplated, they would serve as a meeting place for Americans abroad, but would not create an American group which might insulate travelers and scholars from meeting nationals and learning about a particular country.

Concerning an item mentioned in Project 6, paragraph two, not under consideration at this time, the Board agreed that requests for scholarship money to outside agencies would not receive favorable consideration because of the fellowship program of the Board itself.

With further consideration and examination of the proposal presented, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: (1) that the Board approves in principle the establishment of overseas field stations in Southeastern Asia and the Middle East; (2) that the staff be and hereby is directed to discuss further the proposal with the appropriate agencies concerned, with the understanding that the budget is not to exceed $50,000 for each center for two years. (52-14)

Mr. Spaeth presented Project 11, "Expansion of the Near Eastern Studies Program, University of Michigan" (Appendix 4) for consideration of the Board and recommended that it be adopted in entirety. He reviewed the growing strength of the Near East Center at the University

of Michigan, the extent to which the University had financed it to date and endorsed item two of the project concerning a field trip to be taken every two years by eight scholars in the Near East area.

Mr. Spaeth emphasized the fact that the United States does not have university centers of study in this area as it has for China, Japan and Southeast Asia. He also complimented the work of Professor George C. Cameron who is the Head of the Department at the University of Michigan.

In answer to a question from Mr. Eurich concerning the fact that the amount requested would immediately double the budget of the Department, Mr. Spaeth commented that the Department was planning to add professors in economics, law and linguistics and that they were planning to increase generally the quality of instruction. He listed the professors under consideration by the Department and the availability of these men for the fall term was generally discussed. Mr. Perkins also asked how many students were expected on this doubled budget. Mr. Spaeth noted that a potential student load of 20 was mentioned in the proposal.

Mr. Dickey and Mr. Eurich spoke in favor of a tapering grant.

After further discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: (1) that the Board recommends the Director of the Foundation approve a grant totalling $100,000 for five years to the University of Michigan for support of their Near East Studies Program, with the request that after one year the Department submit further recommendations; and (2) that the

staff be authorized to conduct further discussions at this time with the University of Michigan. (52-15)

Mr. Spaeth presented Project 12 "Expansion of Program of Middle East Institute" (Appendix 4) with the recommendation that the proposal be limited to paragraph one concerning publications. He stated that Mr. Harvey Hall edited the Middle East Journal, that he had a very able staff, and that the need was for $10,000 a year to cover an operating deficit. He emphasized the service function of such a journal to scholars, even though the circulation is limited and that there was no other such journal in operation at the present time on the Middle East. In answer to a question, Mr. Spaeth reported that the total budget of the Journal is $18,000 a year with receipts of approximately $8,000.

Mr. Murrow questioned whether any institution other than the Middle East Institute, perhaps a more stable one, might provide this same service. Mr. Spaeth stated that the magazine was separate from the Institute and could go on regardless of the future of the Institute. Mr. Dickey mentioned the value of a foundation's backing the Journal at the present time to increase the stability of the Institute as well as the Journal. Mr. Gardner thought that the Board might ask for a commitment that the Journal would continue elsewhere if it should prove necessary.

After further discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

RESOLVED: that the Board recommends the Director of the Foundation approve a grant of $30,000 to the Middle East Institute for the support of the Middle East Journal for three years. (52-16)

Mr. Spaeth requested that Board members submit their opinions to him concerning the revision of Project 17, Support for American Universities' Field Staff, Inc.-- for his guidance in further staff planning and discussion.

The members of the Board agreed to take no action on Project 18--"To establish an International and Foreign Economic Administration Center at Yale University"-- at this time.

Mr. Spaeth presented Project 20--"Support for the Teaching Institute of Economics, University of California at Berkeley"-- recommended in entirety. After some discussion the Board agreed to take no formal action at this time.

4. STAFF

4.1 Appointment of Assistant Executive Secretary

The Secretary introduced Mrs. Nell P. Hutchinson who will act as Mr. Weiss' assistant with the title of Assistant Executive Secretary.

4.2 Appointment of Director of Research

Mr. Spaeth reported that Mr. Robert Blum, whose appointment as Research Director had been authorized at the last meeting of the Board was not available at present, and requested the Board's permission to proceed in finding another person. The following names were suggested as worthy of consideration for this position:

Mr. Jack Ohly, Mr. John Orchard, Mr. Phillips Talbot, Mr. Eugene Staley, Mr. Cleon Swayzee.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED: that Mr. Spaeth should proceed with the appointment of a Director of Research for the Board on Overseas Training and Research. (52-17)

6. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

It was agreed to hold the next Board meeting on September 17, 1952, pending the members' checking the date on their respective calendars.

7. ADJOURNMENT

The meeting was adjourned at 5.30 p.m.

Elbridge Sibley
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
June 8, 1952

Professor Schuyler C. Wallace
Chairman, Fellowship Committee
Board on Overseas Training and Research
Ford Foundation
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Wallace:

As you know, I was commissioned to review applications for Ford Overseas fellowships, to formulate questions of general policy for consideration by the Board, and to select the individual applications which seem worthy of further consideration by your Committee.

On May 22 I attended the meeting of the Board at which my memorandum dated May 19 (of which I understand copies have been sent to you and members of your Committee) was discussed. That, I take it, completed the first part of my assignment.

As it was apparent some time ago that a considerable proportion of the applications would not be ready for even preliminary screening until shortly before the meeting of your Committee, the Board authorized me to have my associate, Mr. Joseph B. Casagrande, share with me the work of reading the applications. Between us, we have now reviewed all applications which have been forwarded to me by the Ford staff. I understand that these constitute all but a half dozen or fewer of the applications received.

Herewith I am attaching four lists of names of applicants:

LIST #1 - For further consideration (187 cases)

I do not expect that you will find all of these to be really serious contenders for awards. Some have been included against my own judgment because they have strong recommendations from persons of high standing; others are included because their training and experience have been in fields (such as journalism) in which I gather that the Board is especially interested in finding candidates.

LIST #2 - Some atypical cases which may raise policy questions, etc. (16 cases)

Perhaps these should not all have been labeled "atypical," for some of them exemplify clearly kinds of problems which are implicit in numerous applications on List #1. Also on List #2 are a few applications which struck me as of possible interest to the Board although not adapted to support on the basis of fellowships.

LIST #3 - Files not sufficiently complete to warrant judgment (62 cases)

Some of these files have doubtless become complete since they were read, but there has not been time for a second reading. A great majority of this list will probably be rejected, as I have put incomplete applications on List #1 if the papers at hand gave strong presumptive evidence of excellence. Nevertheless I believe equity will require re-reading all cases on this list, as some which were unimpressive when incomplete may turn out to be very good.

LIST #4 - Readers unable to reach judgment: files nominally complete but information inadequate; able candidates with poor projects, etc. (34 cases)

These are candidates who in my judgment would have to be rejected if judged only on the basis of the information at hand, but might turn out well on the basis of extended investigation, negotiation, and in some cases radical revision of their proposed programs of study and travel.

These four lists account for 299 of the approximately 700 applicants. Time has not permitted listing individually the 387 applications not recommended for further consideration at present. I plan soon to send such a list to Mr. Weiss, as a check on completeness of coverage and for future reference. On the latter list there will be indicated a number of applications which I have set aside without regard to their merits, simply because I was instructed that the Board does not wish to consider at this time applications for work to begin in the summer of 1953 or later.

In screening applications, Mr. Casagrande and I have of course tried to follow the lines of policy approved by the Board at its May 22 meeting. As subjective judgment is involved, we have undoubtedly done some injustices. We have however tried to err by including some slightly submarginal cases rather than by excluding superior cases.

A few specific comments may help to indicate the bases of our selections:

(a) Present college seniors have been put on List #1 only if their academic records have been clearly outstanding or if (in a very few cases) they have already had unusual experience relevant to their interest in Asia.

(b) I have made it a rule deliberately to overlook financial considerations in assessing the applications.

(c) There has not been time to sort the applications so as to permit comparative judgment of applicants from the same institution, or applicants proposing similar work in the same areas of the world. It seems highly important that this should be done before final selections are made.

(d) We have tended to be less severe in weeding out non-academic as compared with academic applicants: partly because our own experience has been chiefly in academic fields, and partly because I understand that the Board is particularly interested in appointing some well qualified representatives of non-academic vocations.

(e) The age limit has been treated as a norm rather than an absolute barrier, but advanced age has been weighed as a negative consideration in evaluating the applications.

The spouse and collaborator of one of the applicants is reported to be suspected by the Government of subversion. As the case is not clear and I have been unable to get any explicit information about it, and as the applicant's own qualifications appear acceptable, I have put this case on List #1. I will speak confidentially to you about this case, but will not indicate it in writing, for in these hysterical days I do not want to be guilty of bearing false witness.

I look forward to meeting with you and the Committee Monday noon, and shall be open to cross-examination on the contents of this letter or anything else. I shall have to leave again not long after lunch, as the SSRC Problems and Policy Committee is meeting on the same day.

With best wishes for the difficult task you have assumed, and with cordial personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Elbridge Sibley

Elbridge Sibley

	NAME	NO. OF APPLICATION	REMARKS
1.	Abu-Lughod, J. L.	420	
2.	Adams, W. E. & D. G.	638	
3.	Adelman, F.	421	
4.	Allen, J. M.	508	Journalist
5.	Anderson, N. R.	422	
6.	Bachenheimer, R.	592	
7.	Bahti, J. H.	157	Engineer
8.	Barr, M.	687	
9.	Bechmann, G. M.	512	
10.	Bellamy, J. A.	089	
11.	Benedict, W. C.	425	
12.	Bernstein, H. T.	329	
13.	Billings, J. A.	002	
14.	Bodman, H. L.	430	
15.	Branch, G. M.	005	
16.	Brohm, J. F.	333	
17.	Brooke, C. H.	308	
18.	Brown, J. M.	334	
19.	Brown, S. de V.	335	
20.	Bruhns, F. C.	097	
21.	Carmichael, J.	337	
22.	Carson, W. M.	338	
23.	Chandler, A. (See Moate)	042	
24.	Cody, C. E.	261	
25.	Cole, A. B.	071	
26.	Cook, P. R.	009	
27.	Coxe, S. L.	437	
28.	Crabbs, R. F.	598	
29.	Crump, J. I.	162	
30.	Denise, P. S.	525	
31.	Denker, D.D.	440	
32.	Dizer, W. H.	264	
33.	Doi, J. I.	310	
34.	Dulgarian, M.	599	
35.	Dull, P. S.	111	
36.	Durkee, T. E.	527	
37.	Eames, E. J.	311	
38.	Eyre, J. D.	100	
39.	Fairfax, J. E.	345	
40.	Fletcher, A. C.	646	
41.	Fox R. B.	528	
42.	Fraks, C. O.	204	
43.	Franke-Ruta, P. P.	445	Artist
44.	Gallagher, E. R.	349	
45.	Gidman, D. N.	295	
46.	Glenn, H. F.	350	
47.	Goethals, P. R.	351	

	NAME	NO. OF APPLICATION	REMARKS
48.	Goldman, B. M.	296	
49.	Gordon, B.	451	
50.	Greenberg, M.	063	
51.	Grey, A. L.	315	
52.	Gulick, J.	205	
53.	Hall, H. P.	168	Editor
54.	Harris, E. R.	533	
55.	Harris, G. S.	355	
56.	Harrison, J. A.	026	
57.	Hart, D. M.	452	
58.	Hart, H. C.	534	
59.	Hess, C. G.	356	Journalist
60.	Helburn, N.	607	
61.	Helling, G. C. & B. B.	535	
62.	Hinton, H. C.	357	
63.	Hitchcock, J. T.	456	
64.	Hucker, C. O.	117	
65.	Ike, N.	064	
66.	Irikura, J. K.	538	
67.	Jack, H. A.	076	Minister
68.	James, R. & R.	362	
69.	Jenkins, R. T.	361	Engineer
70.	Jensen, J. W.	539	Journalist
71.	Jones, M. E.	613	
72.	Karasik, D. D.	084	Journalist
73.	Kawahara, H. M.	364	
74.	Ketzel, C. P.	461	
75.	Kirtley, B. L.	240	
76.	Klausner, S. Z.	268	
77.	Klein, S.	317	
78.	Kornhauser, D. H.	546	
79.	Kostanick, H. L.	367	
80.	Landman, A. & L.B.	547	Journalists
81.	Lane, R. D.	171	
82	LaPlante, J. D. P.	466	Artist
83.	Lebra, W. P.	172	
84.	Lehman, F. K.	469	
85.	Lehrman, H.	241	Journalist
86.	Lens, S.	036	Labor Union Official
87.	Leonard, A.A.	369	
88.	Levine, L.	269	
89.	Lewis, J. P.	066	Minister
90.	Lilienthal, A. M.	270	Writer
91.	Lubbell, H.	374	
92.	Luby, C. J.	173	Law
93.	Luzbetak, L. J.	320	

	NAME	NO. OF APPLICATION	REMARKS
94.	Lyons, E.	375	
95.	Mamatey, V. S.	376	
96.	Manning, J. E.	377	
97.	Markey, B. G.	659	
98.	Matson, R. E.	617	
99.	Maurer, W. H.	379	
100	McCormack, W. C.	553	
101	McCoy, R. E.	686	
102	McLean, J.	660	
103	Meeker, V. W.	380	
104	Messing, S. D.	041	
105	Miel, J.	245	
106	Miller, R. A.	067	
107	Moate, R. D. (See Chandler)	042	
108	Moody, R. B.	474	
109	Moxness, R.	661	Journalist
110	Myller, R.	478	Architect
111	Nakamura, J. I.	384	
112	Nelson, H.	557	
113	Nichols, W. T.	246	
114	North, R. C.	662	
115	Nottingham, E. K.	045	
116	Novar, L.	177	
117	Okamoto, R. Y.	480	Architect
118	Osuga, W. M.	276	
119	Overstreet, G. D.	387	
120	Paauw, D. S.	247	
121	Parsons, J. B.	181	
122	Paul, E. O.	682	
123	Peretz, D.	068	Journalist
124	Perry, J. C.	048	
125	Persen, W.	483	
126	Pevsner, L. W.	219	
127	Pierce, R. A.	560	
128	Plummer, J. R.	392	
129	Psaty, E. D.	251	
130	Rabinowitz, R. W.	112	
131	Reichard, N. R.	395	
132	Reichstein, J.	322	
133	Riley, L. D.	623	
134	Rose, L. E.	487	
135	Rosenberg, J.	183	
136	Rosenfeld, H.	184	
137	Ruopp, P. B.	667	
138	Rusco, E. R.	668	
139	Ryan, B.	489	
140	Schilz, G. B.	566	

	NAME	NO. OF APPLICATION	REMARKS
141	Schirokauer, C. M.	567	
142	Schneider, B. H.	491	Animal Husbandry
143	Schram, S. R.	185	
144	Schraml, R.	095	
145	Schultz, W. R.	625	
146	Schurmann, H. F.	107	
147	Searls, G.	397	
148	Senft, A. W.	224	Medicine
149	Sergeant, J. C.	398	
150	Shea, T. W.	496	
151	Sherwood, F. P.	628	
152	Shorter, F. C.	401	
153	Silverberg, J.	569	
154	Simoons, F. J.	671	
155	Smith, M. M.	402	
156	Solovieff, K. D.	570	
157	Spotts, F. N.	087	
158	Stanton, W. F.	188	
159	Starr, M. K.	632	
160	Stock, E.	405	Journalist
161	Stuart, D. G.	672	
162	Talbot, N. M.	572	
163	Temple, A. T.	284	
164	Textor, R. B.	573	
165	Thomas, F. C.	596	
166	Thomas, M. L.	501	
167	Thompson, L. C.	070	
168	Thorner, A. G.	574	
169	Thuermer, A. MacL.	113	Journalist
170	Trued, M. N.	190	
171	Tulecke, W. R.	575	Botanist
172	Tyler, R. O.	411	Artist
173	Uchida, Y.	122	Writer
174	Votaw, G. B.	088	
175	Waddell, A. J.	412	
176	Washburn, W. E.	579	
177	Weisblat, A. M.	413	
178	Weiss, S.	255	
179	Weisstein, J. S.	060	
180	Wheaton, R. G.	688	Engineer
181	Wilcox, A. C.	256	
182	Williams, N. V.	416	
183	Wright, M. C.	062	
184	Wurfel, D.O.D.	124	
185	Wylie, T. V.	586	
186	Wyschogrod, M.	125	
187	Yoshino, L. P.	418	

LIST #2 -- Some Atypical Cases which may raise policy questions, or may deserve consideration but not under this fellowship program.

	NAME	NO. OF APPLICATION	REMARKS
1.	Berlin, J.	427	Interested in promoting or teaching cement manufacturing in the East.
2.	Berton P.A.	429	Final naturalization papers expected soon but not yet received.
3.	Burns, Sister M. G.	434	Teacher in a college in U. S. for Catholic missionaries.
4.	Engel, D. H.	529	Has been in military intell. or CIA most of time for past decade. Is he still?
5.	Fisk, A. G.	020	Invited to make a lecture tour (few months) in India.
6.	Holt, C.	358	Over-age, and wishes to maintain affiliation with State Department while on fellowship.
7.	Hubbell, R. W.	209	Television producer, wishes to travel widely to survey television
8.	Laufer, L.	549	Would take leave from Voice of America to study Communist sympathies in Israel.
9.	Lenczowski, G.	690	A professor of political science highly recommended for research in the Middle East; but a former Polish foreign service officer, who was naturalized in the United States only last year.
10.	Marshall, R.	378	Age 49, to complete three books on which he has long been working, on Eastern literatures.
11.	Neulander, J. L.	558	Extremely high recommendations, but being an active Zionist, has she a chance of success as a student of Islamic matters?
12.	Schwartz, E.	323	To promote fish culture in Near East: to a layman this sounds fascinating but hardly a fellowship project.
13.	Shimizu, O.	400	A Kibei who is a naturalized American citizen: would he be allowed to return to Japan and still retain U. S. citizenship?

NAME	NO. OF APPLICATION	REMARKS
14. Wartenberg, G. H.	193	One of his sponsors expresses doubt that he should be sent abroad alone, though he thinks he might do well as a member of a well-advised group. (This is cited as only one of numerous cases which are probably similar in this respect.)
15. Windmiller, M. L.	635	One of several applicants who want to study the Pushtu problem on the N.W. frontier of Pakistan. The Pakistan government recently declined to welcome such a project on the part of another American scholar.
16. Wootton, P. H.	585	An editor of LIFE who avows that his proposed 6-month tour of Japan will yield material for his later writing.

LIST # 3 - Files not sufficiently complete to warrant judgment at time of reading

NAME	NO. OF APPLICATION	REMARKS
1. Alexander H. E.	199	
2. Arbosch D.	154	
3. Ayers T. W.	200	
4. Bahous E. S.	229	
5. Bailes S.	133	
6. Balkan E. S.	230	
7. Bott K. R.	432	
8. Bribanti R. J. D.	114	
9. Clark M. J.	091	
10. Clopton W. C.	341	
11. Cochran M. R.	080	
12. Collins M. J.	643	
13. Cooke H. V.	644	
14. Curry D. C.	137	
15. Didsbury H. F.	011	
16. Dunn M. M. E.	600	
17. Dutton F. G.	153	
18. Ellington W.	072	
19. Firman D.	017	
20. Fisher R. H.	019	
21. Ford A. W.	235	
22. Goldman I. L.	313	
23. Harriman R. P.	648	
24. Hauser R. L. & C. M.	684	
25. Hicks R. A.	454	
26. Idle D. Iv.	210	
27. Johnson O. E.	101	
28. Kaloyereas S. A.	033	
29. Kaprelian R.	541	
30. Kargl R. C.	140	
31. Katz K.	150	
32. Klein R. M.	545	
33. Larkin T. J.	065	
34. Levi R. J.	677	
35. Levine S. B.	141	
36. Lewis P. A.	657	
37. Lewis P. H.	372	
38. McClellan R. S.	689	
39. McKinley J. A.	472	
40. McWhorter P.	039	
41. Michie N.	685	
42. Mote F. W.	142	
43. Nishimura G. K.	143	
44. Noyes C. C.	130	
45. Olson L. A.	144	
46. Peterson L. M.	145	
47. Primoff L. R.	146	
48. Russell D. E.	252	

NAME	NO. OF APPLICATION	REMARKS
49. Seidensticker E. G.	152	
50. Singer D. S.	054	
51. Stoudt H. W.	189	
52. Street J. H.	056	
53. Sturtevant D. R.	324	
54. Tyler D. M.	410	
55. Wager W. H.	289	
56. Webster C. A.	291	
57. Weiss L.	506	
58. Willoughby M. A.	147	
59. Wilmink M. B.	507	
60. Wilmott E. H.	326	
61. Yatsushiro T.	148	
62. Yoshihashi T.	197	

LIST #4 -- Readers unable to reach judgment: some files nominally complete, but information not adequate; in some cases candidates look good but projects poor.

NAME	NO. OF APPLICATION	REMARKS
1. Abbott R. W.	198	
2. Abt C. C.	327	
3. Ash W. R.	640	
4. Crouch R. G.	438	
5. Dadabhay J. K.	521	
6. Daniel R. L.	522	
7. Edwards J. D.	441	
8. Gilpin R. G.	530	
9. Gordon J.	451	
10. Grossman M. K.	532	
11. Hay S. N.	605	
12. Heinisch R. J.	606	
13. Itzkowitz N.	458	
14. Kashdan L.	299	
15. Kaufman H.K.	542	
16. Keiter S. C.	543	
17. Khouri F. J.	462	
18. Mackey, R. P.	678	
19. Marossi R.	471	
20. Moses S. R. & Schulman S.J.	476	
21. Newman H. J.	302	
22. Owsley W. G.	482	
23. Parker F. L.	277	
24. Rohde K.	486	
25. Sellers M. H.	494	
26. Seward J. N.	669	
27. Sewell J. P.	568	
28. Shrader L. L.	629	
29. Smith C. C.	055	
30. Smith R. W.	187	
31. Tanner R. W.	058	
32. Van der Veur K.A.K.	325	
33. Weinstein M. M.	505	
34. Young J. O.	587	

Memorandum to: Carl B. Spaeth
Director
Division of Overseas Activities

Dear Mr. Spaeth:

In going over some 70 or 80 applications, a number of questions have arisen which the members of the Screening Committee believe should be referred to the Board on Overseas Training and Research. Briefly stated, and without reference to their relative importance, they are as follows:

1. Should not a medical certificate covering both their mental and physical condition be required of all applicants before they are formally awarded a fellowship?

2. Should not a disclaimer of employment by any intelligence agency of the government be required of all candidates before they are given a fellowship?

3. Does the Board want to grant subsidies to so many members of the staff of a given research institution that it is in fact subsidizing the institution qua institution, even though it does not appear to be doing so, e.g., it would appear that a sufficiently large proportion of the staff of the Hoover Library have submitted applications to the Board so that if they are granted the Board would, in fact, be underwriting a considerable portion of the budget of that library? I perhaps should add that in so far as we have gone in our analysis of the Hoover Library projects, they all appear to be worthy of serious consideration.

4. What plan, if any, has the Board worked out for the supervision of the Ford fellows? It seems to the members of the Committee that it would be very unwise to make 2 or 3 year awards without supervision, and that it might be wise to make awards in such a way that their continuance is conditional upon the performance of satisfactory work at each stage of the fellow's career. Should the university sponsoring pre-Ph.D. fellows be required to assume full supervision? Should there be in addition semi-annual and annual reports to the Ford Foundation? Should there be some agency set up for the supervision of those who are not engaged in academic activities?

5. Should not the 6 months period now required for field work be extended to a minimum of 1 year except for those who have already had extensive field experience?

6. Would it be wise for the Foundation to take out insurance covering all those to whom it grants fellowships?

7. Would it be wise of the Board to ask the State Department for an informal clearance of all fellows prior to the formal award of fellowships in order to save later embarrassment? Or, contrary-wise, would this subordinate the Board to the State Department to an undesirable degree?

8. Should not next year's announcement, if there is to be one, set a minimum age for going abroad?

9. Assuming that there is to be a fellowship program next year, at what date will the applications be reviewed? The Committee asks this question because one of the applicants requests that he be permitted to take up his fellowship on or about April 1, 1953. In view of the fact that the Japanese university to which he wishes to go begins the course in which he is interested on that date, this seems to be a reasonable request -- unless the Board plans to act on another set of applications prior to that date, in which case he should obviously be advised to apply again.

10. What provision has been made to discover whether a foreign government will permit research in sensitive areas concerning which international controversy exists at the moment or which the forces of law and order are relatively ineffective? Is this a Committee responsibility, the responsibility of the staff of the Foundation, or is it the responsibility of the applicant? In the latter case, how is the applicant's statement to be verified?

11. Does the Board have any policy with reference to including a grant sufficient to taking the families of Ford fellows abroad?
    (a) on 1 year grants?
    (b) on 2 year grants?
    (c) on 3 year grants?

Other questions will undoubtedly arise as we proceed with our screening. These, however, are the most important which have been discussed by the Committee down to date.

Cordially yours,

Schuyler C. Wallace
Chairman, Screening Committee

June 17, 1952

June 17, 1952

Memo to: Mr. John K. Weiss

From: Nell P. Hutchinson

Subject: Administration of Fellowships

The Screening Committee report has been checked and these questions are added to their list for attention of the Board. We need answers or at least indications of the Board's thinking on these matters as guides to our administrative processing of the awards.

Most of these details are important primarily in cases where work abroad is involved - certainly less important for those studying in this country. However, since the Board stated that a normal mimimum residence abroad of 6 months "be required", all winners will be affected by decisions to these questions, at least eventually.

I am hoping that in making decisions on these items the Board will keep in mind the values of a continuing relationship with the Fellow on an informal, voluntary basis. Without such a contact evaluation of the program will be most difficult.

Furthermore, this is a two-way process with the Board profiting as well as the grantee. In the first case, it will be helpful to have Mr. X when he returns to teaching or another profession to assist us with advice regarding future Fellows or future programs in these specific geographic areas. From the viewpoint of the Fellow, particularly if he is young and going to an area for the first time, we may be able to help him to widen his professional contacts abroad - necessary to the satisfactory completion of his project. Since we do not have "field stations" or "team approach" or Ford Fellows in these areas, we undoubtedly will have more responsibilities at present in our office. I would hazard a guess that the Screening Committee is selecting the more mature and experienced person, which will greatly reduce the need for assistance from our staff. However, I feel we should be prepared to assist to the limit allowed by the capacities of staff and contacts. It is recognized that these matters will have to be handled on an ad hoc basis and with the help of at least temporary professional advisors.

Please remember this is merely an anticipatory statement based on conferences over a two-week period with persons already in the "business". These questions have not been thoroughly "researched". Hence the grain with the chaff.

I. Concerning the Letter of Award and Conditions Stated in the so-called Contract.

(a) This letter should have legal counsel on terminology in order to protect the non-taxable status of the recipient and to protect the Foundation from liability on legal, health or accident grounds, and to permit the Foundation to terminate a grant which is not being used for the purpose intended.

(b) We assume the recipient will make all his own physical arrangements -- travel, housing, etc.

(c) Method of payment should be outlined in the memorandum to accompany the letter of award. This raises the questions of the Screening Committee regarding a provisional grant for 2nd and 3rd years if "satisfactory" completion of first year's work. Who will determine what is satisfactory? At any rate, the full amount of award should be named subject only to cost of living adjustment. We should not be in a position to receive redress of grievances and allow the Fellow to speculate on next amount he will receive. It might always be too little!

(d) We will have to make a statement regarding taxability. Recommend we await outcome of the ruling on Fund Fellowships though we will probably have to get an additional ruling on BOTR fellowships. Suggest we follow Fund pattern with Fellows subject to legal counsel.

(e) Will we ask the recipient merely to keep us informed of his address or will there be some type of report required at end of first year? Watch out for reports requested in relationship to taxability of grant.

(f) Will we include a disclaimer statement regarding publications which may result and a suggested statement showing manner in which to refer to the Ford Foundation or BOTR?

(g) Will we give the Fellow an official letter of appointment (with Foundation seal if there be one) specifying period of appointment, etc, to be used by him in establishing contacts?

(h) Will we enclose a form for acceptance of the award, clearing the Foundation according to specified conditions?

II. Miscellaneous Questions of Policy

(a) The question of cooperation with the State Department was tabled from the last meeting of the Board and is raised in the Screening Committee's Report, but in slightly different connotation. Will we agree to their talking with winners before and after their stay abroad? Will the Department get a list of winners and their projects?

(b) The question of exchanging lists of applicants who have been refused with other agencies has arisen. I strongly suggest that these lists be considered confidential and that we receive no lists of rejects from other sources. This smacks of monopoly.

(c) Will there be provision for alternates in the awards? If so, how many?

This is all that comes to mind at the moment. Can we get some answers?

PROJECT 1

Project: A Program for the Development of Basic Implementation for American Study of Asian Civilization.

Submitted by: Mortimer Graves and Charles Odegaard of the American Council of Learned Societies.

Amount Requested: $750,000 for a three-year project.

Summary:

Purposes: To provide basic language tools, translations, and presc surveys for every significant Asiatic language and culture so that English-language peoples shall have at least the elementary tools for Asian study.

Administration: The program would be administered by a small committee of the ACLS to be known as the Committee on the Asian Program. The Committee would work in close cooperation with universities, the language program of the U. S. Army and Navy, the Foreign Service Institute, the Fulbright Program, the Library of Congress, etc.

Research Procedure: Three main divisions of the program are visualized: (1) Language and Area Implementation, (2) Translation Program, and (3) Current Digest of Far Eastern Press.

(1) The Language and Area Implementation Program would be administered by an Associate Director and small staff. The total first year budget would be $122,000. It is proposed to produce the following materials: (a) Elementary Study Guides, presenting the student with basic facts about the character of the region and the people; (b) Descriptive Analyses, giving the basic structure of the language; (c) Students' Dictionaries; (d) Elementary "Spoken" Texts; and (e) Graded Readings.

(2) The Translation Program would be administered by an Editorial Director and small staff and is budgeted for $78,000 for the first year's operations. It is proposed to extend the current ACLS programs of translating Russian and Near Eastern materials to coverage of all Asian languages. During the first year it is proposed to: (a) survey Asian publications and decide what to translate; (b) test possible translators; and (c) establish final editorial processes for production of finished manuscripts.

(3) Current Digest of Far Eastern Press. It is proposed to utilize the trained personnel available for China and Japan by establishing a digest of the Far Eastern Press similar to that in operation for the Soviet Press. A contribution of $25,000 would establish this enterprise and an annual allotment of $100,000 would be necessary.

PROJECT 11

Proposal: Expansion of the Near Eastern Studies Program, University of Michigan.

Submitted by: Professor George C. Cameron, Chairman, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan

Amount Requested: $200,000 (40,000 annually for five-year period)

Summary:

The department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan was founded in 1949 and has received the hearty cooperation of all other departments in the furtherance of its interdisciplinary program. The University has given its support through (1) sponsorship of an "Institute on the Near East" (costing $13,000) during the summer of 1950, (2) the purchase of a 1400 volume library of modern Near Eastern manuscripts and materials, (3) sponsorship of a training project in Iraq and Iran for three faculty members in 1951, (4) ofference of a full interdepartmental program for the summer of 1952. The present cost to the University of Michigan of the Near Eastern Studies Program is $41,000 per year plus some additional administrative expenses.

With a Foundation grant of $40,000 per year for five years (by the end of which time it is anticipated the University can shoulder the major cost of the continuation of the program) the Near Eastern Studies Program hopes to do the following things:

(1) Obtain the services of six qualified instructors now teaching elsewhere who have expressed an interest in joining the program. Collectively, these instructors could provide instruction in Near Eastern anthropology, economics, fine arts, history, law, Persian, Hebrew, and philosophy.

(2) Conduct an interdisciplinary project in the field every two years. The estimated cost of a biennial field project is $25,000 and is based on the expected participation of eight scholars. Field training is viewed as an indispensable part of any area training program.

Note: In the SSRC Survey of 1951, the Michigan Program was listed as having 11 professional students with a potential of 20. It might be worth discovering their anticipated enrollment for next year.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Minutes of a Meeting of the Ford Foundation
Board on Overseas Training and Research
New York, New York, May 22, 1952

(Approved at meeting of June 18, 1952)

Present: Mr. Gray, Chairman; Mr. Dickey; Mr. Eurich; Mr. Gardner; Mr. Murrow; Mr. Perkins; Mr. Spaeth.

Also present; Mr. Weiss, Executive Secretary

The Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research met in the offices of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, Room 534, 575 Madison Avenue, at 9.30 a.m. on May 22, 1952 pursuant to a call sent by the Secretary on April 22, 1952.

1. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF MARCH 18, 1952 MEETING.

The minutes of the meeting of March 18 were approved with amendment.

2. TRAINING PROGRAM
2.1 Foreign Study and Research Fellowship Program
2.1.1 Analysis of Statistical Data on Applications

The Secretary distributed a written report summarizing the nature of fellowship applications which had been received prior to the May 15 deadline established by the Board. He indicated that approximately 680 valid applications had been received, of which the large majority have been submitted by undergraduate students, graduate students or members of college faculties.

2.1.2. Progress Report on Preliminary Screening

The Secretary presented a written progress report prepared by Mr. Elbridge Sibley, Executive Associate of the Social Science Research Council, summarizing his reactions to the first 159 completed fellowship applications screened. (Attachment A.) After a preliminary review of this report the Chairman invited Mr. Sibley to meet with the Board in order to discuss some of the questions raised in this preliminary report.

Selection and Appointment Procedures

Interviewing of Candidates

In answer to a question from Mr. Eurich, Mr. Sibley stated that, in his opinion, the information available from the application forms and supporting data would not be sufficient to make final decisions with regard to fellowship applications. He stated that in his judgment an interview would be all important and that it would also be helpful to have some representative of the Board confer concerning the individual applicant either with persons named as references or other people knowledgeable in the particular field. Mr. Gardner and Mr. Dickey suggested that a great deal of help could be obtained in doing this checking by substantial use of the telephone.

It was generally agreed that no applications should be acted upon favorably until a member of the Board or the screening committee or a designated agent had had an opportunity personally to interview the candidate involved.

Previous experience or training

The Chairman made reference to Mr. Sibley's expressed criteria to the effect that "applicants whose interests in the Near and Middle East and Asia appear to have been stimulated for the first time by the announcement of these fellowships, can be assumed to be doubtful risks," and stated that in his judgment this might militate in part against one objective of the program which was assumed to be to attract promising persons without prior interest or experience into a study of this area.

Mr. Sibley stated that in his judgment the Board would in all likelihood be able to grant a substantial proportion of the fellowships available to persons with established interests in this area and that while he would not necessarily rule out those persons who had not already given evidence of such interest, he

would subject such applications to particularly close scrutiny.

Mr. Sibley stated also that he felt that further screening would effectively weed out those applicants whose interest in this program had been stimulated more by the possibility of obtaining subsistence than from a genuine interest in the possibilities of establishing careers of the nature intended.

Mr. Spaeth stated that it had been the hope of the Foundation that this program would stimulate interest among students as well as more mature scholars, whether or not they had had any prior training or experience in relation to the areas covered by the program.

Check of Projects and Persons with Foreign Embassies and State Department

Mr. Perkins suggested that a check be made with foreign embassies with regard to all applications for foreign study to determine first whether such a person and program would be acceptable and thus able to obtain a visa for the country concerned, and second whether the country concerned would be eager to have such a person and program carried forward in the name of the Ford Foundation.

Mr. Gardner stated that he felt that such a check would be useful, but that it might be important not to give foreign governments veto power over a program sponsored by the Foundation.

The Chairman stated that in his judgment such a check would not be necessary for those applicants desiring to limit themselves to study in the United States and suggested that it might be possible with those applicants who desired both to study in this country and abroad that an initial increment of the grant be given for the domestic part of the program and that a further examination might be carried forward with regard to the proposed foreign part of the program.

Mr. Dickey suggested that such inquiries could be easily conducted on an ad hoc basis upon advice of the cultural offices within the State Department which

would be in a position to indicate whether or not it would be desirable. He pointed out that in some instances the foreign embassies might be better satisfied if such inquiries were not made since this might require them to refer such an inquiry back to their own capitals which they would prefer not to do.

It was generally agreed that no formal procedure would be established with regard to inquiries with foreign embassies and that this matter could best be handled on an ad hoc basis after discussion with appropriate personnel in the State Department.

Mr. Dickey indicated that there was some likelihood that government agencies might request the opportunity to speak with all persons going abroad, both before and after their trips for the purpose of using such persons as unofficial observers for the U. S. Government. He suggested that this might raise serious questions of policy in that the Ford Foundation might then justly be charged with subsidizing a substantial number of secret agents. It was agreed to defer further discussion of this question until the next meeting of the Board.

Selection Procedure

In answer to a question from the Chairman, Mr. Spaeth stated that no firm recommendation with regard to further screening had yet been established but that his preliminary thinking had been along the lines of the establishment of a full-time screening committee of persons to review all applications which had survived the preliminary screening by Mr. Sibley, with a view to submitting final recommendations to the Board. He suggested that this committee might be brought together to work on a full-time basis for approximately a month and that they or their agents would be expected to conduct a personal interview with all applicants to be recommended to the Board for favorable consideration. He further suggested that if this procedure proved to be impossible in terms of the established July 15

deadline, the deadline, itself, should be moved back rather than to attempt to make any awards without thorough screening procedures.

Mr. Gardner stated that this seemed to him a logical approach to the problem and suggested that the screening committee include one social scientist, one humanist, and one person presumably of the business community but certainly removed from academic life.

Mr. Dickey stated that in his judgment no interviewing should be undertaken until the paper records of the applicants had been screened down to a minimum. He also urged that the screening committee be requested to conduct the interviews themselves, rather than have this responsibility delegated to another group, and suggested that favorable interview impressions should not be permitted to override paper records. He further stated that in his judgment it would be a serious error to have the interview become a perfunctory part of the screening process and that when carried on it should be taken seriously, both by the screening committee and the applicant. He stated that in his judgment the interview would be most helpful for veto purposes and that he would be reluctant to have a person whose paper record appeared poor to be granted a fellowship on the basis of a favorable impression gained from an interview.

Mr. Murrow also urged that the same committee be used for both screening and interviewing and suggested that it might be advisable to have the interviews conducted on a group basis at the outset and then permit the committee to split up into individual teams for the purpose of covering the country geographically.

Relation of Screening Process to Board

In answer to a question from the chair, Mr. Spaeth suggested that the screening committee should be prepared to submit a graduated list of recommendations, plus several samples of the "recommended for acceptance," "recommended for

rejection," and "doubtful" categories so that the Board might have an opportunity to judge for itself criteria used by the screening committee in reaching its conclusions.

It was also agreed that a full list of all applicants surviving the preliminary screening be sent to all members of the Board, together with a short summary of their programs in order that the Board might have initially an opportunity to express itself with regard to any individual cases of interest.

Board Action

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was:

> RESOLVED to approve the action of the Secretary with regard to the appointment of Mr. Elbridge Sibley to conduct preliminary screening of all fellowship applications,
>
> And further to request Mr. Sibley to continue such preliminary screenings until completed. (52-3)

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that a fellowship screening committee of from three to five persons be appointed to review all fellowship applications surviving the initial screening and further to interview all candidates to be recommended for consideration by the Board,
>
> And further resolved that the Chairman be and hereby is empowered to appoint such screening committee upon the advice of a sub-committee of three members of the Board to be appointed by the chair. (52-4)

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED to authorize the Secretary to discontinue the processing of all applications rejected in the preliminary screening and to take such measures as necessary to advise the applicants that their papers are no longer under consideration. (52-5)

Definition of Scope of the Fellowship Program

With respect to certain questions raised by Mr. Sibley in his preliminary report, it was agreed that the geographic scope of the program would include the Arabic countries along the south coast of the Mediterranean, Ethiopia, the Sudan, and such other areas not on the continent of Asia and Asia Minor as might appear advisable with the exception of Greece and Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union only in such instances as it appears to bear immediate relation to the primary area of interest.

It was further agreed that such fields as archaeology, ancient history, ancient languages and literature and medieval and pre-nineteenth century subjects would not automatically be excluded from consideration, but that such programs would be reviewed primarily with regard to their relationship to contemporary culture and affairs.

It was further agreed that with respect to certain applicants who might be gainfully employed on a part-time basis, that the screening committee should be advised that the Board would expect all successful applicants to devote substantially full time to the fellowship program for which subvention had been requested.

In this connection Mr. Gardner pointed out that the Board should anticipate that several fellows would be likely to be writing books or other documents as the result of their fellowship experiences and suggested that there be included in the letter of award some type of "publication disclaimer" indicating that the Ford Foundation had no responsibility for any such publications which might eventuate.

Final Date for Approval of Fellowships

Mr. Sibley indicated that in view of the actions taken at the current meeting it would be impossible to complete the final screening of all applications by the announced July 15 deadline and suggested that it might be appropriate to extend

this deadline in certain cases. It was the unanimous feeling of the Board that the deadline should be postponed in the event adequate screening could not be completed by the announced July 15 deadline.

Exclusions

It was further agreed that persons already intimately familiar with foreign nations or regions would not be excluded from awards to carry on further research and writing about such areas in this country.

It was also agreed that, unless political conditions preclude it, a student's program should generally include provision for a stay in the area of interest after suitable preliminary training in this country, and that fellowships would not ordinarily be given for preliminary training in this country where there is no expectation on the part of the applicant to go abroad. It was further agreed that a normal minimum period of residence abroad of 6 months would be required in the case of awards for foreign study or research.

It was agreed that partisans of special social movements and recognized supporters of political parties inimical to the best interests of the United States, for example, admitted Communists should be excluded from consideration for fellowships. It was further agreed that individuals unlikely to gain admission under present conditions to the countries of interest should be excluded from consideration for fellowships.

It was further agreed that persons employed by or closely identified with American missionary organizations might properly be considered for inclusion in the list of eligible applicants for fellowships. It was further agreed that candidates whose nativity or ethnic background is that of the place to be visited, or is of some place other than that to be visited, should not be excluded by virtue of this ethnic background. It was agreed that immigrants not yet naturalized should be excluded for consideration for fellowships.

With regard to the establishment of the policy with respect to the "loyalty" of any candidate, it was agreed that the Board would not knowingly grant a fellowship to any member of the Communist party or person whose loyalty was known to be under serious question. It was further agreed that all grants for foreign travel should be made contingent upon the ability of the grantee to obtain passports and visas required.

It was agreed that no special provision would be made for new college graduages with high academic and personal qualifications, but whose interest in particular foreign countries is of recent development and naturally somewhat vague.

It was further agreed that the Board would approve joint tenure of its fellowships with fellowships or grants from other organizations. It was agreed that no awards would be made this year to take effect a year later and in such cases the applicant should be instructed to re-apply. It was agreed that the staff would submit recommendations to the next meeting of the Board with regard to the determination of stipends.

2.2 Report on Training for Specialized Mission Personnel

Mr. Spaeth distributed a written report on the training of specialized mission personnel for U. S. Government missions prepared by Professors Wallace Sayre and Clarence Thurber.

It was agreed to defer consideration of this report and possible action by the Board until a later meeting.

3. RESEARCH PROGRAM

It was agreed to defer discussion of item 3 until later in the meeting.

4. OTHER BOARD ACTIVITIES

It was agreed to defer discussion of item 4 until later in the meeting.

5. STAFF ORGANIZATION

Mr. Spaeth recommended that John K. Weiss, Assistant Vice President of the Fund for the Advancement of Education be appointed Executive Secretary of the Board on Overseas Training and Research. The chair raised the question of Mr. Weiss' availability for this position in view of his responsibilities to the Fund.

After some discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that John K. Weiss be and hereby is appointed Executive Secretary of the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research effective March 18, 1952,
>
> And further, that because of his duties as Assistant Vice President of the Fund for the Advancement of Education Mr. Weiss be authorized to take immediate steps to obtain an assistant to devote full time to the activities and operations of the Board. (52-6)

Mr. Spaeth indicated that in order properly to pursue the Research Program of the Board it would be advisable to obtain in the near future a Director of Research. He further indicated that after some inquiry he was prepared to recommend that Mr. Robert Blum, presently deputy administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration program in France, be appointed to this post although Mr. Blum had not yet indicated that he would be prepared to accept such appointment.

After some discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously:

> RESOLVED that Mr. Spaeth be and hereby is authorized to appoint Robert Blum as Research Director of the Board on Overseas Training and Research. (52-7)

6. OTHER BUSINESS

The chairman indicated that he had received several communications from Mr. Avrea Ingram, Vice-President for International Affairs of the National Student Association requesting that the program of the NSA be taken into consideration in the administration of the Board's Fellowship Program, and suggesting further that, if possible, the NSA be permitted to designate certain fellows. The Secretary

indicated that Mr. Ingram had made a similar request of him and had been advised that the Board would be glad to consider any applicants endorsed by the NSA, but that it would not delegate to the Association the right to make the final determination of the selection of fellows for the Board program.

It was agreed to defer further consideration of this matter until a later date.

7. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

It was agreed that the next meeting of the Board would be held in New York on June 18, 1952.

3. RESEARCH PROGRAM (Cont'd)

3.1 Report on Ford Foundation Trustees Action on Research Appropriation

Mr. Spaeth reported that at the last meeting of the Trustees of the Ford Foundation the request of the Board for a one million dollar appropriation for the support of basic research in Asia, the Near and Middle East had been approved and that these funds were now available to the Board for appropriation.

3.2 Consideration of Memoranda on Research

Mr. Spaeth reviewed briefly the several documents which had been transmitted to the Board concerning the broad problems of research and indicated that in addition to the summary list of projects previously received, he had transmitted one detailed project for the purpose of giving the Board an opportunity to see the types of material which had been submitted. He stressed that the transmittal of this particular project did not in any sense indicate a predisposed favorable judgment on his part, but was rather in the nature of a pilot project for the information of the Board.

Mr. Spaeth then indicated that with the permission of the Chairman he had invited Mr. Berelson, the acting director of the Division of the Behavioral Sciences of the Ford Foundation, and Mr. Max Millikan of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to meet with the Board and discuss this particular project for a Research Center in International Communications which had been submitted by MIT to the Ford Foundation and which was now under consideration by the Foundation's Division of the Behavioral Sciences.

Mr. Berelson and Mr. Millikan then met with the Board and discussed at some length the nature of the proposal now under consideration by the Division of the Behavioral Sciences. The Chairman then excused Mr. Berelson and Mr. Millikan.

Mr. Murrow inquired how the findings of the proposal described could be related to immediate problems and suggested that the program, as outlined, was in his judgment too broad and ill-defined to permit fruitful investigation. Mr. Perkins, Mr. Spaeth, Mr. Eurich, Mr. Dickey and the Chairman all expressed general agreement with this point of view.

Mr. Dickey stated that in his judgment it would be far more advisable to initiate the overall program with a smaller project and with a target where the experience is already of interest because of other Foundation activities. He suggested, for example, that with the large grants now being made by the Foundation for agricultural development in India, it might be advisable to initiate the pilot program with varying studies of communications problems in Indian villages as a result of these developments. He mentioned the need for ascertaining the relationship of deeds to words.

Mr. Gardner stated that in his judgment it might be impolitic for the Board, after having considered this proposal for such a short period, to submit a negative recommendation with regard to it, since another division of the Foundation which had been devoting considerable time and effort to its development was apparently prepared to submit a favorable recommendation. He suggested that as an alternative it might be more desirable to ascertain who were the specific persons to be charged with the direction of a smaller project and to encourage the group submitting the larger project with a small grant, enabling them to define better the overall objectives.

Mr. Dickey re-emphasized that in his judgment it was of primary importance to "compound the impact of all Ford Foundation activities" and to capitalize on the experiences which the Ford Foundation had had in overseas areas".

It was agreed that Mr. Spaeth would discuss with the officers of the Division of Behavioral Sciences of the Foundation and transmit the reaction of the Board to this proposal.

3.2.1 ACLS Proposal for Summer Fellowships for Foreign Language Study

The Secretary reported that a proposal had been received from the American Council of Learned Societies for the establishment of a summer fellowship program for foreign language study for the coming summer. He indicated further that he had advised the Council that this matter would be brought before the next meeting of the Board, but that in his judgment it was doubtful whether such a program could be established in view of the difficult time schedule.

After a short discussion, it was agreed that the Secretary should advise the Council that no such program would be established for the summer of 1952, but that consideration would be given to this proposal for another year at a later date.

3.3 Discussion of Immediate Steps to be taken to Permit Research Program

It was agreed that in the appointment of a Director of Research for the Board it would be advisable to defer full discussion of the implementation of the Research Program. Mr. Spaeth stated that in his opinion there was no urgency in having the Board make allocations from the one million dollar appropiation and suggested that it would be advisable for the Board to go slowly in the establishment of policy guide-lines before attempting to pass finally on any of the projects already pending.

8. ADJOURNMENT.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 5.56 P. M.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Minutes of a Meeting of the Ford Foundation
Board on Overseas Training and Research
New York, New York, March 18, 1952

(Approved at meeting of May 22, 1952)

Present: Mr. Gordon Gray, Chairman; Mr. Alvin C. Eurich; Mr. John W. Gardner; Mr. Edward R. Murrow; Mr. Milo Perkins; Mr. Carl B. Spaeth.

Absent: Mr. John Dickey.

Also present: Mr. John K. Weiss, Executive Secretary

The Board on Overseas Training and Research met for the first time at the Hotel Drake, 56th Street and Park Avenue, at 12:00 p.m. on March 18, 1952 pursuant to a call sent by the Secretary on March 12, 1952.

1. OBJECTIVES OF THE FORD FOUNDATION, RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE DIVISION OF OVERSEAS ACTIVITIES AND RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

It was agreed to adopt the proposed agenda prepared by Mr. Spaeth (Appendix A).

Mr. Spaeth, Director of the Ford Foundation Division of Overseas Activities, described the organization of the Foundation, the responsibilities of the Officers, and the scope of the five program areas as set forth in the Report of the Trustees of the Ford Foundation, copies of which were distributed. Mr. Eurich, Vice President of The Fund for the Advancement of Education, and Mr. Spaeth described the activities of the Fund for Adult Education, The Fund for the Advancement of Education, the East European Fund, and the work of the Foundation staff groups organized in connection with Program Areas I, III, and V.

Mr. Spaeth explained that the Division of Overseas Activities has been established to do staff work in relation to Program Area I, and that three specific assignments have been made to the Division: (1) operating supervision of field programs in India and Pakistan and responsibility for planning field

programs for other parts of Asia and the Middle East, (2) exchange of persons, and (3) training and research pertaining to international affairs.

With reference to Foundation support for programs of training and research in foreign fields, Mr. Spaeth stated that at an early date the Officers of the Foundation recognized the desirability of obtaining the advice and assistance of a small group of knowledgeable persons of varied experience in education and international affairs. It was this recognition that led to the formation of the Board on Overseas Training and Research with an initial grant of $500,000.

2. RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

The Board then reviewed the following statement of its functions:

> "The Board on Overseas Training and Research has been established to assist the Ford Foundation in formulating programs and carrying out activities pertaining to the furtherance of world peace. Specifically, the Board will study and assess both private and governmental programs of international training and research and will advise the Foundation upon ways in which these programs may be strengthened to enable the nation to meet more effectively its international responsibilities. The Board will administer the Foundation's own programs in support of overseas training and research.
>
> "The Board will investigate the requirements for informed and skilled Americans in the various fields of service abroad, and in so doing will consult with private and governmental groups in this country and will seek the counsel of informed nationals of other countries. It will evaluate the adequacy of educational facilities within the United States and elsewhere to provide training of a kind and quality required by the present complexities of world affairs. It will appraise the principal needs for basic research concerning major world areas and general problems of world affairs, and will assess existing or potential facilities for the conduct of such research.
>
> "The Board will direct its attention initially to Asia and the Near and Middle East."

Mr. Spaeth observed that the Board's functions, as stated in the Fellowship Program announcement included as Appendix B, included three tasks:

(1) the administration of training and research programs approved by the Officers and Trustees of the Foundation; (2) the development of new programs of training and research for consideration by the Officers and Trustees of the Foundation; and (3) the study of training and research requirements which must be met by the nation as a whole.

3. FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Mr. Spaeth recommended to the Board the establishment of a Fellowship Program to permit as many as 100 U. S. citizens to obtain greater knowledge and understanding of Asia and the Near and Middle East, utilizing the $500,000 already appropriated.

Mr. Spaeth also presented drafts of a proposed announcement and application form to be utilized in connection with this program. It was agreed that the announcement should make clear that: (1) as many as 100 fellowships would be awarded only if there are this number of fully qualified applicants; (2) not only persons who had experience in government, business, etc., but also those now engaged in their profession are eligible for the fellowships; and (3) in investigating the need for trained Americans, consideration would be given to the point of view of both private and governmental groups of the countries covered by the program.

It was agreed that the application form should require the applicant to indicate: (1) the time and character of his language training and the extent of proficiency; (2) whether he will receive compensation from any other source during his fellowship year; (3) whether he has resided abroad and if so where, for what purpose, and when; (4) the origin of his interest in seeking a fellowship and, in the event that he is leaving a position, whether he has the prospect of returning to his employment upon completing his program.

Upon motion, duly made and seconded, it was:

> RESOLVED that the proposed 1952 Fellowship Program for Asia, and Near and Middle East be, and hereby is, approved, and further that Mr. Spaeth and the Secretary, after consultation with the Chairman, be and hereby are, authorized to proceed with the issuance of the announcement and application form as approved. (52-1)

With reference to administration of the program, it was agreed that it would be desirable to develop a panel of persons who might be qualified to serve on screening and selection committees, and to interview candidates around the country. Reference was made to the interviews conducted by the staff of the Foreign Service of the State Department. Mr. Gardner stated that these interviews are conducted by a staff which travels to key points during a relatively short time. It was agreed that efforts should be made to enlist such comparable teams of "interviewers." Mr. Gardner recommended that Henry Allen Moe be requested to recommend names of persons who might be competent to select candidates, recommend likely possibilities for fellowship awards, and interview applicants.

The members of the Board agreed that if drafts of letters were prepared for their signatures, each of them would draw the Fellowship Program to the attention of a number of persons who might thus be induced to give personal attention to the recruitment of able candidates. The Secretary was requested to draft these letters.

Throughout the discussion, there was complete agreement that the greatest possible care should be taken in the selection of candidates to insure the highest possible quality. The view was expressed that if no more than forty or fifty qualified candidates met the requirements, no more awards should be made.

4. MEMORANDUM ON TRAINING PROBLEMS

Mr. Spaeth explained that Dr. Caryl Haskins, a Consultant to the Carnegie Corporation, had recently completed a visit to some of the principal college and university centers concerned with training for international service, and had put down some of his preliminary thoughts on the kinds of problems with which the Board will be concerned in the field of training. Dr. Haskins' memorandum was included in the docket as an item for discussion at the next meeting of the Board.

5. PROPOSED ALLOCATION OF RESEARCH PROGRAM IN 1952-53

Mr. Spaeth stated that the Division of Overseas Activities is asking the Officers of the Foundation to recommend to the Board of Trustees that an appropriation of $1,000,000 be made for the selective support of research on Asia and the Near and Middle East, with authority to the Officers, upon recommendation from the Board on Overseas Training and Research, to determine priorities among research requirements, to choose the methods of instrumentalities for carrying on investigation, and to allocate funds for specific projects. Members of the Board agreed that the adoption of this recommendation would facilitate the planning of research activities.

6. ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION OF STAFF

Mr. Spaeth stated that to provide the Board with necessary staff work, budgetary arrangements had been made to permit the appointment of a Director of Research with necessary supporting staff. The staff would be charged with preparing the analyses of training and research needs and facilities which will be the basis for the Board's action on programs and for its recommendations to the Officers. It was agreed that as soon as names of qualified applicants for the position of Director of Research were assembled, they would be sent to all Board members.

7. PROPOSAL FOR RESEARCH CENTER ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Mr. Spaeth presented a proposal dealing with a Research Center on International Communications which had been prepared by the Foundation's Division of Behavioral Sciences for submission to the Foundation's Trustees at their meeting on April 10th. Mr. Spaeth reported that the Officers of the Foundation had agreed that, if the project were approved by the Trustees, they would appreciate the advice of the Board on Overseas Training and Research on (a) the research and action plans for the project, and (b) institutions qualified to administer it.

Upon motion, duly made and seconded, it was:

> RESOLVED that Mr. Spaeth be, and hereby is, authorized to advise the Officers of the Ford Foundation that the Board on Overseas Training and Research will be pleased to provide such assistance as possible in the development of the proposed Research Center on International Communications. (52-2)

Mr. Murrow stated that in his judgment, a first project for the proposed Center should be an evaluation of our international communications efforts. He added that such an evaluation performed by an outside independent agency had long been badly needed. All of the members of the Board agreed with Mr. Murrow's statement, and requested Mr. Spaeth to advise the Division of Behavioral Sciences and the Officers of the Foundation of this conviction. Mr. Murrow said that he would attempt to give the project his early attention and prepare a written statement on the subject.

8. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

Mr. Spaeth proposed that it might be necessary to hold a meeting sometime between June 1 and July 15 to take action on fellowship applications, and that there might be additional matters for Board consideration which

Appendix A

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH

MEETING OF MARCH 18, 1952

A G E N D A

1. General objectives of the Ford Foundation, responsibilities of the Division of Overseas Activities, and relationships with the programs of The Fund for the Advancement of Education.

2. Consideration of general program and specific responsibility of Board in relationship to Ford Foundation operations.

3. Proposed Fellowship Program

   3.1. Purpose
   3.2. General policies
   3.3. Announcement
   3.4. Administration

      3.4.1. Servicing of applications
      3.4.2. Screening and selection committees
      3.4.3. Criteria for selection

4. Memorandum on Training Problems.

5. Proposed allocation for Research Program in 1952-1953.

6. Administration and organization of staff.

7. Proposal for Research Center on International Communications.

8. Date of next meeting.

9. Adjournment.

Ford, Henry

You Don't Play Freedom Safe

An address by

Henry Ford II

President
Ford Motor Company

An address before
the annual convention
of the National Automobile
Dealers Association,
in San Francisco, Calif.,
on January 28, 1957

HENRY FORD II

President of a company with affiliated manufacturing and sales operations in many parts of the world, Henry Ford II has long been keenly interested in international affairs and in this country's efforts to provide Free World leadership. He has been active in the Crusade for Freedom, the American Heritage Foundation and various international projects of the Ford Foundation, and has spoken out vigorously for expansion of U.S. world trade. He served as an alternate U.S. delegate to the United Nations in 1953.

TODAY I would like to discuss with you some matters that may seem far removed from the day-to-day business of making and selling cars. Yet they are matters which are certain to have a direct effect on your business and mine—and no less effect on our pocketbooks—not five or ten years hence, but this very year of 1957—matters which ultimately mean literal life and death to us all as businessmen, of course, but more importantly, as husbands, fathers, mothers, human beings.

Coming events cast their shadows before them, and today our secure and rich land is crossed and recrossed by shadows of events that are yet to come—events in far-off corners of the world that will inevitably shape our future for better or for worse. The earth-shaking events of the past six months cast shadows, too, but most of us just didn't see them.

So I would like to take off, if you will, on a short shadow-chasing mission. I would like to talk about some things that have been happening in the world about us, what consequences they seem to hold, and how we might possibly go about meeting those consequences.

I want to talk about foreign affairs with you this afternoon because I think it is the most important problem facing this nation today and one which is vital to every individual citizen.

I want to talk foreign affairs because I believe it is everybody's business, and that there should be much more talk and discussion on this subject. It is not only the right but the duty of every citizen who takes a real interest in such matters to speak

his mind and contribute to public discussion of such issues—even at the risk of turning out to be wrong.

Nobody seriously believes that we become good Republicans or Democrats, or good citizens for that matter, just by exercising the franchise or voting the straight party line. We can't delegate our own ultimate responsibility for national and international affairs to the people we send to Washington. It's our responsibility to let them know what we think—not just on election day but on a continuing basis. In the realm of foreign affairs, particularly, an informed public opinion, based upon open discussion and adequate information, is an absolute essential.

At the same time, however, it is equally essential that we have a foreign policy that looks at the long range rather than the immediate future. Only through clear and continued enunciation of such a long-range policy can the State Department hope to avoid the difficult problem of trying to sell new solutions to meet new crises to an uninformed electorate.

It is that basic principle that I am concerned with today. I have no desire to place blame for the events of recent months abroad. But I feel very strongly that this is a time for all of us, regardless of political belief, to take a vigorous hand in the shaping of foreign policy.

MY comments this afternoon are based on three premises which I think would be readily accepted by most people.

First, the events of the past few months have presented us with a fundamentally changed world situation, in which many of our most cherished notions no longer hold true.

Second, as a result of this big change, we face problems that urgently demand action—problems

we can no longer evade—and that entail both tremendous possibilities and tremendous risks for our future.

Third, in order to meet and beat the challenge of this new hand of cards, we are going to have to come of age fast in international affairs—as a nation, as a government, as a people—and act with uncommon sanity, wisdom and unity.

I THINK the first of these points is obvious. You cannot help but be aware of the tremendous curiosity and concern people everywhere have been showing about the events in Hungary and the Middle East. Hungary was a particular shock to most of us. We felt somehow a great sense of inadequacy. We were reminded bitterly of a truth that lies deep in our American consciousness: you don't play freedom safe. Freedom literally means: "Give me liberty or give me death." And when Cardinal Mindszenty and other Hungarian patriots pleaded for help and we wouldn't, or couldn't, come through, we felt somewhat as if they were fighting our fight all over again. But also, as we watched them stand firm for days and then weeks in the face of insurmountable odds, it began to look as if something were happening more profound than we had realized.

As we tried to make sense of Hungary, the Middle East exploded in what was a thoroughly confusing sequence of events. Britain and France, our old wartime allies, and Israel—virtually an American protege—were on one side. We, the Kremlin and Nasser appeared to be on the other. And we found ourselves urging on the U.N. a course of action that had the effect of saving the neck of a dictator whose provocative actions against the vital interests of our oldest and nearest friends had brought the crisis to a head.

Out of these two events have come unmistakable signs of profound changes in the relations among nations.

For years, the Soviet bloc has represented itself as an unshakable alliance of communist nations resolutely united in purpose and obedient to the Kremlin. But now that is changed. First Yugoslavia pulled away, next came the riots in East Germany, then in Poland, and then Hungary.

And now comes the news that in last week's Polish elections, the entire slate of nationalist candidates has been elected against the opposition of the Polish pro-Soviet bloc.

Rumbles continue to be heard from the other satellite countries, and we wonder who will be next. Surely all these satellite peoples—and even some of their leaders—must be re-evaluating their relations with the Kremlin. And Russia, too, must be undergoing that well-known "agonizing reappraisal." Whom among her allies can she trust? What dependence can she place upon the satellite armies—or indeed upon her own forces—when they are used to suppress peoples in foreign lands?

AT the same time, the Middle East crisis is revealing some sizable cracks in our own armor. The western alliance of nations has had a severe shock, both politically and economically, and we have a priority job to do in rebuilding that alliance on a realistic basis of trust and confidence.

Even more serious is the immediate possibility of further Soviet penetration of the Middle East. In this crucial area, a minor shift in the political sympathies of a few highly unstable governments could give the Soviets, any day now, effective working control of the oil and the trade routes of the Middle East. With such control, they could ultimately dictate the policies of Europe just as surely as if the Red army patrolled the streets of

London, Paris and Rome. Very quickly the vast riches of the African continent would be theirs for the plucking, without so much as firing a shot. And all of the yet-uncommitted peoples of Asia would in time fall under immense economic pressures from Moscow.

A setup like that would put a tremendous squeeze on us and our friends in the Western Hemisphere. Moscow would have monopoly control of more than half of the world's resources. And we would have to meet their price or submit our economy to slow strangulation. Let's not forget that we are fast becoming a have-not nation in many important raw materials. Furthermore, our ability to make and sell cars depends not only on such important materials but on consumer income that is increasingly based on international trade.

Atomic war might be the worst thing that could happen; but it's certainly not the only thing that ought to be on our minds.

This whole picture seems to me a graphic example of what historians mean when they talk about "a fundamental shift in the balance of world power." It seems to me that is exactly what is dangling in the Middle East today—and dangling by a very thin thread. For over a century, Russian designs in the Middle East were frustrated by the British and the French. Today the British and the French are gone. How that fateful shift in world power takes place is up to us, and to us alone. There's no one else who can do anything about it.

ONE more aspect of the transition in world affairs which I think should be mentioned is a basic shift of Soviet tactics in their struggle for world domination. While they have not abandoned that basic goal, they do seem to have changed their way of trying to achieve it. There is much more emphasis on political and economic infiltration. The cold war is being carried on today more

in the realm of international trade, economic aid programs and political ideas.

Instead of expansion by conquest, we find the Soviets sweet-talking their new targets. In rapid succession, Moscow has offered new trade and mutual aid agreements to satellite and other nations on the Soviet perimeter as well as to underdeveloped areas in the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Latin America. When I was a delegate to the United Nations in 1953, the Russians denounced the U.N. technical assistance program as sinister American imperialism. Since then, however, they have become ardent supporters of the idea. They have also announced their support of a special U.N. economic development program, SUNFED, which our country has thus far refused to do. The Russians are accelerating their programs of technical aid to underdeveloped areas. In those programs, they now have a rapidly increasing number of dedicated Marxist technicians selling the Soviet way for all they're worth. And the Soviet propaganda mills continue to roll—on a budget roughly ten times that of our Voice of America—blowing up Soviet economic growth and the benefits of mutual cooperation promises beyond recognition.

Any one of us could offer some good reasons why Russia has so sharply altered tactics that were working pretty well in a number of places. One of the best reasons could be simply that the Soviets have at last stumbled on a bit of ancient wisdom: you can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar. It's better to have other nations docile and perhaps even grateful under your sheltering wing that seething with resentment under your heel. It's a lot easier to govern the world by hidden control of a few strategic points than by trying to hold down a world empire by armed force.

All of these things make up the great change which has presented us with great opportunities

and great perils. We are faced with a series of problems, some new, some old familiar ones in a new guise, which we cannot ignore or brush aside any longer. The stakes are too high. We are going to have to ask the hard questions, and find the hard answers, not next year or the year after but starting right now. Vacillation before the urgent pressure of these events can only lead from one disaster to another.

We can no longer afford to take a passive stand and merely react to things after they happen in a sort of fire-alarm diplomacy. We've got to get out ahead of events and try to lead and shape them to the best of our ability. There is no dodging the fact that the United States is the natural leader of the free world. In that role it will star gloriously or flop miserably before the judgment of history.

Let's look at some of those hard questions that we as a people must ask ourselves and our government—keeping a completely open mind.

In the Middle East there's a whole bill of particulars that needs filling out. We have talked about recourse to "moral force" and support of the U.N. as our basic approach to the problems of this area. We have put ourselves on record as ready to defend with arms anybody attacked by a communist nation, and have made various other moves to discourage the Soviets as the House Foreign Affairs Committee has suggested. There has not been much, as yet, however, to indicate just what we want to do to settle the Arab refugee problem, to bring about a just and lasting settlement of Arab-Israeli disputes and to assure the free international use of the Suez canal. The American public is just as much in the dark about what we propose to do in these situations as anybody else in the world. All we know for sure is that no one but us can ultimately bring about a solution of these problems —except possibly the Russians. Neither the U.N. nor any free nation can act effectively here until they know where the U.S. stands.

In another realm, I think we've got to take a new look at our relations with the communist satellites. Thus far, we have tended to apply economic sanctions in the form of drastic trade limitations and laws which largely prohibit us from offering them economic help. Even to suggest that we should help out some of these people or do business with them has been to risk the charge of being soft on communism. But it appears that our policies have tended to play right into the Kremlin's hands to the extent that they make the satellites more dependent on Moscow. I think we need to be realistic and decide whether our trade-and-aid policies toward such satellite areas as Poland, Hungary, East Germany, and even Red China are really in our own best interests. Maybe the people of Red China are just as anxious to get rid of the yoke of communism as the Hungarians have demonstrated they were. Shouldn't we give them the chance—or at least some alternative to their present ties with the Kremlin?

What is to be our policy toward the Western Alliance? The Suez crisis has caused such a severe economic strain in Britain that she may be forced to cut back on the highest relative military burden borne by any NATO nation and withdraw her forces from Western Germany. You will remember that she was forced to withdraw from Greece for economic reasons in 1947, and we moved in to replace her. Are we prepared in 1957 to pick up her share of the tab in West Germany? What can we do—what should we do—to help compensate for the prestige loss and the economic loss of Western Europe in the Middle East? How far should we be willing to go in seeking a settlement of the critical question—of uniting East and West Germany? Some day—and not too far away—Germany will be united again. But under whose sponsorship will that take place—ours or the Russians? So far it looks as if the Russians are trying to use our kind of program all along the line.

Finally, I would ask how do we propose to go about meeting the new Soviet economic and polit-

ical aggression on a world-wide front? We obviously cannot compete solely with armaments and military aid. Basically, we must accept the challenge by devising realistic and long-term programs of trade and aid.

This is a struggle for which we are uniquely fitted both by tradition and experience. If American know-how and ingenuity have anything to contribute to the progress of mankind, it is precisely in the areas of this conflict. If we don't step up and meet this test, then the Russians will have licked us at the game we know best.

Both government and private enterprise have important roles to play in that struggle. I would not presume to comment on the public role, except in very general terms.

I BELIEVE we must, for example, have consistent and long-range policies in foreign aid, if they are to be effective. I think we should be willing to be venturesome and imaginative in our economic aid thinking—where a big investment promises to pay off big in terms of reaching our goals of peace and prosperity, we ought to be willing to take chances. I think we ought to develop a more realistic and unemotional approach to foreign aid. We should look upon our wealth and military power as sharp tools that may be used coldly and logically to pursue national ends—ends that we believe are right and humane.

We should get rid of the childish notion that we are out to buy love or friendship. Our foreign aid money should be spent in such a way as to represent the best we have to offer in ideas, in people and in portraying the strength of our society to peoples abroad. But we should recognize that no one is going to love us for what we give them. We are much too big, too rich and powerful for anyone to love us. What we should expect is for other

nations to realize our friendship is to be desired and our antipathy to be avoided in their own best interests.

As a businessman, I am naturally concerned with this situation from a business viewpoint. I feel, for example, that an enlightened trade and aid outlook is sound not merely because of the Soviet threat but because it is in our own best long-run business interests to strengthen the economies and raise the living standards of the people we want to do business with all over the world.

Because we have a stake in that, we businessmen also have an obligation to help our government promote its economic objectives. Private capital, for example, is an increasingly important tool for developing the less advanced countries, and there's a lot that can be done by cooperation between industry and government to expand such foreign investment activities. Industry can lend its people and its specialized skills to United States and United Nations agencies of economic development.

Much of the responsibility for encouraging the growth of American foreign investment abroad lies with the foreign countries themselves. If they want American dollars, they should accept the fact that respect for contracts is absolutely fundamental to our private enterprise system. Arbitrary actions in violation of agreements, such as Nasser's seizure of the Suez canal, pull the rug right out from under international investment.

But we ourselves are not without sin in some other respects. We sometimes fail to practice what we preach to our friends abroad.

ONE of the great continuing paradoxes of our country is its outlook on foreign trade. For years and years, it has been evident that the United States can contribute greatly to the strength of the

free world by encouraging a maximum freeing of trade among nations. We have insistently urged others to relax their trade barriers. Though the present and preceding administrations have recognized the importance of liberalized trade and fought for it, the United States still remains outside the international agency, the Organization for Trade Cooperation, of which we ourselves were the main sponsors, to provide a vehicle for orderly international cooperation in the lifting of trade barriers.

In recent years, despite the fact that we are enjoying unprecedented national prosperity, there has been a steady rise of protectionist sentiment in the land. The high tariff people—a small but vociferous group—are still wagging the dog of American foreign economic policy, and still asking for and getting what amounts to a subsidy from every American consumer. We've got to keep in mind the fundamental and simple truth that, on the whole, protectionism is an unnecessary and expensive luxury for this particular great nation with its great responsibility for leadership in the world.

IN SUMMARY, then, it seems evident that today we are up against a world situation of both immense possibilities and immense dangers. It is a situation so delicately poised that we probably can't afford to luck our way through it. We've got to play this one heads up. We are going, as I suggested a while ago, to have to act with a sanity, wisdom and unity without parallel.

You may very well ask whether any people has the wisdom, the skill and the ability to meet so difficult a challenge. I say we have that potential, if ever a people did have it. But acting like effective world leaders will require the same kind of dedication and unity of purpose that characterized our people during the course of World War II. We've

got to get our individual noses out of the everyday rut and take a livelier interest in the world about us.

In my opinion, we have to stop defining our day-to-day actions in terms of rigid absolutes. We should be on guard against hypocrisy in determining whether or not we will deal with certain nations and their leaders on the basis of morality. The experience of the past two decades certainly ought to have taught us that there can be few absolutes in international affairs. Yesterday's implacable enemies are today's friends. Too often today's heroes are tomorrow's villains. Things do constantly change and there's no sense in swearing that we will never take up arms in a certain cause or do business with a certain country or system—because tomorrow may make liars of us.

I think our posture of world leadership above all requires that we make a real effort to take foreign policy out of partisan politics—and I mean Republican as well as Democratic politics. I suggest that we cannot afford to take a vacation from world realities every four years just because we happen to have an election running at home.

WE cannot afford to be caught asleep at the switch in the field of foreign relations. All of us must share some blame for the problems that might have been foreseen and prevented: the government, where it failed to look far enough ahead, failed to keep people informed, or vacillated in the face of political opposition; the Congress, where it slid into a rather complacent mood and obstructed many important policies of the administration; the businessmen and farmers and housewives of America who became a little weary of the pressures of world events and took a few years' vacation from reality. All of us, in short, who decided to stop worrying about those distant troubles—troubles too big, it seemed, for you and me to do anything about—and who said "Let George do it," or "Let Ike do it."

It's time that we returned to the realities of the world we live in. I have no doubt that if we do we can once again assume a position of leadership in the world commensurate with our strength and with the greatness of our institutions.

I believe if the people of this country—private citizens like those of us here—will get interested more deeply and get into the heart of this struggle for a more effective foreign policy, then we shall be getting at the basic key to success.

Only a conviction that this is so would have persuaded me to talk at such length on such a very serious subject at four o'clock in the afternoon before the National Automobile Dealers Association.

no dist.

December 8, 1962

Dear Morris,

Many thanks for yours of December 4. I am not sure when I shall be in New York again. It would be a great pleasure to see you here. Do let me know when you are coming down again. I don't think I could be seduced but there is no profit in prophecy.

As ever,

Yours,

Edward R. Murrow

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

ERM/rlp 12/8/62

mailed 12/10 RLP

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Personal and
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December 4th, 1962

Hon. Edward R. Murrow
Director U.S. Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

My dear Ed:

You will no doubt recall a conversation you had with Jim Armsey, of Ford, and the paper you wrote for him. I have had discussions on the project under consideration and I am in a position to organize from the moneybag a campaign to seduce you to be uninhibited editor-in-chief of a great network.

Are you coming to New York? I want a hearing before you throw me out of your garden. Assuming the millions appear to be adequate and the commitment is firm for a substantial number of years, I want you to let me play with the project because you shouldn't and probably couldn't carry on the diplomacy even if you think the next five or ten years might be exciting if dwelt in this enterprise. I am so excited that I told my friends that if you would have me as an office boy part time, it's one of the few careers which would tempt me to retire from the Bar, of which I will have been a member for a half century in April, 1963.

Give me a ring. I may be in Washington on Telstar and other matters in the next fortnight and could arrange to see you on a Saturday.

Best.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE dm

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PROGRAM DIRECTOR
SPECIAL PROGRAM IN EDUCATION

Evans has copy.

September 5, 1962

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Director
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your keen and perceptive "fourth network" suggestions. They're right down the alley. I shall now toss them in the pot with others I am getting and hopefully emerge eventually with something of significance.

I may want and need a chance to chat with you again in the course of our "study." If so, I'll call.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

James W. Armsey

extra
no distribution

8/28/62

Dear Jim,

I seem to remember promising you a few notes on the fourth network. The attached is neither a paper nor a proposal, merely some notes just as they came from the typewriter. They may be of no value to you but at least, somehow, I have managed to meet the deadline.

As ever,

Yours,

Edward R. Murrow

Attachment

As stated

Mr. James Armsey
Program Director
Education Division
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

ERMurrow:db 8/25/62

MH

August 25, 1962

REMARKS REGARDING CREATION OF FOURTH TELEVISION NETWORK

Objective

To provide a consistent and competitive alternative to programs presented by the three commercial networks.

I would see no necessity for the immediate development of live networking.

First priority should be given to the recruitment of personnel. One or more outstanding professional executive producers of the caliber of Fred Friendly or Irving Gitlin should be lured away from the networks. Such men would serve as an inspirational rallying point to attract free-lance writing and producing talent as well as men who have become disillusioned with network practices but remain in their employ due to the absence of any alternative.

These remarks disregard for obvious reasons those aspects of educational broadcasting dealing with classroom or formal academic instruction.

The news operation should be programmed against the existing weakness of the networks. That weakness is obvious. It is the failure

to background important developments, to deal with the conditions that created a given situation and the consequences that may be expected to flow from a given policy. No effort should be made to create a news organization designed to compete in terms of speed with the existing services. It would be too expensive and it would result in more of the same. First consideration should be given to the finding of a topflight Washington correspondent who understands the governmental processes as well as Douglass Cater. The Washington operation should remain lean and should not attempt to compete in the area of spot news.

The budget should provide adequate funds for intensive research and experimentation in the field of animation, graphic illustration, and the imaginative use of stills.

The objective should be to create new news personalities rather than luring away present network performers.

Promotion

What is required here is a real professional huckster possessing all technical skills required, but who understands and believes in the objectives of the fourth network. I do not know the man but he can be found. One of his early tasks should be the selection of a single market with a well-established "fourth station." He should then research the hell out of the

market, using, among others, Ernest Dichter, in an effort to demonstrate that there does exist an elite audience and the station is reaching, holding and increasing that audience. /These findings could be of enormous importance in promoting future Congressional appropriations./

Need for a New Name

Anything that is tagged educational in this country is handicapped at the outset. The American people don't really believe in education. /We had to pass laws to force parents to send their children to school./ This network should be designed to satisfy curiosity, to expand areas of interest, to stretch the mind. It should have a designation that combines dignity and competition, for unless this network is overtly competitive it will not attract either the talent or the audience. The finding of the proper name for the network should be given the highest priority.

Relations with Foreign Television Systems

Here is a gold mine. The fourth network can have greater success with the foreign product than the art movie distributors have had with foreign films. Special search should be made for foreign produced material dealing with the United States. Curiosity as to what others think of us is almost universal. Propaganda films produced by Communist Bloc countries should be acquired and shown. Co-production arrangements

for documentaries should be worked out particularly with the developing countries.

The Theme for the Network

While the off-the-air promotion should be vigorous and hard hitting, the tone of the network should be quiet, remarkable for the lack of adjectives, quietly driving home the thesis that you can "see it here and nowhere else." The network should become the mature, discerning gadfly to all the mass media in this country. When the three networks are maneuvered into doing a half-hour commercial for A. T. & T. in connection with TELSTAR, "All of this time without the expenditure of a single dime of the taxpayers' money," the fourth network should make it its business to put the record straight in a quiet, tolerant, almost sympathetic tone. With a little courage and lots of judgment this network could become the conscience of communications in this country, and it could do so, given a real editorial board, which none of the networks now have, without becoming unduly controversial. If the fourth network is to make a significant contribution, it must be in the field of information. It can not compete in entertainment or spectaculars, and it should not try to do so. Probably it should not try to present a "balanced program structure." It should read poetry, teach geography and all the rest, but

basically unless it can provide more information more interestingly it will fail.

The philosophy and the public posture of this network are equally important. The philosophy should be reduced to writing and nailed to the masthead.

Public Briefing

Merely because the country could benefit, I am intrigued by the possibility of using returning senior foreign service officers from locales in the news to report or "brief" the American people on the facts of life in their area. I should think Gullion, when home on consultation, talking to America about the Congo would be a useful employment of his time. Muse a bit, for example, about Reischauer on Japan, Paul Neilson on Indonesia, Bill Handley on Mali, Moscoso on the Alliance after a trip south, etc. These could best be done in interview form. However, the interviewer would concentrate on extracting information rather than producing headlines or embarrassing the interviewee.

Use What Exists

This fourth network could become what is today the missing conscience of journalism. Nationally, when James Reston has a brilliant column on why journalism is not covering the important institutional

shortcomings of the Congress, the fourth network is his national outlet. Even more important is the operating philosophy locally. Local government has been the province of the hack because of the paucity of concern with it. This may never change. But if it does, it will be because a fourth network station has given more coverage to the City Council than CBS does to the Congress, has been as much on top of local election campaigns as NBC was on the Presidential campaign, and gives as much local exposure to a school bond issue as ABC will to a Senate filibuster. Those matters that are occasionally in the press and rarely on television could become the bread and butter of local fourth net news operations.

Insulation from Congressional Caprice

I think the fourth network form is important, for this reason only. If controversy, politics, critique, and provocation of intellect is to be its province, it must be above party sniping and cannot wear the albatross of party loyalty. It cannot even be bi-partisan, but must be staunchly non-partisan. Perhaps it would be possible to create some type of public service corporation adapting certain features of the BBC charter. Certainly one function of the network should be to explain the functioning of government, the relationship of the individual to the state regardless of the political complexion of the government of the day. I have had sufficient

experience in television to appreciate the difficulty of such a mission, and am persuaded it must be attempted if the fourth network is to make a significant contribution.

Edward R. Murrow

File in Folder #20
File 2 Drawer A

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

August 21, 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Robert M. Evans

SUBJECT: Fourth Television Network

My excitement is held on a leash. This could be the kind of television of which many dream but none realize. If temerity would be their guideword, they could slug the sloth of this land like few things since the advent of talking movies. If well done, they could do for television what jet engines have done for air travel.

My enthusiasm subscribes to all that you say. May I add the following:

1. I disagree with you about not "becoming unduly controversial". In the operation imagined, it is as unavoidable as it is desirable. But we begin to couch it with terms like responsible, intelligent, unsensational, non-demagogic, and most of all, FAIR. If you are eminently FAIR about controversy, all can disagree with you but none can villify you. The SEE IT NOW tilting with Joe McCarthy was highly controversial but reasonably fair -- and perhaps therein lay its greatest strength.

2. The prospects of a liaison with the journalistic corps of the capital is, to my mind, full of promise. I have been impressed by the detailed intimacy with the bye-ways of government acquired by working newsmen here, and equally impressed by the occasional caliber of the better journalists around town. To give them an outlet for the kind of non-factual ruminating with their consciences that their papers do not allow is to uncover a gold mine of intelligent and sensitive commentary on the affairs of government.

3. If government money is going to be in the system, perhaps it is not untoward to have government officials give the system prestige by using it. Obviously when Dean Rusk returns from a Geneva trip he would tape a statement which would be released simultaneously to the four networks (incidentally, though it will not compete for fast news coverage I think this kind of a break on government stories would be a big leg up for the new network). But why not have Dean Rusk once a month "talk to the people..." and in subsequent weeks have Adlai Stevenson from the UN, Philip Nolting from Southeast Asia, Newton Minow from the FCC, Arthur Goldberg from the Labor Department --- explanations of government purposes on the network to give it the prestige it will so sorely need at the outset. It could also give the country the kind of political dialogue that democracy has not had since Demosthenes left his rostrum in Athens.

You might even tie education with commentary; have "Biography of an Agency" one evening to explain, for example, how the FCC works, followed the next evening by Newton Minow on the FCC.

4. Merely because the country could benefit, I am intrigued by the possibility of using returning senior foreign service officers from locales in the news to report or "brief" the American people on the facts of life in their area. I should think Gullion, when home on consultation, talking to America about the Congo would be a useful employment of his time. Muse a bit, for example, about Reischauer on Japan, Paul Neilson on Indonesia, Bill Handley on Mali, Moscoso on the Alliance after a trip south, etc.

5. Great things could be in store around election time. The big nets will put on the major candidates, and perhaps the fourth net will respond with repeats at another hour to give multiple access to America. But let the fourth network put on the minority candidates as well. I won't philosophize about giving access in a democracy to all politics, but we do our posterity a disservice by excluding minority political movements from opportunities on what is becoming the nation's most politically influential medium. Who knows but that two or more minority candidates might induce a majority candidate onto fourth net air, which might make for a singed feeling or three at the commercial networks.

Incidentally, this raises interesting policy problems of giving exposure to the Gerald Smiths, Ross Barnetts, and Robert Welchs.

6. I speculate from ignorance in wondering if educational television has not been over concerned with higher education and adult training to the detriment of pre-school and elementary grade children. Perhaps there is merit in a meaningful dialogue between teachers of the very young and parents of those young. Starting the first grade is generally a frightening experience; I should imagine first grade teachers have much to suggest about how parents can prepare children for the experience -- including such amusingly mundane things as telling a child who has been called Buddy Smith all his young years that his full name is James William Smith and when teacher says James William she is really looking for the silent Buddy who doesn't answer to the strange new handle.

7. This fourth network could become what is today the missing conscience of journalism. Nationally, when James Reston has a brilliant column on why journalism is not covering the important institutional shortcomings of the Congress, the fourth network is his national outlet. Even more important is the operating philosophy locally. Local government has been the province of the hack because of the paucity of concern with it. This may never change. But if it does, it will be because a fourth network station has given more coverage to the City Council than CBS does to the Congress, has been as much on top of local election campaigns as NBC was on the Presidential campaign, and gives as much local exposure to a school bond issue as ABC will to a Senate filibuster. Those matters that are occasionally in the press and rarely on television could become the bread and butter of local fourth net news operations.

8. The corollary of this is a revolution in local politics in the United States in the course of a generation. What is exposed to the public revives interest in the public. To educate a generation of school children to knowledge of and participation in public local events, to free political candidates from the financing of campaigns by special interests by giving them exposure on the

fourth network that they could not afford to buy on commercial TV, to have professors applying their professional credentials to the solution of practical public issues, thereby enriching the community with their expertise and themselves with their experience --- all this could be the revolution in local politics from the fourth network that may be far-fetched but is not unreasonable.

9. I think the fourth network form is important, for this reason only. If controversy, politics, critique, and provocation of intellect is to be its province, it must be above party sniping and cannot wear the albatross of party loyalty. It cannot even be bi-partisan, but must be staunchly non-partisan. ~~I am not familiar enough with the structure of the BBC to know if there is useful experience in creating similarities in organization. But the thought is expressed in the suggestion of independent corporate non-partisanship insulating the fourth net from Congressional caprice. This is particularly important if Administration spokesmen appear on the network with any frequency.~~

aug 25

~~July 14, 1962~~

DRAFT FOR: The Ford Foundation

REMARKS REGARDING CREATION OF FOURTH TELEVISION NETWORK

Objective

To provide a consistent and competitive alternative to programs presented by the three commercial networks.

I would see no necessity for the immediate development of live networking ~~with the possible exception of the linking of Boston, Washington and New York.~~

First priority should be given to the recruitment of personnel. One or more outstanding professional executive producers of the caliber of Fred Friendly or Irving Gitlin should be lured away from the networks. Such men would serve as an inspirational rallying point to attract free-lance writing and producing talent as well as men who have become disillusioned with network practices but remain in their employ due to the absence of any alternative.

These remarks disregard for obvious reasons those aspects of educational broadcasting dealing with classroom or formal academic instruction.

The news operation should be programed against the existing weakness of the networks. That weakness is obvious. It is the failure to background important developments, to deal with the conditions that created a given situation and the consequences that may be expected to flow from a given policy.

No effort should be made to create a news organization designed to compete in terms of speed with the existing services. It would be too expensive and it would result in more of the same. First consideration should be given to the finding of a topflight Washington correspondent who understands the governmental processes as well as Douglass Cater. The Washington operation should remain lean and should not attempt to compete in the area of spot news.

The budget should provide adequate funds for intensive research and experimentation in the field of animation, graphic illustration, and the imaginative use of stills.

The objective should be to create new news personalities rather than luring away present network performers.

Promotion

What is required here is a real professional huckster possessing all technical skills required, but who understands and believes in the objectives of the fourth network. I do not know the man but he can be found. One of his early tasks should be the selection of a single market with a well-established "fourth station." He should then research the hell out of the market, using, among others, Ernest Dichter, in an effort to demonstrate that there does exist an elite audience and the station is reaching, holding and increasing that audience. /These findings could be of enormous importance in promoting future Congressional appropriations./

Need for a New Name

Anything that is tagged educational in this country is handicapped at the outset. The American people don't really believe in education. We ~~have~~ had to pass laws to force parents to send their children to school. This network should be designed to satisfy curiosity, to expand areas of interest, to stretch the mind. It should have a designation that combines dignity and competition, for unless this network is overtly competitive it will not attract either the talent or the audience. The finding of the proper name for the network should be given the highest priority.

Relations with Foreign Television Systems

Here is a gold mine. The fourth network can have greater success with the foreign product than the art movie distributors have had with foreign films. Special search should be made for foreign produced material dealing with the United States. Curiosity as to what others think of us is almost universal. Propaganda films produced by Communist Bloc countries should be acquired and shown. Co-production arrangements for documentaries should be worked out particularly with the developing countries.

The Theme for the Network

While the off-the-air promotion should be vigorous and hard hitting, the tone of the network should be quiet, remarkable for the lack of adjectives,

quietly driving home the thesis that you can "see it here and nowhere else." The network should become the mature, discerning gadfly to all the mass media in this country. When the three networks are maneuvered into doing a half-hour commercial for A. T. & T. in connection with TELSTAR, "All of this time without the expenditure of a single dime of the taxpayers' money," the fourth network should make it its business to put the record straight in a quiet, tolerant, almost sympathetic tone. With a little courage and lots of judgment this network could become the conscience of communications in this country, and it could do so given a real editorial board, which none of the networks now have, without becoming unduly controversial. If the fourth network is to make a significant contribution, it must be in the field of information. It can not compete in entertainment or spectaculars, and it should not try to do so. Probably it should not try to present a "balanced program structure." It should read poetry, teach geography and all the rest, but basically unless it can provide more information more interestingly it will fail.

The philosophy and the public posture of this network are equally important. The philosophy should be reduced to writing and nailed to the masthead.

File Cabinet No. 1

Drawer 3E

General Correspondence Foster Parents Plan

Date 1947-51

In 1947 Murrow and several other CBS employees adopted 4 children abroad through the Foster Parents Plan. This file contains correspondence with these children. Letters selected for "Noteworthy" are those Murrow wrote to the children. Their letters to him and the others are in the rest of the file. The letters are interesting, especially those from a Chinese boy in Shanghai during the Civil War. Murrow wrote him as the Communists were taking Shanghai. The entire folder is interesting and could be considered noteworthy.

May 22, 1951

Marcelle Meilhac
Child's No. 14350
Folder No. 3659

Dear Marcelle:

It seems such a long time since I have had news of you and I hope that you, Nicole, and your grandparents are in good health.

Spring has come to us here in New York and in the countryside around all the flowers are starting to bloom so that Mrs. Murrow, Casey and I all get away from the city as often as we can. It must be lovely in France now as I know this is just about the prettiest time of year there.

We have all been very busy for the past few months because of a new radio show which we started in December. It is called "Hear It Now" and it is on the radio for an hour on Friday night. We have voices of different people talking on various subjects...some of the people are famous and some are not. We think it makes a very interesting show for our audience and many people have written in to say that they like it. Of course, some have written to say that they do not! I think you would enjoy it, however, and hope that some-day you may have a chance to hear us.

As you have probably heard, we recently had a big parade in New York when General MacArthur came back from Korea. It was very exciting to see the crowds of people lining the streets to see the parade, and others who were in the windows of the buildings looking out and throwing bits of paper. All the paper drifting down looked just like a snowstorm and afterwards pieces of paper stuck in the branches of trees and lay on the street in great piles. Mrs. MacArthur and their son, Arthur, a young boy about your age, also rode in the parade in a car back of the General and, as you can imagine, young Arthur really enjoyed himself.

We were glad to hear from another Foster-Parent that you are doing so well in school. We think of you often and hope you are not working too hard but are getting enough rest. With all our love

Affectionately,

February 12, 1951

Konstantinos Yannopoulos
Child's No. 6111-G
Folder No. 3659

Dear Konstantinos:

It makes me very happy to be one of your foster parents here at Columbia. And since I have read some of your letters to your other parents, I feel as if we know each other already.

Perhaps you would like to know a little bit about me. I broadcast the news every evening, usually from the studios here in New York. Sometimes though, I travel to other parts of the country and even to Europe, to such cities as London and Paris. Last summer I flew to Korea and did some short-wave broadcasting from there. Someday I hope I can come to Greece--wouldn't it be nice if you could join me in doing a short-wave broadcast to the United States! Perhaps when you finish your schooling you would like to do this kind of work, although I understand that you would like to be an army officer like your Father.

I have a little boy named Casey who is younger than you. He is five years old and just started school last year. He is still too young to know what he wants to do when he grows up, but every year at Christmas, he helps me do a broadcast. He is now at the age where he loves to talk, especially on the telephone. And his favorite place is the zoo. The zoo is in the middle of a large park set down between all of the skyscrapers. It is free to everyone, and there are all kinds of animals and birds to see.

February 12, 1951

The following letter [illegible]

Dear Mr. [illegible]

I got your [illegible]
[illegible] was
beautiful,
in his home

You are [illegible]

Well, Konstantinos, I hope you will write to me and tell me all about yourself. Do you have a nickname like Casey? His real name is Charles. Do you have any hobbies and do you enjoy your [illegible]? Please ask me questions too, anything you would like to know about life in America. Meanwhile, keep well. We are all thinking of you and send you our love and fondest wishes.

Affectionately,

Edward R. Murrow
CBS News

Dear Mr. Hensley:

[illegible] very much for your [illegible]
America.

On October 28th, 1940 is the day [illegible]
small, but has an ancient civilization
heart. Well, yesterday [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
to be an official [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

I did not know your [illegible]

Your [illegible] is [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

April 20, 1950

Marcelle Meilhac
Child's No. 14350
Folder No. 3659

Dear Marcelle:

It is quite a long time since I have written to you, and during that time I have covered a lot of territory. At the end of February I flew to England to broadcast from there about the British elections. Mary Murrow and I had hoped to get to France during our stay abroad, but unfortunately, there wasn't time, as I had to broadcast every day. Some of our English friends, whom we hadn't seen in several years, insisted that we visit them and spend all of our leisure time with them, rather than fly to the Continent.

When we got back to the United States, we started to travel again almost immediately, but this time we took Casey along with us; (he is really a little young for European trips, although he flew the Atlantic at one year, when we returned to America to live after the war). First we came to Washington, D. C., which is, as you know, the capital of the country. Then I went on a very exciting trip to the west coast of the United States. Every night I did my program from a different city -- Seattle, Washington; Portland, Oregon; San Francisco and Los Angeles, California. As it is three thousand miles across the country, we were in airplanes most of the time. After the trip, we returned to Washington, D. C., where spring is just arriving now. The beautiful cherry blossoms are in bloom, and Casey is enjoying the park and the zoo. However, we feel as you do - we prefer the country to the city, and are hoping to go to the country very soon.

By the time this reaches you, school should be nearly over for the year; I hope that you and Nicole have done well in your studies. I'm sure that you are a conscientious student, in spite of the fact that you claim to be "obstinate" occasionally. That is something that we all suffer from, and I wouldn't worry too much about it. I hope that you are all well, and that your grandparents are not too tired from their work. I am sure you and Nicole are a great comfort to them.

We all think of you often, and send you our love.

Affectionately,

December 14, 1949

Marcelle Meilhac
Child's No. 14350
Folder No. 3659

Dear Marcelle:

I enjoyed your last letter very much, the one which you wrote in September. By now you must be used to your school routine, and you're probably looking forward to Christmas holidays. Are you going to spend the vacation in Paris? You wrote that you prefer the country because it is quieter. I am inclined to agree with you. Here in New York it is like Paris, honking horns, lots of people rushing along in a great hurry, and no grass and trees. I look forward to a visit in the country, and Casey really loves it, in winter as much as in summer. He is getting big enough now (he's four years old) to enjoy sleigh riding, and he also helps me shovel the snow. He also helps me out every Christmas with my radio broadcast. For the past two years he has talked on the program on Christmas Eve; last year he went Christmas shopping for gifts and we put his remarks on a record and then played the record on the program. He is going to do so again this year, and by now he is beginning to talk like a grown-up person. Last year he had a little difficulty; he bought my gift first, and then discovered that he didn't have enough money for his mother's gift. We helped him out, because we decided he was a little young to know much about budgeting!

We have had a fairly mild winter up to now, with only one little flurry of snow which didn't last very long. It is difficult to find a place for skiing, but the ice-skaters have no problem. Right here in New York, two blocks from Columbia, there is an artificial ice rink which is very lovely. It is lighted at night, and the figure skaters look very graceful as they skate to music. Right behind the skating rink there is a huge Christmas tree, sprayed with silver and decorated with colored lights. It makes one feel gay just to walk by.

I hope you and Nicole are well, and I hope that St. Nicholas will be good to you this year. We are all thinking of you here at Columbia, and wish you and your family a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Affectionately,

Edward R. Murrow
CBS News

Foster Children

November 29, 1949

(17)

TO: Ed. Murrow

FROM: Roslyn B. Glass

The following letter was received from Andrzej Rutkowski:

September, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

Thank you very much for the 3 letters, dated June, which I got a few days ago. Alas, the nice holidays are over. I feel fit and well, so I took up school work with pleasure. We are having a lovely autumn, the days are sunny and warm, apparently, it is a reward for the rainy and cold summer.

Are all my foster parents back from holidays? Had they a good rest and are they pleased with the time they had? Do the birds like the little house built by Mr. Wefing and his son? When shall I have a nice visit from America?

If it isn't too much trouble, could you send us, please, some cocoa, rice and tea? My Granny can't afford to buy them here and we like those things very much. Thank you very much, for the money.

With lots of love and greetings, to every one.

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

My dear Fosters:

First in my letter accept my warm greetings and many remembrances. I thank you my dear ones for the money received, the lard and letters I am so happy over it all, the greatest from your letters.

You write me in one letter that I should write you if I should wish something, yes I wish that according to possibilities that you do not forget me otherwise contentment and nothing else. What you send to me I am always happy over, and it is a great help to our household. On the whole there is nothing new here. The summer has passed and a nice autumn has begun. The trees in the garden have variously colored leaves, fruit is well put away.

I nearly forgot. From the first of October we are to get bread, rolls and all from flour, cream of wheat, barley on the free market. On the market being free we are richer with meat and lard and the prices went down a lot.

I go to school regularly and in an evening course I am learning English. I shall be very glad if I shall be able to write in your native tongue. Aunt is just now in Luhacovice. She is curing her bronchial tubes. She is well and it is lovely now. Also uncle and she send many greetings.

In ending my letter I greet you all my dear ones and wish you pleasant autumn and look again forward to a greeting from you.

Kisses to all from me across the whole ocean.

Your,

KAREL BEJDO

20th of September 1949

Dear Mr. George D. Crothers:

I have just received your letter from the Paris Office with its translation. I have read it with great pleasure as usual when I receive letters from you.

I was in Paris to spend Easter Holiday but I do not like too much the town. There is too much noise too much cars, and too much bus. I prefer the country life is quieter.

Since the war, Paris as the other towns of France have changed of looking. During the night there is more light. In our shops merchandise are more abundant and the revictualling is better.

I shall be happy to make your acquaintances and this of your boys. They must be blond with bleu eyes as all American boys. Unhappily we no can be understood for we speak two different languages. Your boys should have to learn French and me English as soon as I go on with my Studies Certificate.

My young sister is well just as me. As the weather is fine she is always at the country where she is browned by sun and she play very well.

My grandparents send to you our best love and I, my big kisses.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

10th of October 1949

Dear Mr. George E. Herman:

Your letter of Month of August is just coming to me today from the foster parents office of Paris, and I have had the great pleasure to find enclosed with it an allowance from you to use as I shall like.

Thank you of all my heart for your great kindness and could buy something which will make me happy. Since a long time candies are my dream I shall buy 125 gr and each time I shall eat one I could think to you. I shall buy otherthings. There were so much of whose I dream.

I was very happy to read your letter in French, you are writing French very well and I understood very well. My teacher told me that the good French is this which explains what we want to say.

I am at school now since the beginning of the month. I graduate with my studies and it is more difficult. I am sure that with attention and well working and will, I shall finish my studies like a good pupil. I thank you and from all the family for your wishes to become a good dressmaker. For me I must pass through with my studies certificate may be when I shall be 14th years old and in spite of it I shall not be very clever. I could not go on with my studies because my grandparents want that we learnt a hand work (job). I shall go in a professional school and after I shall be able to go in a workshop of sewing to practice and I shall receive wages. My sister Nicole I hope will do the same.

We have had a beautiful summer, almost without rain. An awful dryness. Fields were burnt by the sun. Since the first days of September it was raining an storming and now fields are as green as in spring. After a so warm summer I fear the winter be rigourous. It seems often these two contrasts come. My grandparents thank you for your kindness and of the generosity of all my foster parents for me and they send to you their best thoughts. If you are in France during Christmas holiday or Easter holiday and if I can be informed about it I shall go to Paris to have the great pleasure to make your acquaintance. I am kissing you of all my heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

1st of October 1949

Dear Mr. Larry Lesueur:

I received and I read your letter of the 22nd of August with a great pleasure.

Unfortunately for me too the summer time holiday is ending. I must come back to school on the 3rd of October but I have had good holiday since the 13th of July until the end of September.

For me, holidays are just not going to school because I stay in my little town. To go to Paris is not good for health we have no good air in Paris specially during the warmth. Where I am living it is the country and I spent my holiday to make trips with some school camarades to go to swim in the river, to read books I lent at the library, to knit, to help my granny to clean the house and to make some sewing. Time is spending very fast and it is once again the beginning of term.

I have not played tennis or gold. I did not know about them and I never saw to play that sport. But if I knew about this sport I shall do it during the winter to make me warm, in summer it is too warm.

I am hoping that you are in good health and that you have the possibility to work now.

Good kisses from,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

1st October 1949

Dear Mr. Bill Bratter:

I did not know you had two signatures. You sign your letter of the 30th of June Bill and your first letter was signed William? You have may be two nick-name, but I see that you are the same person.

I thank you very much for all.

We have had a warm summer but not so warm than in New York? And now as we are in autumn it is still warm but dawn and evening are cooly.

You will be in holiday when in France children will be at school? Except for shooting men. At the country where I am living we can hear rifle shots around in the wood.

The beginning of the term is on the 3rd of October. It is a new scholary year which beginning and studies will be harder but I am not effraid. I shall do my best to go on with my studies.

Thanks and kisses from your God Daughter.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

1st October 1949

Dear Mrs. Ann Maulsby:

I have read with pleasure and interest your letter of the 22nd of June.

I have had a bad opinion about siamese cats because when I see a cat I pat it. Once I looked at the front door of a house a siamese cat and I have had the idea to pat it and it scratches me. Yours must be tame and they do not scratch, when somebody is patting them. Your cats must do what little dogs are doing in France, they catch the balls we are throwing and they bring them back with their teeth.

The Indian names that you cite, I could not pronounce them, so difficult to say they are. It is true that it is indispensable to be able to have the good pronounciation. Of course, the rest in an island must be agreeable I have never seen island or sea, but in reading I imagine that must be very beautiful. If one day I am lucky to have the possibility to go in America I should like specially to see the skyscrapers of New York. It must be too the occasion to see Ocean with whales, squales, and very much big and curious fishes living in. In France too in several districts french language has a different accent, but we can understand I suppose it is because the land of France is little comparatively with America. I see on the map these two lands, what a difference of surface.

I could be in professional school when I shall pass my studies certificate. At the professional school we are learning several things specially a special job. And on the evening, after the class I shall try to learn English because it is an universal language and specially I shall be so please to understand your letters in the original writing.

I try to read what do you write because there is some kind of worlds who seem French. I shall never learn German this language is so bad for me I have too much bad souvenirs. For the sewing, I sew but I do not know to cut. In an other hand I knit very well and I mend rather well. I mend socks and stockings and certainly I know to put button and make buttonhole. I shall know do them better when I should be away from the school.

I am sending you and to Mr. Maulsby all my gratitude.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

1st October 1949

Dear Miss Dee Tucker:

I am happy to make your acquaintance, because as you tell me so gently, you are my God Mother. I am please to hear you speaking about me like that. And I can tell you I have read your letter with a great pleasure.

I go on with my studies at the country where the summer is very well and good. Life is very calm. When I go to Paris or to Limoges, this big towns are very interesting for me because they are nosing. I am happy to see the beautiful things in these big towns but when I come back to school I prefer the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ calm of the country.

In France the weather is so warm that the fields were quite burnt by the sun. During the summer it has not rained but since the first of September there was storms and big rains. After this rain the country is become green and the cattle is finding food now.

I see at the country beautiful cottages with bloomy gardens. When I shall see a lady sat on the shadow of the trees of a bloomy garden I shall think to you, my dear God Mother to who I am sending my good kisses.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

October 1949

Dear Members of the Columbia:

As each month, my grandparents have received your monthly allowance from your Paris office and I thank you for it very much, and of my heart.

These last days, my grandmother says she want buy me a dress. I want it pretty, but granny prefer it simple and solid. It is more practice if it is warm to spend the next winter.

We have had some storms and the weather is a little more cold. The grass is green and the cattle is happy of it. During all the summer, grass was burnt and dry it was not too good for the animals.

On the 3rd of October is the beginning of class. The end of holiday and of laziness. Now the time is to work and seriously. I shall inform you about my studies.

I am sending to you big kisses from

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Warsaw, October, 1949

Dear Michael (Hudson):

I am always very glad to get letters from you all and today my joy was great when I had your first letter. You can't imagine how glad I am that a colleague from America corresponds with me. I hope that from now on we will write often to each other.

I suppose that your father told you that I have a 9 year old brother. We attend the same school, but we are not in the same grade, naturally. I don't know how many school mates we have. In my class room there are 51 pupils. We are a bit cramped, but that can't be helped — our town, was badly damaged by the Germans. I have very nice school mates, sometimes we quarrel and even fight, but a moment after we are very good friends. We give nick names to each other. All our class takes great interest in sports. We like best, football matches. But don't think that those interests interfere with our school work. Please, Michael, convey my thanks to all who have written me. Hearty greetings to your parents and: Miss Dee Tucker, Mr. Joe Wershba, John Derr, Lyman Bryson, Sam Abelow, Bill Bratter and all my dear foster parents.

With love.

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

1st of October 1949

Dear Mr. Sam Abelow:

The Foster Parents Office has sent to me your letter with its translation in French. I thank you for this kind letter.

At school I draw a little I like it. At my grandparents home there is some pictures made by friends. One is painting as a hobby the other is a lady and is an artist. She makes expositions in galeries and I hear she had made expositions in America where she had a good success. Her name is Berthe Martinie and she is very known in France she is painting and scarving.

My holiday were spent as the other years. Where I am at the country and during holiday I have made trip with some friends in the wood and across the fields and often I swam.

Me too I like bicycle and when a friend want give me it for some kilometers I think it a good sport for legs and arms.

I have read during my holiday and knitted too, and I have helped my grammy for cleaning our house and I have mended.

Holiday are almost finished and I come back to school on the 1st of October. One more year finished and I am getting old I have had 13 years old on the 25th of August and as I am tall and big for my age people calls me miss and I am furious about them, I prefer they call me just by my name Marcelle.

I am kissing you of all my x heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Mr. Heller:

I have received your kind letter that I have read with a great pleasure as these I receive from my foster parents.

Holiday are always agreeable for a school girl. It is a changement with the monotony of the school and we are happy to put away books and notebooks.

My holiday are not extraordinary. I stay where I am because it is the country and there is good air better than in Paris.

The short holiday of Christmas and of Easter I spend them at Paris.

During holiday I have had trips. I know all around but I like walk each year around this place and I discover each time marvelous sights. As I am growing up I am more able to notice each thing in the nature. It is very warm during this summer, more than precedent summers but I support warmth ver well.

Our town is surrounded by woods. There were two river and I had the possibility to swim during the warmth.

During the summer the rain is fallen so little except since the 1st of September and the weather is just cooly.

This summer much French and foreign traveller have been at the sea side, as Deauville, Biarritz, as I heard about it. Personnally I have never been to the sea side. It is true that I am still young. I am just 13 years old and I should have the time to visit it.

I feel very good during the summer I am O.K. I just do not like winter.

I am kissing you affectionately.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

1st of October 1949

Dear Mr. Davidson Taylor:

I received from your Paris Office your letter with its French translation, but it gives me as from Mr. Davidson Payle I think it an error of name because the sigining is written by hand and the foster parents plan cannot read it.

If one day you can come to France during Easter holiday or summer holiday and if I can be informed, I shall do my possibile to go to Paris to see you and make your amquantance.

I have already seen Americans, but they were soldiers, after Liberation of France. It was an American soldiers train which was staying in a little place where I live. Soldiers thrown cigarettes and chocolates to each people which were talking it on the ground.

Some ladies were gone up in the wagons to kiss soldiers and some other shaken their hands. It was a pretty shaw.

Summer is spent very well but warmer than the last. At this time it is cooler and as it is raining some more since September, country is green as at spring.

My granny thinks the life is better in France since one year. We find everything except that is more expensive than before.

Good kisses from your God daughter.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

20th of September 1949

Dear Mr. Joe Wershba:

I have received your letter of the 5th of July that I have read with pleasure.

I know you have a very hot weather in America. In France too, the weather has never been so warm. There is no rain at all until the end of August and the earth is so dry that cows and horses did not find any grass to eat, except burnt. I like warmth but just when it is not too warm. I did not notice if in France when cows and horses are too warm, have the laziness to get away flies with their tails, but when I look at one bothered by flies I throw them away with my hand. Of course la Haute Vienne is the land of cattle, oxen, sheep, and pigs. Their flesh is reputed for its good quality. There is a great deal of farms which are doing culture of the ground and rearing of cattle. When I have the possibility to pass through a farm I try to see little pigs so kind with their pink colour.

Soon is the beginning of term on the 3rd of October. Each year I change of class and the program is more difficult so I shall be attentive to learn my lessons to be with the good pupils.

It is very courageous from you to have been in Alaska and to the North Ple. I think I should have been iced with 77 degrees below zero. When there is 8 or 10 degrees below zero I am just like an iceberg and I run near the fire.

I am kissing you of all my hear.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

October 10, 1949

Chen Tse-Yuan
Child's No. C121
Folder No. 3659

Dear Chen Tse-Yuan:

I have just read your letter of June 6th to all of us here at Columbia. It was interesting to hear your reaction on Shanghai now that the fighting is over. I am glad to know that you are well and that your schooling is continuing this Fall. You must be exceedingly busy with extra-curricular activities, such as your publicity work. It is good to know that production is going to increase, and that you have had a part in bringing it about.

We here are enjoying what we call Indian summer. At the end of the summer months it became quite cold, but this week it has been hot, about 86 degrees Fahrenheit, which is unseasonable. I don't know why we call it Indian summer, but somehow we always have a hot spell sometime in the Autumn.

I am now back at Columbia doing five broadcasts a week, after a pleasant summer in the country. I spent most of my vacation in northern New York with my family, playing golf, fishing, and just relaxing. My small son, Casey, whom I mentioned in my last letter, gave me a great deal of pleasure; he has grown up a lot, is learning to swim, and now has a pet dog called "Spot". You, too, as my foster son, give me pleasure when you write and tell us all of your excellent work in school, as well as your alert observations on economic problems in your country. You may be surprised to know that I quoted from one of your letters on my broadcast, when I was trying to describe conditions in China. Your letter seemed to express the situation with

greater clarity than I could command. Your "eye-witness" reports of the changes in Shanghai were helpful to me.

I imagine that by this time you're looking forward to New Year's Day, which I hope will be a festive occasion for you this year. I sincerely wish you a very happy new year and hope that all will go well with you. We think of you often and send you our fondest regards.

Affectionately,

Edward R. Murrow
CBS News

August 31, 1949

Karel Bejdo
Child's No. 4794
Folder No. 3659

Dear Karel:

I have read with great pleasure your recent letter, in which you told of your three week vacation in the Tatra mountains. You sounded very enthusiastic, and I'm sure you must have had a great deal of fun mountain climbing and exploring. I, too, just returned from my holiday, feeling rested and ready to start another year of news broadcasting. I spent most of my summer with my family in the country, about 100 miles north of New York City. We live on top of a hill from which you can get a beautiful view of the surrounding countryside. There is a lake nearby, where we can swim and fish; my son Casey wades in the shallow water as he is not yet old enough to swim. During my vacation, I took a plane trip to the west coast of the United States, a distance of about three thousand miles. While I was there, I visited members of my family and went fishing, enjoying all the activities which I used to like when I was a boy and lived in the West. The country there is very lovely, with such mountains as Mt. Rainier and Mt. Hood, where there is snow twelve months of the year and the skiing conditions are always good. The weather is much the same as you described in your letter, dry, hot in the daytime and very cool at night. In the wintertime it may get as cold as 30 degrees below zero, but it doesn't seem too cold because of the clear, dry climate.

Now that the summer is nearly over, we are looking forward to the football season. Do you play football at school? Here it's a very popular sport, particularly in our colleges, where the

competition is very keen. The fans fill the stadium, waving banners bearing the name of the school which they hope will win. We find it very exciting. I wish I could take you along to a game, because I know you would find it fun.

I hope that everything is well with you and that you are enjoying school. If there is anything you want especially, please let me know.

Your namesake, my Charles, sends his love.

Affectionately,

Edward R. Murrow

July 22, 1949

Andrzej Rutkowski
Child's No. 10209
Folder No. 3659

Dear Andrzej:

By this time you must be on your vacation from school. I have just started on mine, too, and it's a grand feeling not to have to write news broadcasts every day. I have been in the country with my wife and my little boy Casey, who is three years old. We live in a town called Pawling, New York. It's quite small, so that I don't know if you could find it on the map. It's good farm country, with rolling hills and there's a very pretty lake nearby, where we can swim. I like to fish, too, and when Casey is a little older he is going to join me. Right now, the fishing rod is bigger than he is, and he prefers to wade or diggin the sand. I hope it isn't as hot in Poland as it is here. We have had temperatures over 90 degrees and a great deal of humidity for several weeks now, and I feel particularly sorry for the workmen who are constructing a building across the street from my office here at CBS. You would enjoy watching them; they're building an office building twenty-five stories high. It's of steel construction, and the men have put up the framework in just a few weeks. They wear helmets because of the sun and heat and also, I think, because of the noise of the riveting, but they use no safety devices at all. It's amazing to see them walk along narrow steel beams twenty floors above the street without holding on to anything...they even eat lunch in these precarious positions and move about as if they were safe on the ground. One has to be surefooted to do that kind of work.

I hope you're enjoying your summer holiday,

and that all is well with you and your family.

Affectionately,

Edward R. Murrow
CBS Public Affairs

July 18, 1949

Ed Minutes 19

From: Roslyn Glass

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

June 1, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

Like every month I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the money order which I receive regularly from the Foster Parent's Plan in Paris. I also want to thank you so very much for the parcel, the contents of which made me so happy. It contained: milk, sliced bacon, candy, stockings, underwear, a skirt, assorted nuts, etc.

Furthermore the Foster Parent's Plan gave me 2 letters with their translations into French from Mr. Douglas Edwards from the 15th of April and another letter from Mr. Bulu (?) both gentlemen members of the Foster Parents Plan. I thank both of them very heartily for their very kind letters, I shall answer them. To Mr. Edwards I say: I am glad that you know France. This year we are not spoiled with too much sun and nice weather, only during the Easter week it was wonderful and warm, but since the 1st of May it is fresh and too cool for the season and the sun is sulking. Let us hope that beginning June it will be nice and warm again, so that we can enjoy a real summer. I did not know television, but when I was in Paris for Easter I had the opportunity to see it, at a salesman for the T.S.F. It interested me so very much, and all this in a big crowd showered with confetti and paper strips. I would appreciate other opportunities to see it again, it is a wonderful invention. I am not astonished that the little family of Mr. Edwards is so very much interested in Punch and Judy shows shown by television. What I would like most to see in New York are the buildings. The thought to see hundreds of buildings higher than the Tour Eiffel in Paris gives me the creeps.

That must be a strange spectacle. I am in very good health and hope that it is the same with all my foster parents and their families. I have the same joy to read the letter of my other foster parent, whose signature I could not read, and the foster parents plan in Paris could not either. I am back in school after the Easter vacations, and I am awaiting the summer vacations with impatience. They will begin on the 14th of July. Is there anything nicer than to lay aside for 2 months and ½ the books and school notebooks, thinking only of walks in the fields or in the woods, to go bathing in the Taurion and to rest after that under the burning sun? Although the weather is not very nice as yet the grass in the country and the leaves of the trees are nicely green. There are flowers in abundance, many roses and other well perfumed flowers. As you explain to me the Easter Parade in the USA, it resembles a carnival during mid-Lent in France. It seems that in 1914, I am born in 1936 only, the carnival in France was very beautiful, so many with flowers decorated carriages, queens, costumes, masks,

and all that accompanied by many people and music and now the carnival in France is very unimportant, there are a few masks, some costumes, that is all. France is so sad, she lost her taset for joy. Even on Easter one is no more gay in France. One sees the show-windows cakes, Easter eggs, delicious chocolate and many candy and cookies. On the 2 holidays, I went with my grandparents and my little sister to the Park Monceau and to the Luxembourg, to get a little pure air.

I enjoyed it very much to play ball with my sister, or with the rope, etc. We did not leave Paris to go to the country for the good country air, the trips are much too expensive.

Affectionate kisses for all my dear foster parents to whom I wish lots of happiness and to their families too.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

TO: Ed Spencer - 17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

April 16, 1949

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

January 30, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the money order which you were so kind to send me.

The New Year's vacations are over, I am back in school since the 3rd of January, and I took up my studies again with lots of courage, hoping that at the rating I shall be one of the first pupils. We will study several subjects, particularly the French grammar, universal history, mathematics, geography and more literature which will take quite a lot of time. We have a very mild winter, had no snow as yet, but it could be colder in spring.

I always think of my dear benefactors in America and I send each one of them an affectionate kiss.

Marcelle Meilhac

June 7, 1949

Marcelle Meilhac
Child's No. 14350
Folder No. 3659

Dear Marcelle:

I enjoyed your letter to me of some months ago; it's now time for me to bring you up to date about things here.

The weather is now warm and sunny; this week it was 80 degrees, and I found it particularly warm as I took a trip to the South. The Navy called for me one morning, and took me in a plane to the coast of Florida, which is at the southern tip of the United States. The plane landed on an aircraft carrier; from the air, it looks as if you are trying to land on a spot as large as a handkerchief. However, the pilot was very expert, and we had no difficulty at all. I was on the ship for two days as it cruised along the coast in the Gulf of Mexico (I imagine you will have to consult a map to find out where I was). It was a very exciting experience, although it was quite hot.

My son Casey, whom I wrote you about before, is getting to be quite a big boy by now. He has had all of his pretty blond curls cut off, and looks quite handsome. He is as fair and blue-eyed as I am dark and brown-eyed, but he already knows all about microphones. A few months ago he had his tonsils cut, and since then has spent a lot of time in the country, getting back his rosy cheeks. Now that summer is coming, I will be able to spend more time with him. My radio broadcast ceases during the months of July and August, and I hope that the family will have a good holiday together in the country.

Before I go off the air for the summer, I may fly to France for a quick trip to see the Foreign Ministers' Conference, but, as you must realize, a person in my business is never sure of anything. We must always wait until the last minute and see how the news picture looks as a whole.

By now, I imagine you are having your summer holiday. How is your sister Nicole? She is probably glad not to have to study for a while. I wouldn't blame her a bit!

I hope that you will have a very pleasant summer, and I send you greetings from your American Foster Parents, who are all thinking of you. Please write us again soon.

Affectionately,

Edward R. Murrow

CBS News

May 2nd, 1949

Chen Tse-Yuen
Child's No. C121
Folder No. 3659

Dear Chen Tse-Yuen:

I have just read your latest letter, which you wrote nearly two months ago. In it you described the the arrival of peach and plum blossoms in Shanghai, and also the arrival of pill-boxes around your school. Naturally, we are all worried about your welfare. Now that the Civil War has reached Shanghai, we all feel badly that we can do nothing to help you - we can only worry about your safety and that of your schoolmates. I have been talking to our Columbia correspondent in Shanghai on the long-distance telephone, and only wish that I could have spoken to you,too. In the midst of the crisis, it must be more difficult than ever to find food and to keep up with your schoolwork.

Since this is my first letter to you, maybe I ought to tell you a little about myself. I am on the radio every evening when I report the news. I usually broadcast from the Columbia studios, but some times I travel around to cover news stories and broadcast from such places as Italy, Paris, or other cities in the world. I am anxious some day to come to China; then maybe you could join me when we do a broadcast short-wave to the United States. As a student of engineering, you probably know more about the technical side of radio broadcasting than I do.

I live in New York City; you've seen pictures of it I know. I don't live in one of those skyscrapers though, but in a house with a little garden in back. I

have a young son, who is three years old and is named Casey. He is now at the age when he loves to talk, especially on the telephone. His favorite place is the zoo. The zoo is in the middle of a large park set down between all of the skyscrapers. It is free to everyone, and there are all kinds of animals and birds, including a talking bird which carries on a conversation with Casey.

If there is anything you would like me to send you, please let me know. I don't know if packages will be getting through to Shanghai now, but if there is a chance that you will receive something addressed to you, I'd be glad to send you one. Did you ever receive the harmonica? I hope so.

Keep well; we are all hoping that you are safe and able to continue your schoolwork. We send you our fondest wishes, and remind you that we are thinking of you.

Affectionately,

Edward R. Murrow

CBS News

March 21, 19[illegible]

Karel Bejdo
Child's No. 4794
Folder No. 3659

Dear Karel:

I have read your letters to your other Foster Parents here at the Columbia Broadcasting System, and so I feel that I already know you well. And I hope that by now you are recovered from your operation for appendicitis and that you didn't mind being in the hospital too much. Did you have to miss many days of school? Of course, sometimes when you're sick in bed, you can find lots of interesting things to do - I understand that you like to draw, and that's a good hobby to have. It can keep you busy when you aren't allowed to move around much.

My job here is that of news broadcaster. Every evening I report the news on my own program, which is the kind of work I like best. For many years, I lived in London, and of course visited Czechoslovakia a great deal. One of my dear friends was Mr. Jan Masaryk, who would sometimes appear as a guest on my radio broadcasts in London.

Is Kaja your nickname - is it the diminutive of Karel? In English, you know, Karel is Charles, and that is the name of my son, who is three years old. Of course we have the same habit - we never call him Charles, but Casey, instead! So now I have two children with the same name. Of course, my little boy is not yet in school. But he has gotten very grown up lately; he even had all of his blond baby curls cut off, and looks like a big boy now.

E. R. Murrow

Karel Bejdo
Child's No. 4794
Folder No. 3659

Well, Kaja, I hope that you will have a very pleasant Easter. Do you search for colored Easter eggs the way the children here do? They also like to find a little white Easter rabbit, although it is hard for children who live in the city to take care of a rabbit. I send you my very best wishes and those of your other Foster Parents at CRS. Please write to us again soon.

Affectionately,

February 7, 1949

Andrzej Rutkowski
Child's No. 10209
Folder No. 3659

Dear Andrzej:

I am very glad to be one of your Foster Parents here at the Columbia Broadcasting System. As you must know, we have broadcast news on the radio, and most of us visited your country during the war. I was in England for many years, and often visited Warsaw, a wonderful city. I understand that you are living there now, with your Granny and your younger brother. As the man of the family, I suppose you are helping your brother with his lessons, and maybe you're teaching him how to make mechanical toys. I have heard that you are especially good at that, and I imagine that you would enjoy visiting our broadcasting studio here. We have all kinds of radios and microphones which are difficult to put together, but which make it possible for us to broadcast all over the world. Maybe when you get finished with schooling you will be interested in doing that kind of work.

Meanwhile I am hoping to hear from you. Please write and tell me about yourself and your brother, and ask me any questions you want - I will try to tell you about life in America. Meanwhile, keep well; we are all thinking of you and hoping that all will go well with you.

Affectionately,

LETTER WRITING SCHEDULE Ed Symmons - 19
1949

PARENT	CHILD'S NAME	DURING WEEK BEGINNING
Sam Abelow	Marcelle Meilhac	June 19
	Andrzej Rutkowski	July 31
	Karel Bejdo	September 11
	Chen Tse-Yuen	October 23
	Marcelle Meilhac	December 4
Ruth Ashton	Andrzej Rutkowski	June 19
	Karel Bejdo	July 31
	Chen Tse-Yuen	September 11
	Marcelle Meilhac	October 23
	Andrzej Rutkowski	December 4
Red Barber	Karel Bejdo	June 19
	Chen Tse-Yuen	July 31
	Marcelle Meilhac	September 11
	Andrzej Rutkowski	October 23
	Karel Bejdo	December 4
Lee Bland	Chen Tse-Yuen	June 19
	Marcelle Meilhac	July 31
	Andrzej Rutkowski	September 11
	Karel Bejdo	October 23
	Chen Tse-Yuen	December 4
William Bratter	Marcelle Meilhac	June 26
	Andrzej Rutkowski	August 7
	Karel Bejdo	September 18
	Chen Tse-Yuen	October 30
	Marcelle Meilhac	December 11
Lyman Bryson	Andrzej Rutkowski	June 26
	Karel Bejdo	August 7
	Chen Tse-Yuen	September 18
	Marcelle Meilhac	October 30
	Andrzej Rutkowski	December 11
Ned Calmer	Karel Bejdo	June 26
	Chen Tse-Yuen	August 7
	Marcelle Meilhac	September 18
	Andrzej Rutkowski	October 30
	Karel Bejdo	December 11
Ted Church	Chen Tse-Yuen	June 26
	Marcelle Meilhac	August 7
	Andrzej Rutkowski	September 18
	Karel Bejdo	October 30
	Chen Tse-Yuen	December 11

George Crothers	Marcelle Meilhac	July 3
	Andrzej Rutkowski	August 14
	Karel Bejdo	September 25
	Chen Tse-Yuen	November 6
	Marcelle Meilhac	December 18
John Derr	Andrzej Rutkowski	July 3
	Karel Bejdo	August 14
	Chen Tse-Yuen	September 25
	Marcelle Meilhac	November 6
	Andrzej Rutkowski	December 18
Doug Edwards	Karel Bejdo	July 3
	Chen Tse-Yuen	August 14
	Marcelle Meilhac	September 25
	Andrzej Rutkowski	November 6
	Karel Bejdo	December 18
Bob Heller	Chen Tse-Yuen	July 3
	Marcelle Meilhac	August 14
	Andrzej Rutkowski	September 25
	Karel Bejdo	November 6
	Chen Tse-Yuen	December 18
George Herman	Marcelle Meilhac	July 10
	Andrzej Rutkowski	August 21
	Karel Bejdo	October 2
	Chen Tse-Yuen	November 13
	Marcelle Meilhac	December 25
Quincy Howe	Andrzej Rutkowski	July 10
	Karel Bejdo	August 21
	Chen Tse-Yuen	October 2
	Marcelle Meilhac	November 13
	Andrzej Rutkowski	December 25
Bob Hudson	Karel Bejdo	July 10
	Chen Tse-Yuen	August 21
	Marcelle Meilhac	October 2
	Andrzej Rutkowski	November 13
	Karel Bejdo	December 25
Larry Lesueur	Chen Tse-Yuen	July 10
	Marcelle Meilhac	August 21
	Andrzej Rutkowski	October 2
	Karel Bejdo	November 13
	Chen Tse-Yuen	December 25
Jerry Mauldsby	Marcelle Meilhac	July 17
	Andrzej Rutkowski	August 28
	Karel Bejdo	October 9
	Chen Tse-Yuen	November 20
Ed Murrow	Andrzej Rutkowski	July 17
	Karel Bejdo	August 28
	Chen Tse-Yuen	October 9
	Marcelle Meilhac	November 20

Bob Ray	Karel Bejdo	July 17
	Chen Tse-Yuen	August 28
	Marcelle Meilhac	October 9
	Andrzej Rutkowski	November 20
Helen Sicoussat	Chen Tse-Yuen	July 17
	Marcelle Meilhac	August 28
	Andrzej Rutkowski	October 9
	Karel Bejdo	November 20
Dave Taylor	Marcelle Meilhac	July 24
	Andrzej Rutkowski	September 4
	Karel Bejdo	October 16
	Chen Tse-Yuen	November 27
Dee Tucker	Andrzej Rutkowski	July 24
	Karel Bejdo	September 4
	Chen Tse-Yuen	October 16
	Marcelle Meilhac	November 27
Henry Wefing	Karel Bejdo	July 24
	Chen Tse-Yuen	September 4
	Marcelle Meilhac	October 15
	Andrzej Rutkowski	November 27
Joe Wershba	Chen Tse-Yuen	July 24
	Marcelle Meilhac	September 4
	Andrzej Rutkowski	October 15
	Karel Bejdo	November 27

April 27, 1948

Dear Marcelle:

I, as one of your "adopted fathers" was very happy to get your letter. I am glad to know that you are doing so well at school; the Sisters and your grandparents must be very proud of you!

I suppose most people would like to hurry their school years, so they can get out into the world; and then, most of us look back at our school days with affection. Here in America, we have a large number of schools organized by religious orders, but most children attend "public school", which is free to every child and where boys and girls study together.

I was glad to hear of your interest in couture. France is noted for her fine dress designers, and maybe one day you will be among them.

Two weeks ago, I spent one day in Paris, on my way to Italy to report the elections, and I regret that I could not stay longer and perhaps meet you. Maybe my next trip to Europe will be more liesurely and will permit me time to meet and know you.

It makes me very happy to have gained a daughter; I have a son who is only two years old. His name is Casey, and right now he is interested in the Zoo, which is in Central Park, a large park right in the midst of all the skyscrapers.

Please [illegible] again soon, and tell me more about your life in school.

I will look forward to hearing from you again.

Affectionately,

Edward R. Murrow

CBS Public Affairs Staff

No. 14550
Folder No. 3659

February 11, 1948

To: Ed Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

Here are the case histories of our four War children. Please read them.

I would like for us all to have a picture of each kid, but there is a small expense involved. The CBS Photographic Department will make copies of the snapshot we have of each child for 15 cents apiece -- 60 cents for a set of four. If you will send me 60 cents I'll have a set run off for you,-- provided that I receive your order by Thursday, February 19, on which day I shall close the books. -sent 2/18

And speaking of money. . . .

Eight of you have not sent me your February subscription that was due on January 25. Remember? -- On the other hand, one of you is paid up through April, one through June, another through October -- and a fourth one for the full year. Payments for a long period simplify the bookkeeping.

We have to get down to letter-writing--a serious responsibility. As the Foster Parents people point out, it's bad for a youngster not to receive mail when others around him are getting letters. I am attaching a letter-writing schedule for the next eight weeks (it came out of a hat) and I hope nobody has to be reminded when his date to write rolls around. Write your letters in English and send them to me for putting into channels. It will naturally be some time before we have replies -- which will be duplicated and distributed -- but we must keep our end up.

Each letter must bear the Child's Number and the Folder Number. These appear at the bottom of the case histories. Below your signature please write "CBS Public Affairs Staff" -- the designation of our corporate parenthood. It will be up to those of us writing the first letters (during the week ending February 21) to explain something about the group and that letters from the others will follow.

I shall be glad to forward any gifts that you have for the children. (You will notice foot sizes attached to two of the histories.) Clothes, toys, books -- anything goes. We can probably all put our hands on outgrown clothing in good condition that can fit these kids out with pretty decent wardrobes.

THREE THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Let me know if you want pictures.

2. Write your letters on time.

3. Pay me.

Jerry

LETTER WRITING SCHEDULE

PARENT	CHILD'S NAME	DURING WEEK ENDING:
Sam Abelow	Andrzej Hsu Chua	March 13 April 14
Ruth Ashton	Andrzej Hsu Chua	February 28 April 3
Red Barber	Marcelle Andrzej	March 16 April 10
Lee Bland	Hsu Chua Karel	February 21 March 27
Lyman Bryson	Hsu Chua Karel	March 13 April 17
Ned Calmer	Marcelle Andrzej	February 21 March 27
Ted Church	Karel Marcelle	March 13 April 17
George Crothers	Marcelle Andrzej	February 28 April 3
Doug Edwards	Karel Marcelle	February 21 March 27
Bob Heller	Hsu Chua Karel	February 28 April 3
Frank Hill	Marcelle Andrzej	March 13 April 17
Quincy Howe	Karel Marcelle	February 28 April 3
Bob Hudson	Andrzej Hsu Chua	March 20 April 24
Larry Lesueur	Karel Marcelle	March 6 April 10
Leon Levine	Hsu Chua Karel	March 20 April 24
Jerry Maulsby	Andrzej Hsu Chua	February 21 March 27
Ed Murrow	Karel Marcelle	March 20 April 24
Dave Taylor	Andrzej Hsu Chua	March 6 April 10
Dee Tucker	Hsu Chua Karel	March 6 April 10
Joe Wershba	Marcelle Andrzej	March 20 April 24

H S U C H U A

13 Years Old
Born February 3, 1935
Nationality - Chinese

Because of the dreadful conditions in China and the very high mortality rate only children with a chance of survival can be selected for help in the PLAN.

"The financial condition of this little girl's family was terrible when her parents were alive and both of them died of starvation. So this child is simply without family and penniless. Before the war broke out, the parents were laborers. With their scanty income they lived without much difficulty.

When the War of Resistance began, a general depression followed, factories closed down, and as a consequence, they lost their job. Since then a very hard and terrific time came upon them. Her parents tried their best to find a job but failed. Finally they died of starvation on the wayside. The girl was picked up by her relative and sent to the Nursery as soon as it was established. She was not educated before so she is studying the first grade lessons.

She is interested in educational work. Her character is strong and straight and she has a special liking for reading books. She is now learning craft and is skilled in making new-style linen shoes." Hsu Chua weighs 65 pounds.

This history has been translated from Chinese, and as in the case of most other Chinese histories, it is pathetic in understatement. The children have been dressed up in clothing sent from America. They would look much more pathetic in their rags, but it is felt that for the dignity of the child he should look nice when having a photo taken.

Child's No. C 127
Folder No. 3659

KB

KAREL BEJDO

11 Years Old
Born September 25, 1936
Nationality — Czech

Karel is 11 years old, but he is small for his age. The fact that he is under-size should come as no surprise in light of the food deficiencies which scourged the children of Europe all through the war years. In recent years starvation has been only partially alleviated. Karel is one of the thirty million weary, ragged, stunted boys and girls on the Continent who are dependent on outside aid for life and strength.

Karel's parents died when the child was only two and a half years old. The father was shot by the Gestapo in Praha, and the mother was executed in Berlin. During the war the little boy learned the meaning of unrelieved hunger, gnawing cold, and constant physical exhaustion. Peace brought some relief, but the aunt who has taken care of him since his parents were killed is finding it more and more difficult to provide Karel with the care his growing body demands.

The next few years are critical ones for him, since the scars of prolonged malnutrition will either be erased now or leave an indelible mark on him. Prices are high and life is precarious. Food is scarce and will remain so for a long time, since Czechoslovakia has had no rain from May to November. The fields are picked clean and the situation is critical, with famine casting a long shadow across the land and threatening the health and well-being of all the children. With PLAN aid, however, Karel will continue to receive adequate food and clothing to give him a chance for a strong, healthy adulthood.

He is an active, helpful little boy, a good child, and a hard-working pupil in his elementary school class. He likes to draw and he is also a stamp collector. At present he thinks he would like to be a clerk, and he hopes to have the opportunity to study shorthand and typing. Brown-haired, with black eyes, he is a most worthwhile child and deserves your interest and personal encouragement.

Child's No. 4794
Folder No. 3659

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

10 Years Old
Born September 9, 1937
Nationality -- Polish

There is a world of eloquent words in the baffled look in Andrzej's eyes, in the bitter, pinched line of his mouth, and in his frail, thin, bony body. His grandmother writes this story about him from Warsaw: --

He is the son of Stanislaw and Anna Terpilowska Rutkowski. Both his parents were veterinarians. When the war broke out in 1939, the father was mobilized and sent to the front, where he was taken prisoner. Eventually he managed to return home, but his war experiences had ruined his health. The family had lost everything in the siege and bombardment of Warsaw, and there was no money left with which to obtain treatment for the ailing man. In the summer of 1944 he died of tuberculosis.

After the Warsaw Insurrection, Andrzej lived with his mother and young brother in Lublin. In the spring of 1945 they returned to Warsaw, to find their home completely destroyed. The mother obtained work, but it was difficult to earn enough to bring up her two growing boys, so she married Wladyslaw Ryszka, a secondary school teacher. Their marriage was only a few months old when Ryszka was arrested for unknown reasons. In spite of constant inquiries, there has been no news of him to this day.

Andrzej's mother had withstood disaster after disaster, but this final blow was too much for her suffering body and mind to bear. She developed a heart disease, and on June 13, 1946 her sudden death left Andrzej and his little brother orphaned.

The grandmother has taken charge of the two boys. She is the widow of a chemical engineer who was killed during the Warsaw Uprising. Employed as a clerk by the Municipal Electric Company in Warsaw, the grandmother is assisted in the task of supporting the two youngsters by her 82-year-old sister, who earns her living by knitting sweaters. The two old women and the children have no other means of subsistence.

Life has been one continuing catastrophe for Andrzej. It is doubtful whether the horror of the past will ever be completely erased from his mind, which has been built and broken, shaped and mis-shaped by war and privation. And yet, with good care, it is possible that the resilience and buoyancy of youth may spring up again and enable him to salvage something like a decent future from the wreckage that has been his past. There are already hopeful signs of a budding individual personality. Andrzej has a passion for mechanics. He loves playing with mechanical tools and toys and has clever fingers for building.

The war has made him sensitive and nervous, and yet, from some inner source of courage he finds the strength to be ambitious and obstinate when the occasion demands such qualities. A lively boy, he also likes to sit quietly and read. Tall and slim, he has light blond hair and blue eyes, and when his scrawny frame starts to fill out under the influence of a special nutritive diet, he will be an attractive boy.

Your guidance can do a great deal to help convince Andrzej that there is something else in the world besides the sorrow, the injury and the desperate need which has been his lot almost since the day he was born. You can let him know of the existence of such things as friendship and kindness.

Child's No. 10209
Folder No. 3659

Right foot

M M

MARCELLE MEILHAC

11 Years Old
Born August 25, 1937
Nationality - French

Marcelle was born in the city of Toulouse a little more than eleven years ago. The war has seared a heavy mark of tragedy across her life and that of her eight-year-old sister. When the Germans marched into France, M. and Mme. Meilhac refused to sit idly by and watch the Nazis trample the country into unresisting servitude. Both the mother and father joined the underground movement and sacrificed their energy, their health, their safety and eventually their very lives in striking back against the oppressor.

The gallant couple were arrested by the Gestapo for their anti-Nazi activities. The father was deported to Germany where he died just before Christmas of 1944. The mother was also deported, but to an unknown destination. Her fate remains a tragic blank.

The children are now living with their grandparents who used to have a trade but who are now unable to work because of age and feeblemess. There is hardly any money left, and the upbringing of the two little girls is impossible on the tiny sum alloted by the government. Neither of the sisters has had much of a childhood. Their early years were filled not with skipping ropes, whistles, dolls, tops, and rubber balls, but with fear, violence, hatred, and hunger.

The future is a little more certain than the past has been. At least there is the prospect of peace. Marcelle does not know yet what she wants to do when she grows up, but her grandfather is anxious for her to learn some skill or profession so that she will be able to work and earn a living when she is older. Only eleven, Marcelle is already faced with the problem of making her own way in the world.

She has brown hair and black eyes, and a firm character which augurs well for her future as a self-sufficient citizen of her community. PLAN is providing the physical means of supporting her young body as it grows into adolescence, but she remains much in need of the security and reassurance that only personal interest can give.

She needs affection as much as food and clothing. She is, as someone else has said about her own childhood, "desperately anxious to please, to like and to be liked, and if possible to be loved." Your encouragement will help Marcelle weather the emotional storms of the approaching years.

Child's No. 14350
Folder No. 3659

TO: Messrs. Abelow, Barber, Bland, Bryson, Calmer, Church, Crothers, Edwards, Heller, Hill, Howe, Hudson, Lesueur, Levine, Murrow, Taylor, Wershba
Misses Ashton, Tucker.

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

December 30, 1947

Here is the letter I am sending to the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children as your representative in these "adoptions":

"My dear Mrs. Blue:

Enclosed is my personal check for $60.00, sent to you on behalf of 20 members of the CBS Public Affairs staff who have pledged this amount each month for the support of four children through the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children. Sixty dollars will be forwarded to you for this purpose on the first of each month.

Below are the "adoption" preferences of our group. You are not, however, to consider these preferences arbitrarily binding if greater needs exist in other areas. They are:

1. French girl
2. Polish boy
3. Chinese girl
4. Czech boy

Although we realize that some time must elapse before communications may be established between us and our "charges", we shall appreciate whatever expedition you can effect in the matter.

Very sincerely yours,

Gerald F. Maulsby"

If you will please let me have your first monthly subscription of $3.00 now, and subsequent ones on the 25th of each month hereafter, I shall see that the $60.00 guarantee goes to Foster Parents on the first.

G. F. M.

balance $30

Foster Parents

June 22, 1959

Dear Miss Sorin:

I have your letter of June 8th which arrived during my absence from the city.

If you will send me copy on the one minute spot about Plan, I will see what I can do about making the tape you request.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Lenore Sorin
Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.
352 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

mc

FOUNDED 1937

Accepted for registration with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the International Cooperation Administration, under Registration No. VFA 019. Incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. Filed with National Information Bureau in New York City.

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Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS — 352 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y., U.S.A.
Telephone MUrray Hill 5-0700 — Cable Address: Fosterplan
In Canada—P.O. Box 65, Station B, Montreal, Que.

June 8, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

To bring desperately-needed aid to the thousands of destitute children in Hong Kong, Plan will open headquarters on that island this Fall and in this connection we once again come to you for help. The need for Foster Parents for the boys and girls of Hong Kong, as well as for those in Europe, Korea and Viet Nam grows with each passing day and we are, therefore, planning to tape appeals and press public service spot recordings to be sent to radio stations throughout the country.

Because your name and voice are so well known throughout the nation, we should be deeply grateful if you would consent to tape, at your own home or in your studio, a one minute spot about Plan that we would supply. However, if you prefer, we shall gladly make arrangements for you to use a convenient Manhattan studio. If you can do this recording for us, we shall forward copy to you at once.

We eagerly await your response to this request and we are hopeful that you will find the time to record this one minute spot for us soon. Many, many grateful thanks for the warmhearted and generous cooperation you have always given us.

Sincerely,

Lenore Sorin

Lenore Sorin
Associate Executive Director

LS:la

Please Send Clean Used Clothing, Shoes, Blankets, Small Kitchen Utensils and Toys to us:

352 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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Beta Theta Pi
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Chi Phi
Delta Beta Sigma
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Delta Gamma
Delta Kappa Epsilon
Delta Kappa Gamma
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Delta Upsilon
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Lambda Theta Phi
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Phi Mu
Phi Sigma Kappa
Phi Sigma Sigma
Pi Beta Phi
Pi Kappa Alpha
Pi Lambda Phi
Psi Upsilon
Sigma Alpha Epsilon
Sigma Alpha Mu
Sigma Chi
Sigma Delta Tau
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SUMMER CAMPS

Kear-Sarge
Kuwiyan
Ton-A-Wandah

Sorin, Lenore

July 1, 1959

Dear Miss Sorin:

Your letter enclosing the copy for the one minute spot you wanted Mr. Murrow to record did not arrive until after Mr. Murrow had departed on his year's sabbatical.

I am sorry that it was not possible for us to get this recording for you.

Sincerely yours,

KAY CAMPBELL
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

Miss Lenore Sorin
Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.
352 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

mc

FOUNDED 1937

Accepted for registration with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the International Cooperation Administration, under Registration No. VFA 019. Incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. Filed with National Information Bureau in New York City.

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Telephone MUrray Hill 5-0700 — Cable Address: Fosterplan
In Canada—P.O. Box 65, Station B, Montreal, Que.

June 25, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Grateful thanks for consenting to do the One Minute spot about Plan. We know it will help find many more Foster Parents for the children who wait so patiently.

Attached you will find the One Minute spot. We will be looking forward to receiving the tape as soon as you have made it.

Once again, thank you.

Sincerely,

Lenore Sorin

Lenore Sorin
Associate Executive Director

LS:la
Enclosure

1 (7:45

Please Send Clean Used Clothing, Shoes, Blankets, Small Kitchen Utensils and Toys to us:

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Alpha Chi Sigma
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Phi Sigma Sigma
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Pi Kappa Alpha
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Vanderbilt
Vermont
West Virigina

SUMMER CAMPS

Kear-Sarge
Kuwiyan
Ton-A-Wandah

ONE MINUTE SPOT

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS ED MURROW. I WANT TO TELL YOU ABOUT SOME CHILDREN, DESPERATELY NEEDY CHILDREN, WHO LIVE IN EUROPE, KOREA, VIET NAM AND HONG KONG. I HAVE SEEN THESE BOYS AND GIRLS FORAGING IN GARBAGE CANS FOR FOOD. I HAVE SEEN THEM SLEEP ON SIDEWALKS AND IN DOORWAYS. I HAVE SEEN THEM WALKING BAREFOOT IN RAIN AND SNOW. THERE ARE COUNTLESS THOUSANDS OF THESE DESTITUTE CHILDREN OVERSEAS AND THROUGH FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN YOU CAN HELP ONE OF THEM. TO BECOME A FOSTER PARENT YOU NEED CONTRIBUTE ONLY FIFTEEN DOLLARS A MONTH AND THIS WILL PROVIDE ONE CHILD WITH FOOD, CLOTHING, AND MEDICAL CARE. YOU WILL RECEIVE THE PHOTOGRAPH AND CASE HISTORY OF THE CHILD YOU ARE HELPING. EACH MONTH THE CHILD WILL WRITE TO YOU AND YOU MAY WRITE TO HIM. YOU CAN GIVE ONE BOY OR GIRL LOVE AND NEW HOPE. FOR FULL INFORMATION ON HOW TO BECOME A FOSTER PARENT WRITE TO FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, BOX 944, NEW YORK 8, NEW YORK. THAT ADDRESS AGAIN IS FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, BOX 944, NEW YORK 8, NEW YORK.

no go

all set for recording at 7:45 RB.

Foster ~~Parents~~ Children

December 15, 1958

Dear Mrs. Meriver:

Thank you for your letter concerning the Foster Parents' Plan.

This is merely a note to tell you that I do indeed consider it entirely reliable and worthy of support. It is, in my belief, a worthwhile cause and any donations made to this organization go to a real good project.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Richard Meriver
710 Price Street
Westchester, Pennsylvania

mcc

Nov. 17, 1958

Dear Mr. Marrow:

My husband and I have been considering the Foster Parents' Plan Inc. We noted that you are listed as a sponsor. Does that mean this is really an effective program or has your name just been used? We have three preschool children and would like to contribute to this project if it really does a good job. If it isn't too

reliable, we'd rather not struggle with saving the necessary funds. Also if you only manage to "adopt" the child for one year, what happens to the youngster the following year.

Thanks ever so much for your time.

Sincerely

Marion MacIver

Mrs. Richard MacIver
710 Price St.
West Chester
Pa

Foster Parent

March 12, 1957

Dear Mr. Voorhus:

Thank you for your letter concerning the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children.

This is merely a note to tell you that I do indeed consider it entirely reliable and worthy of support. It is my personal feeling that any donations made to this organization go to a worthwhile cause.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. B.G. Voorhus
2291 Carlton Avenue
San Jose 24, California

fc

2291 Carlton Ave.
San Jose, California
February 25, 1951

Edward R. Murrow
CBS
New York City, New York

Foster Parents

Dear Mr. Murrow,

My wife and I desire to contribute to one of the child care agencies, "Foster Parents' Plan, Inc." In their advertisement they list your name as a sponsor or foster parent. Before choosing to contribute to "Foster Parents Plan, Inc." we would like to be sure that its purposes are as stated, i.e. "non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, government-approved, independent relief organization, helping children . . . ."

We would appreciate a reply from you concerning the above. Also their advertisement refers to.

registration under VFA 0191 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of U.S. Govt. and that they are on file with the National Information Bureau. If you would prefer to refer me to these two agencies perhaps you would furnish me with their addresses.

Thank you for your service in this matter.

Very truly yours,

B. S. Voorhies
2291 Carlton Ave.
San Jose 24, California.

Foster Parents

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Calmer, Crothers, Edwards, Feeney, Hewitt, Lesueur, Mickelson, Murrow, Novins Miss Sioussat

from: Mr. Maulsby

January 25, 1957

As of January 31, 1957, the CBS Foster Parents group is dissolved.

Although most of you have been exemplary parents and for over nine years have kept your accounts up to date, for others of you--and for those who dropped along the way--it has apparently become an increasingly irksome commitment. We are nearing the end of January and I have not been able to make a December payment to the Plan.

I have notified the organization that Doug Edwards and I will continue to be responsible for the little Korean girl Cho Kum Yo. The other two kids will have to be re-assigned.

I hope that others of you will elect to continue, either alone or in combination with someone else, to support a youngster--either through the Foster Parents Plan or another organization with a similar purpose.

GM:nk

Gm

1137

FROM Foster Parent No. _____

Name _____

Address _____

_____

TO Child No. _____

Child's Name _____

FOSTER PARENTS PLAN WAREHOUSE
43 WEST 61st STREET
NEW YORK 23, NEW YORK

CONTENTS OF PARCEL

FOOD	Value	NEW ITEMS	Value	USED ITEMS	Value

ENTIRE PARCEL TOTALS

Weight of Entire Parcel
_____ lbs. _____ ozs.

Value of
Entire Parcel: $

January 23, 1957

To:

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

Dear Foster Parents;

The beginning of winter, which the pretty autumn leaves have fallen, has come here in Korea. How are you getting along these days? I am spending very well by your favor and deep grace.

The weather is getting cold, so it is too cold to move in the early morning and at night. Already it seems that the snow falls in a few days. May be the water will be freeze. When I think that I could play snowball fight with my friend and make a snow-man with snow, I am very glad.

Now we are very busy to prepare the foods for winter. I am studying very hard to become a honor student in my class. I want to hear from you about your country. Then I will close my words here, and send my blessing for your good health.

Yours very cordially,
Boo Sung Dae, K-2588

My dear Foster Parents;

How goes it, my dear Foster Parents, these days? Indeed, time goes like flying arrow, and it has become the merry X-mas time already. We are very busy in preparation for the coming X-mas function these days. I think that you are also very busy for it now.

We were also very busy to make the Korean pickle last week. Have you ever eaten it? It makes with the radishes and cabbages and it is very nice. All the Korean store it in a big pot and eat through all the Winter. And then, I have never eaten your food and drink yet, and so I want to eat once it.

I hope that you had a good Thanks Giving Day. We had also a good time that day. The first of this month was the 14th memorial day of this orphanage's foundation and we held a good party eating the Korean breads and apples at the night. Do you know the Korean bread? It is only Korean food. I wish to sent to you it, if possible.

I will write to you next month again. I am enclosing Mr. Park Tae Duk's X-mas card with this letter. In closing, I wish you all a merry X-mas and a happy New Year.

With all my love and best,

Always your girl,

Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

My dear friends, Mr. Gerald F. Maulsby & Others;

With the cherry X-mas season just around the corner, here's wishing you a bright and merry time.

May all jobs combine to give you a happy X-mas Day, and may all your plans and wishes come true in this New Year also.

How are you, my dear friends? I and all of my children in the orphanage are all well and happy in your warm care. Your dear Cho Kum Yo is also very well and studying hard. As a matter of fact, I was so busy that I could not write to you sometimes. But I and Cho Kum Yo always think of you.

In closing, I hope that in future I may continue to enjoy of your warm friendship.

Sincerely yours,

Park Tae Duk
Superintendent of
Nam Kwang Orphanage

January 4, 1957

To:

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

Nov. 1956

Dear Foster Parents,

How goes it, dear Foster Parents? It is fairly cold and the leaves are falling these days in our country. At the same time, the farmer is very busy for harvesting and we have already finished it.

The director in Korea, Foster Parents' Plan, Inc. Mr. Robert W. Sage called at our orphanage on the 5th of this month and he had a good time with many of my friends. He is very kind and gentle.

On the 11th of this month, we went on an outing to Tong Do Sa that is one of the well-known temple in our country. It is about one thousand years old and is noted for its scenic beauty. We played so merrily hearing about its tradition from a Buddhist priest the day.

I am enclosing a X-mas card with this letter, that was made by the photo-group in the orphanage. I hope it will reach you before X-mas time and you like it very much.

I will write to you next month again. Praying to God for your good health and happiness, I close for now.

With all my love and best,

Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

(Picture being routed)

January 2, 1957

To:

From: Jerry Maulsby

Foster Parents' Letters

October 1956

Dear Foster Parents of Columbia Broadcasting System, Public Affairs Staff;

I am very glad to write this letter to you again. How are you getting along? The cool autumn has come here in Korea. The cosmoses are at their best in my flower-bed.

Recently it is very good season to study or to play. I like football best. After I go to school every morning, I play the football with my friends.

I always want to see my family who are living in America. And I also want to know what are you doing now? Will you write me about your joyful life? If possible, send me your pictures. I am studying very hard to become an honor student.

Today I lay down my pen here, and I pray that God's grace will be always yours.

Yours very sincerely,
Boo Sung Dae, K-2588

20th November 1956

Dear Foster Parents,

I am very happy to write you a letter. This month have passed very quickly.

As usually I am going to write you about the weather. The weather is very bad indeed. Usually in the mornings there are ground frosts. I do not like this weather. The trees are bare. They have no single leaf on them. But there are many leaves on the ground. Now our park does not look nice as it was in summer or spring. Some of the bushes had nice leaves but now they have not. Indeed our park looks bare. We have some evergreens trees but there is not a lot of them. Winter is comming and it is almost here.

11th of November we had our national holidays. We celebrate it every year. We celebrated it this year also. We had some fireworks on that day. We had the fireworks after supper. The sky looked very nice. Some of the fireworks were very bright so that we could see everyone. After the fireworks we went to the chapel to have our prayers and after the prayers we went to sleep.

On the fifth of November there was Guy Fauks. We did not have any fireworks but we could see some from Hetley. It was bright as in a day. We were very happy that we saw the fireworks.

On the 6th of December there is Santa Claus. I like Santa Claus. He brings us plenty of things.

I have got nothing more to write about.

From the Foster Parents Plan we have received 5 lb. of cheese.

With all my love.
Z. Bednarczyk

November 27, 1956

To:

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

Oct. 1956

Dear Foster Parents;

How are you getting along, dear Foster Parents? It is Fall now in our country. Our orphanage was covered with the pretty cosmoses again. The rice-plant bend it's neck and many fruits ripen so nicely. But it is a lean year in our country on the whole.

Our teacher said to us, "As Fall is fit for study, you must study very hard" In Fall, I used to read or think of you among the aromatic cosmoses every day.

The 3rd of this month was a memorial day of 4289th Korean National Birthday. Korean history is very long. The 9th of this month was also a memorial day of Korean Alphabet. On this day of 510 years ago, our great king, Sae Jong, spreaded Korean Alphabets all over the country for the first time. On the day, we held a writing game in school after the memorial ceremony.

We shall go on a picnic and have an athletic meeting in the near future. Then, I will write to you that time again. In closing, I pray to God for your good health and happiness. Until then, my best wishes.

With all my love and best,

Always your daughter,
Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

September 1956

Dear foster parents of Columbia Broadcasting Station, Public affairs Staff;

How are you my grateful and generous foster parents? In your care I am very well and go to school everyday. Thank you very much for your nice and kind letter. I am so happy to know that you are so much interested me and like to know my life. I do now know how shall I express this emotion upon hearing your family. You say that you have only a daughter. I wish I could be with you. You are so nice to tell me that you are happy to help me. But you would never know how much happier I am than you to be taken care of by you. Surely I will study hard so that someday I may be able to catch a chance to see you in America.

I'll close now sending my best wishes and prayer.

Yours lovingly,

Boo Sung Dae (K-2588)

Foster Parents' Plan

November 2, 1956

Dear Professor Miller:

Thank you for your letter of October 29th concerning the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children.

This is merely a note to tell you that I do indeed consider it entirely reliable and worthy of support. It is my personal feeling that any donations made to this organization go to a worthwhile cause.

Sincerely yours,

Professor Arthur S. Miller
Lamar School of Law
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

fc

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

LAMAR SCHOOL OF LAW

October 29, 1956

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow:

My wife and I wish to become a Foster Parent under the Foster Parents' Plan, Inc. Before doing so, however, we should like to know whether that organization is a bona fide one which gives the bulk of money it receives for the designated purposes.

It would be appreciated if you would let me know your opinion of Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.

I am asking this since your name is listed as a sponsor of the organization. The publicity which some organizations, ostensibly charitable but really money-making schemes for their organizers, motivates my request. I do not want to waste my money.

Thank you for your help in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR S. MILLER
Professor of Law

October 29, 1956

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

18th September 1956

Dear Foster Parents,

I am very sorry that I forgot to write a letter to you on the 15th of September. But still I am happy to write you a letter.

I am going to write you about the weather. The weather is getting colder. Especially in the evenings it is getting colder and colder. I think the winter this time will be very good.

I have finished my holidays. I had a smashing time at home. All the holidays I was well and happy. I played with my friends. I helped my grand mother.

I thank you very much for that two pounds and 17 shilings note. My grandmother also thank you very much. The money was very good for us. I bought something to eat and other things.

I finish my letter
With love
E. Bednarczyk

Sep. 1956

My dear Foster Parents;

I hope this letter will find you well and happy. In our country, it is very cool in the morning and evening and many insects sing in the grass-field at night these days.

We finished our camping on the 20th of last month and the new term opened from the 22th of last month. I was very much glad to meet with many class-mates whose bodies became so strongly during the vacation. I must abandon a feeling of vacation and will study very hard as the first term.

The 19th of this month is one of the greatest holiday in Korea that is called CHU SUK. All the Korean make many nice eating and drinking on the day and visit their ancestral tombs. On the same day, the men wrestle and the women swing so merrily. I am waiting for the day with my fingers crossed every day.

All of my friends in the orphanage are very busy for seeding of autumnal vegetables these days. I will cultivate the vegetables this time by myself. I will write to you next month again. Please give my very best regards to all your family. Looking forwards for your kind reply, I pray to God for your good health and happiness.

With all my love and best,

Cho Kum Yo

Foster Parents

October 10, 1956

Dear Mrs. Sorin:

I am most regretful to have to decline your request that I appear with Garry Moore on his I'VE GOT A SECRET program on Wednesday, December 19th.

The fact is, that I have a tremendously heavy schedule planned for the holiday season which, as you know, is one of our busiest times anyway, and I have been forced to decide not to undertake anything in addition to the commitments already made.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Lenore Sorin
Foster Parents Plan
43 West 61st Street
New York, New York

fc

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EDWARD R MURROW

CBS

THIS WILL BE FOSTERPARENTS PLAN,S TWENTIETH CHRISTMAS AND 1957 THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY YEAR. WE WISH TO MAKE IT THE BEST, THE HAPPIEST YEAR FOR THE DISTRESSED CHILDREN IN EUROPE AND ASIA WHERE WE WORK. FOR THIS SPECIAL ANNIVERSARY, WE ARE ONCE AGAIN ASKING A

PERSONAL FAVOR. WILL YOU PLEASE APPEAR WITH GARRY MOORE A FOSTER PARENT AND ONE OF OUR ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORTERS ON HIS I,VE GOT A SECRET SHOW ON WEDNESDAY EVENING.

DECEMBER 19. MR. MOORE IS MAKING A SPECIAL PLEA FOR

HELP. WE BELIEVE THAT YOUR APPEARANCE. BECAUSE OF THE UNIQUE POSITION YOU OCCUPY WITH THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. WILL MEAN A GREAT DEAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR CAMPAIGN. WE KNOW THAT YOUR SCHEDULE IS A HEAVY ONE, BUT WE HOPE THAT IF YOU CAN, YOU WILL GIVE US SOME OF YOUR VALUABLE TIME TO MAKE POSSIBLE A SUCCESSFUL APPEAL FOR SO MANY UNFORTUNATE YOUNGSTERS. YOUR EARLY REPLY WILL BE MUCH APPRECIATED. THANK YOU

LENORE SORIN FOSTER PARENTS PLAN

330P

September 28, 1956

To:

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

August 1956

Dear Foster Parents of Columbia Broadcasting System Public Affairs Staff;

How are you getting along in these sultry summer days, dear foster parents? I am happy to say that I am well owing to your favour.

Our school closed for the summer vacation from the 20th of July. According to my school work list, I made excellent progress on my study. On the last day of last term we were given lots of hometasks by our teacher.

As I must take an entrance examination of middle school next year, I must go to school to receive special lecture for the examination. But I do not go every day. After I study my lessons in the morning I go swimming to the Han river with my friends. And also I like to collects many kinds of plants and insects such as gragon-flies, cicadas and butter-flies.

I'll study hard and want finish this grade with excellent school works.

I close this for now sending many good wishes, and much love.

Yours lovingly,

Boo Sung Dae, K-2588

August, 1956

Dear Foster Parents;

How are you getting along, dear Foster Parents? It is very hot and dry in Korea now. The rice-plant is growing vividly and we all the friends in the orphanage give water in the flower-gardens every day.

In our school, we had the Summer-vacation from the 23th of July and almost of my class-mates went to the countris or seaside. For summering. In our orphanage, we held a camping at seaside from the 25th of July, too. We all the friends play merrily doing the swimming, boating, fishing, clam fishing and playing of horse-riding at the white sand flats every day. My body is very strong by sunlight. You may imagine about our camping by some pictures that are enclosed by me with this letter for you.

The 15th of this month was the 11th memorial day of the liberation of Korea. On this day of 11 years ago, the Korean were released from the Japanese pressure of 36 years. On the same day, our new President, Mr. Lee, and Vice-President, Mr. Chang, assumed newly.

I must prepare for the new term. I will write to you next month again. Counting the days until I hear from you with my fingers crossed, and praying to God for your good health and happiness, I remain

With all my love and best

Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

August 29, 1956

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

July 1956

Dear Foster Parents;

How do you do, dear my foster parents in this hot summer? Always I am well and enjoy my school works much.

Today I am going to write about my daily life to you. I get up at half past 5 o'clock in the morning hearing the bell. Till half past 6 I clean my room or the ground. I wash my face and have morning service from 6:30 to 7:00. I take my breakfast and I go to school at 8 o'clock. Our school begins at 9 o'clock. Usually I have 6 lessons a day. After I get back from school, I pick grasses for rabbits and feed them. I have much interest in feeding rabbits. The rabbits which I take care are two. One of them is white and the other is gray. When the bell rings for supper, I go to the dining room and take my supper. At 7 I have evening service and I study again from 8 to 9 o'clock. I go to bed hearing the bell of sleeping.

My daily life is performing like these. Praying you keep best health and happiness.

With love,

Your loving foster child,

Boo Sung Dae K-2588

July 1956

Dear Foster Parents;

How are you getting along, dear Foster Parents? It is very busy time for the harvesting of the barley and the planting of the rice-plants in Korea now. In our orphanage, many tomatoes, cucumbers pumpkins and the egg-apples are well ripe in clusters in the gardens. Sometimes, it occur to me that I had sent you these fresh fruits.

The 25th of June was 6th memorial day of 6.25 Korean War. As you may know, it was the day that the communist of Northern Korea invaded Southern Korea. In the results of it, we must wandered here and there without the family and home.

In our school, we held a memorial ceremony on that day praying for the heavenly bliss of the soldiers who devoted their lives for our country. Every time I feel as if my heart would break with sorrow and pain, when I meet with the memorial day of 6.25 Korean War.

We shall have the camping at seashore from the 25th of this month. But it is so cool and cloudy in these days that I am very anxious. Camping is the most pleasant life to us of a year. Then, I will send you a letter and some pictures on that time.

Please give my very best regards to all your family and people and I will look forward to hearing from you soon.

With all my love and best,
Your Foster Daughter
Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

August 2, 1956

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

June, 1956

Dear Foster Parents;

I hope you are very well in these sultry summer days. I am happy to say that I am enjoying my school works as before in good health under your endless favour.

I am loved by all people who are in our orphanage. The 13th of June was our all orphans's birthday which was established by our superintendent. We put on fine clothes and ate delicious food and enjoyed all day long with great fun. I thought of you on the day especially. I wish I could have the day with you.

I pray for you every night and day. And I hope you will help and love me always.

I will close for this now hoping your good luck.

Ever with love,

Your beloved foster child,
Boo Sung Dae K-2588

July 25, 1956

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

May, 1956

Dear Foster Parents:

How are you getting along, dear Foster Parents? Many thanks for your long and interesting letter that reached here a few days ago. I take an interest in your work. I think that you are always very busy. It is a year that we vote for a new president, or re-elect the present one in Korea, too. The 15th of this month is the day of an election in Korea.

The 5th of May was Children's Day. On that day, our choir and dancing group showed some programs to the citizens at Yung Nam theatre in memory of the day, and we saw a movie.

The 8th of this month was Mother's Day in Korea. Have you Mother's Day in your country? Our drama-group produced a tragic dialogue, Mother's Love, at pusan City Hall on that day. Hearing the dialogue, almost of the auditors dropped sympathetic tears for us. I am enclosing a picture of our drama-group with this letter.

I was very much glad to receive your letter for Mr. Park Tae Duk, and $1 for flower-seeds. How do you know our address, dear Foster Parents? At any rate, thank you so much!

May this letter find you well and happy, dear Foster Parents. Counting the days until I hear from you with my fingers crossed, I remain.

With all my love and best,

Your Foster Daughter
Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

June, 1956

Dear Foster Parents:

How are you getting along, dear Foster Parents? The warm and calm Spring was over, and it has become early Summer in Korea. Already, I am thinking of camping at seashore during the Summer-vacation. It is very pleasant life, as I had told you last year.

On the 2nd of this month, we all the friends and the superintendent played a game of hunting for the pheasant's eggs on a mountain. Then, a friend of mine hunted 16 eggs and he won first honor with some note-books and pencils from the superintendent. The members of our breeding group are bringing up 5 chiken of the pheasant in these days.

The 6th of this month was Loyalty-Day in Korea, that has been established in this year newly. It was the day that all people pray for the heavenly bliss of soldiers who devoted their lives for mother's country. On that day, I and all of my friends in the orphanage offered a silent prayer for a moment with the ringing siren at 10 O'clock.

I will write you next month again.

Counting the days until I hear from you with my fingers crossed, and praying to God for your good health and happiness, I remain,

With all my love and best,

Your Foster Daughter
Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

June 1956

Dear Foster Parents:

I want you to know that I received the sum of $9 (Lire 5625) and thank you with all my heart for all you do for me and my family.

Dear Foster Parents, I have received the letter telling me of my cancellation, but it does not matter. I am only sorry that there is no way in which I can repay you for your kindness, and I shall never forget you. I hope you won't forget me either.

Many, many thanks from my family, my mother, sisters, everyone, the best of wishes ever, and a kiss from your

foster son,

Vincenzo

June 28, 1956

To: Edward R. Murrow, 485/17

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

May, 1956

Dear Foster Parents:

I wonder if you are in fine health for a month under our God's grace. I am devoting myself to my study owing to your warmful love and help. Dear foster parents, when I can meet you in your country? And how I am able to live in joy? Now I am going to study harder more so that I may graduate with fine school records in next spring.

The other day I had a picnic at my school and I ate many delicious things and lunch. It was really wonderful picnic to me. I enjoyed all day long among green nature at the field.

5th of May was children's Day and all of our orphanage people went to the field to have the field service. We went there by bus and played gaily.

Dear foster parents, I wish you will take care of me forever.

Wishing your good luck I will close for today. Bye bye.

With much love,

Your affectionate foster child,

Boo Sung Dae K-2588

June 21, 1956

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

5th May 1956

Dear Foster Parents:

Again a month have passed very quickly and I am writing a letter to you.

Now I am at school happy and gay. You know that now in our park it is very green all trees are green. Some are even getting flowers say like horse-chestnut tree. It is partly white and partly green. Of course the pines are always green. Thats all about the park.

Some days ago we were in London. We went there to sing some songs before the crowd. We sang about 6 songs in the first part of the performance. In the second part of the performance we sang 4 songs. When we finished it we went back to the school. One week after we went also another town to sing. We went to the hostel called Chehendon. We sang there 4 songs and also when we finished we went back to school.

I am learning now not bad. Sometimes it goes me very good and sometimes bad. But never mind I try to learn very hard. Now I am finishing the letter.

With all my love.

Z. Bednarczyk

FOSTER PARENTS

We have a new orphan. He is Boo Sung Dae, Korean, born August 5, 1944. His bio, as sent to us by the Foster Parents Plan, is attached.

Vincenzo de Simone has been withdrawn by the Plan. His mother's pension and earnings, plus Vincenzo's earnings as an apprentice cobbler, have reached the point where he is no longer eligible for Plan support.

Jerry Maulsby

NAME: BOO SUNG DAE
BORN: AUGUST 5, 1944
KOREAN

Sung Dae was born in Wonsan, Hangkyung Nam Do, a little village on the coast of North Korea in the year of the Korean liberation from Japanese rule. Shortly after the liberation, Korea was divided along the 38th parallel. Until the Korean War broke out in June of 1950, Sung Dae, his sister, Sung Mi, now 9, and his parents, lived unhappily under the Communist control, longing to go to free Korea in the south but not daring, as those who were caught trying to cross the line were executed immediately.

The long cherished dream of freedom was realized by the outbreak of the Korean War. When the U.N. and R.O.K. forces pushed up into the north of Korea, the people who had waited so long for this day were secretly overjoyed, but unfortunately, the U.N. and R.O.K. forces' occupation was only for a very short time. When they were forced to retreat from the area, most of the inhabitants fled from their native place for the south, and Sung Dae's family joined the hordes of refugees following in the path of the retreating army. In the confusion of the milling throng of refugees, the children lost their father on the long, hard and dangerous trek to safety. With only the provisions they could hastily procure, these people crept through enemy territory by night, hiding from the bombs during the daylight hours. When their scant provisions were exhausted, they existed on wild rice, leaves and bark. Somehow the mother and two children managed to survive this long ordeal and finally reached safety in a small village in the southern part of south Korea. Whether the father perished from starvation, disease or at the hands of the enemy is not known as nothing was ever heard of him again.

All places of safety in the south were already overcrowded with homeless, hungry refugees and life for the little family was extremely difficult. Unable to find proper shelter or employment...exhausted, destitute, near starvation and in rags, the young mother struggled desperately to provide for her children. Despite her heartbreaking efforts, she could not alleviate their poverty. Finally, unable longer to stand the pinched look of hunger on her children's faces or to bear their suffering...broken in spirit by the hopelessness of her situation and broken in health by the hardships she had undergone...she suddenly realized that without her, the children would undoubtedly fare better..through the kindness of individuals or some institution - so she disappeared one night and has never been heard from again.

Deserted and alone, the children begged in the streets for their food; wandering ragged and hungry they made their way up to Seoul where a kind boy found them and took them to the orphanage that is now their home. The orphanages in Korea can offer little more than shelter and protection to the children who depend upon them for life itself, for these institutions get only trifling aid from the government. Plan has therefore set itself the task of providing at least basic necessities for these orphaned or abandoned children. It has come to the rescue of Sung Dae and your generous "adoption" will assure the continuance of a $9 monthly cash grant and relief supplies to the child.

Sung Dae is a diligent and patient boy. He is an intelligent child and is doing well at school. His sunny, cheerful disposition and his gentle kindness has endeared him to the hearts of all and he is beloved and very popular in the orphanage. He says he wants to be a business man when he grows up. Through your kind assistance, Sung Dae can now look forward to a brighter and more secure future. We hope you will like him and enjoy knowing and helping him/

FOSTER PARENT: MR. GERALD F. MAULSBY
C.B.S.
PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF
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CHRISTMAS FOR THE CHILDREN - 1956

It's hard to think of Christmas now during the hot summer months...but we must think of our children in Europe so that they will receive their gifts in good time for their Christmas holiday.

Many Foster Parents will want us to purchase their children's Christmas gifts for them, and we will be pleased to do so. However, we should like to suggest a cash gift, if you wish, so that "your child" will have the joy of choosing his or her own gifts and the added privilege of sharing Christmas with those they love...which is truly in the spirit of Christmas. Also, your cash gift which can be in our offices as late as November 1 will assure you that "your child" will receive your gift on time without the complications sometimes arising from shipping problems which in the past have caused serious delays. There is a service charge of 25¢ for each cash gift.

We all know that every child has some Christmas hope and dream which is not readily communicated to the adult world. Perhaps your cash Christmas gift this year will mean fulfillment for "your child".

Foster Parents who want us to purchase gifts may use our shopping service. We do ask you to be sure that your gift is ordered by September 1st. Your suggestions will be followed carefully in the selection of "your child's" gift; or, if you prefer, our shopper who is familiar with the children's needs will choose appropriate articles. If you wish to use this service, send your check to us indicating that you wish to have a Christmas gift purchased for "your child", giving his or her name and number, and we will arrange for the purchase of a gift in any amount you wish to spend from $1.00 to $25.00 (plus 50¢ handling charge for each gift). A Christmas card will be enclosed, and your parcel will include at least a small toy or game and candy to insure a real holiday.

Many Foster Parents will want to send packages they have made up...and these packages should be in our warehouse no later than September 15 to assure delivery on time. The handling charge is 50¢ for each package. As usual, things most needed are clothing and food, but Christmas is no fun for a child without some little toy or game and candy. The governments in Europe have made rulings which apply to Gift Parcels, and we will appreciate it if you follow these carefully: (1) No one gift for any child is to exceed $25.00 in value. (2) Not more than one parcel per week to any child. (3) No luxury items such as jewelry, watches, cameras or radios. Such items can be purchased for "your child" overseas by our Directors in each country.

We ask, please that our Foster Parents who are making up their own parcels use the attached two gummed labels when mailing the package to us for shipment. You have only to fill in your name, number and return address, and "your child's" name and number on the one label. The other is our "Contents of Parcel" label, which is also to be pasted on the parcel - in the lower left corner. It is most important that you fill in this label, listing each article separately and giving the value of each.

Many thanks.

May 3, 1956

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jorry Maulsby

March, 1956

Dear Foster parents:

How goes it, dear Foster parents?

It has become Spring perfectly. All the barley-fields are getting green more and more. And the larks are singing merrily in the blue sky. People say, Spring is the season filled with hope and start of the year.

I was promoted to the 4th grade this time. Our school held a graduation ceremoney the 5th of this month and I won a special prize the day. I will study very hard this year, too, and will win the first honor in my class sure.

The 1st of March was 37th memorial day of 3.1 Movement in Korea. As I had told you by my last letter, our forefathers fought with the Japanese with barefist the 1st of March, 1919. All the pusan townspeople and students held a great ceremony at public ground and marched all the streets the day. Everytime I meet with this day, I imagine 6.25 Korean War. I made a slogan that I must live in spirite of 3.1 Movement, and I pasted up it on my desk.

I will write you next month again. Until then, all my best wishes.

With all my love and best,

CHO KUM YO (K-305)

April 18, 1956

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

March 1956

Dear Foster Parents:

Days ago, I have received the E.6250 monthly allowance. I gratefully thank you for your very kind thought. I cannot reward you but praying God to grant you health and joy.

I am spending my days as usual. Spring is near and I am so glad of it and hope to never see the snow again because we can already enjoy the perfume of the firs violets. We feel spring everywhere; spring is the sweetest season of the year. In a short time, birds will come back to their old nests. I am so glad that Spring is coming because we will soon form again our soccer ball team and, moreover, I will enjoye lovely long walks through the surrounding meadows. Best greetings and thankings also from my dear ones. Many and many dear and big kisses from

Your,
Vincenzo

Feb. 1956

Dear Foster parents:

How are you, dear Foster parents?

The Spring-rain is drizzling down on the ground now. All the plants will shoot out their sprout after this rain. Already, some plum-trees were in full bloom. Spring is the best delightful season of the year.

In my school, we held a school exhibition the 17th of this month before the parents of students. I was a conductor of the chorus in my class and I danced a classical dancing afternoon on the day. After the play, I won a prize from the principal and was much praised by the teachers.

The 15th of Jan. in lunar calender, is a festival of Korea. In the evening of the day, all the Korean go up mountains or hills and greet the full moon petitioning for their good luck. The 26th of this month was the day and we held a kite-flying meeting. The senior friends won the victory on personal game and we received many candies.

May I tell you about an interesting story?

Do you know, Mr. BING CROSBY who is a famous star of Hollywood in U. S. A.? He was a Foster parent of Lee Sang Chul who is one of my friends in this orphanage. Some kinds of newspaper in Pusan reported the news that such a famous actor had adopted a poor Korean war-child as his son, and it made great sensation among the friends.

His popular movie, the "White Christmas" is now on shown at Pusan theatre, and Lee Sang Chul could meet his Foster parent, Mr. Bing Crosby, through the screen yesterday.

I will write you next month again. Praying to God for your good health and happiness, and counting the days till I hear from you with my fingers crossed, I remain

With all my love and best,

Cho Kum You (K-305)

14th March 1956

Dear Foster Parents,

I am very glad to write again a letter to you. And I am very glad that the month passed very quickly.

First I start about the weather and indeed it is very nice. The sun is shining every day and every day we are out to play. We are playing more rather slowly games. We are not running so fast. Football is nearly canseled. We are not playing cricket either. We are playing "Piekars". Of course it is a polish word.

Are your childs playing some new game? If they know one can they write me one of them. As home playing we have got games like "Monopoly" and "Totopoly". There is one knew game also called a "Scoop". We are playing it nearly every day. In our park there is pleny of work to do. Spring is coming so we have to gether the leaves. After we gether the

leaves we are burning them. Then our park would be beautiful. Brothers as the man are called in our school are cutting out bad branches out of the bushes or trees. We have got our handicraft lessons. On these lessons we are going out of the house and doing some work out side. The work is usually this: to gather the leaves and to burn them or to gather branches and also burn them. Some times we are doing other work in the house. We are drawing technical drawing technical drawings. But we have finish them and we are learning geometry.

We have other lessons which we are doing, outside. They are: games, and p.t. On our lessons of games we are playing football and on our p.t. lessons we are doing some exercises.

Now about the lessons at school. From our maths we are learning geometry. From our English lessons we are learning types of nouns. On our Science lessons we are learning about insects. On our geography lessons we are taking a map and drawing the oections and other thing. On our Polish lessons we are learning nouns and other things. On our French lesson we are reading from a book lesson 14.

One week is left and we will go home.

From the Foster Parents Plan I have received a rain coat. It is very good.

With all my love

Z. Bednarczyk

March 22, 1956

To: Edward R. Murrow 485/17

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

January, 1956

Dear Foster Parents;

How goes it, dear Foster Parents? I hope you had a joyful X-mas with your people. May I tell you about our X-mas play? All my friends, teachers and housemothers in the orphanage got up with the ringing bell in the churches at the dawn of the merry X-mas day and walked about here and there singing the "Silent Night" in spite of very cold weather.

At night, we invited many guests and we held a X-mas party at hall. The choir, dancing group and drama group were praised fervently by the guests. Moreover, a part of drama, "The Poor Brothers and Sisters" made furore them and moved them to tears. At any rate, it was so nice party.

My best thanks for a nice present from Foster parents' Plan for War-Children Inc. All I can say is that I will never forget your kindness as long as I live.

Hearing sound of the bell speeding the old year, we held a celebration of New Year and made an orphanage slogan of this New Year that is "Live in bright air so happily" The superintendent, Mr. Park, said to us, "We must forget all sadness and must live in sunny air for our good future"

Our school will open from the 1st of next month and I will be the 3rd grade. I will study very hard and will make a good record this year, too. Looking forward for your letter with my fingers crossed, I remain

With all my love and best,

Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

February 13, 1956

Dear Foster Parents,

Now again a month came and I am again writing a letter to you. Now I am at school learning everything. I have plenty to do for homework sometimes but sometimes we have very small to do. Now from the History we are learning about the Persian Wars. From Geography we are learning about the sketch sections. I our class we had some pictures hanging on the wall. They were about the Ancient History and now some of them are changed. Now we have started handicraft. On handicraft lessons we are gathering stiks and we are working. Sometimes on our handicraft lessons we are drawing technical drawings.

One day a coatch came to our school and some of the children went to London to see the Polish theatre. The title of that theatre was "Pan Jadens." It was a lovely theatre. I was not on it but I had read a story about it. Now how about the park. In the park there are some branches cut off the trees because they were no good. I think that from this cut branches there will grew some other branches. Now we can't play football because it is cold. Before some days here was plenty of snow. Now I would want to write you some more but there is not any time left.

From the Foster Parents Plan I have received 4 pairs of socks and a food parcel contained of cheese, butter, and tinned food. With all my love

Z. Bednarczyk

February 1956

Dear Foster Parents.

I heartily thank you for the 5000 liras monthly allowance you kindly sent me and for the food parcel I received through Foster warehouse.

We greatly appreciated everything and thank you so much also on behalf of my dear ones.

If this letter will reach you with some delay will be owing to the bad weather: since several days we are having snowy days and therefore all the bus and post-service are out of service. We heartily hope that the weather will soon change because now we feel very cold.

Having nothing else to say I send you my dear ones' best greetings and thankings and all my dearest kisses and love.

Yours affectionately,

Vincenzo

February 20, 1956

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

To: Edward R. Murrow 485/17

From: Jerry Maulsby

January 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

I received the 5000 lira check and I than' you with all my heart also on behalf of my family; I pray the Holy Infant to give you health and prosperity. I also thank you very much for the big piece of "torrone"* I received from the Rome warehouse.

The weather is cloudy and cold over here and this very day we are having snow.

Best regards from all the memebers of my family and a dear kiss from your foster child.

Vincenzo
DE SIMONE Vincenzo

* nougat candy

Dear Foster Parents.

Now again I am writing a letter to you. I am back at school. I had a very good Christmas holidays at home. I had a Christmas tree. This Christmas' tree made me one priest. I had got some candels on it and toys and other things. At Christmas holidays I went at 12 o'clock at midnight on a mass. Now I am going to write you something about my Christmas holidays. When I came home I saw my grandmother and my uncle. I was very happy that I am at home. Next day I went to church. When I came from the church I played and I made my homework. But the days went quickly and some weeks passed and now I am back at school. When I came I saw already some of my friends and I played with them. Next day all the rest of the boys came and now I am at school learning.

From the Foster Parents Plan I have received a food parcel and a book.

With love

Z. Bednarczyk

Foster Parents

February 14, 1956

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

Dec. 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

It has become X-mas season. I hope you are well and happy. Though I cannot be with you in this joyful season, I want you to know that I shall be thinking of your kindness every time. As the year draws to a close I cannot help recalling the many favours which you have shown me in the past, and I cannot help wishing that your warm and constant friendship may continue for many years to come.

The 1st of this month was thirteenth foundation memorial day of this orphanage. On the day we hung up the national and orphanage flags in the blue sky and we sang the orphanage-song so merrily. At night, we held a party at hall and we had a very good time, sure.

Our school will close for winter vacation from the 23th of this month. All of my friends in the orphanage are very busy for preparation of X-mas in these days. I am also one of the member of dancing-group and I am doing my best for it after school time.

I am waiting for the X-mas day with my fingers crossed. I will write you about all of the X-mas play next month again. In closing, I wish you all a merry X-mas and a happy New Year.

With all my love and best

Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

January 30, 1956

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

December 1955

My dear Foster Parents

I want you to know that I received your monthly allowance of 5.000 Lire and I heartily thank you for the good you do to us.

My dear Foster Parents in this season it's very cold here and shortly we'll have even the snow. Little birds look for a shelter under the roofs. I want you to know that my sister Letizia had a nice baby. Xmas is approaching and with my family I send you many good wishes. May the Holy Child give you strength and good health. Love and Kisses. Affectionately yours

Vincenzo

15th December 1955

Dear Foster Parents

I am very glad to write a letter to you. I hope you all are well.

Now the Christmas holidays are very near. This saturday I am going home. I have spent much time in this school. I was ill two times. But now I am happy and gay. I am the goalkeeper of our team. When we were playing with the upper class they scored me 2 goals. Our schools team played with other ones. Sometimes they won and somethimes they lost. Here our park looked like a jungle. Now one man has cut of some not good trees and now it looks very nice. We can play better hide and sick. Now every day we have something to do from homework. I have nothing to write about.

From the Foster parents Plan I have received composite parcel.

With all my love
Z. Bednarczyk

Dear Foster Parents:

How goes it, dear Foster Parents? It is faily cold in these days here. I think that it has become winter in your country now. But I am not afraid of cold to go to school every day and studying hard as usual.

All the children in school went on a picnic to Dong Nae watering place on the 1st of this month. Dong-Nae is one of the beauty spot of Korea and many foreign guests visit there sometimes. We had a good time with chorus and collecting the autumn leaves on the day.

The orphanage held a photographic exhibition of our daily life at Mi Hwa department store from the 1st of Nov. to the 5th of Nov. We could show our developmental life to the world in the midst of it this time. At the same time, every body urged us with praise and sympathy.

I think this letter should reach you about X-mas time and so I am enclosing a X-mas card of mine and the superintendent, Mr. Park Tae Duk's. I am waiting for the X-mas with my fingers crossed in these days. In closing, I pray for your good health and happiness.

With all my love and best,

Cho Kum Yo

January 4, 1956

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

14th November 1955

Dear Foster Parents

Now a month have passed again and it was very quickly. An I am again writing a letter to you.

I am very happy at this school. But I was ill nearly one week for my first time and for my second time I was ill for a whole week. I am writing this letter during my homework. I am lerning french and it is not so very difficult. One day I went to the Zoo. I saw there plenty of animals. When we went to the parrots we began to talk to them and after some time the parrot which was very nice she begun to say something. I thing she said good morning because we were saying to her every time good morning. There were still plenty of animals but if I write about all of them there will be more than two pages. It all was one week ago. Now I am at school learning. We have also games on lessons on which we play football and other things. We have also pt. lessons. These lessons are very good.

From the Foster Parents Plan I have received 1 p. shoes 2 p. of vests and pants.

Now I close my letter

With all my love
Z. Bednarczyk

November 1955

Dear Foster Parents,

I inform you I have had the monthly allowance of L.5000- and I thank you ever so much. We are in the fall already, leaves fall from the tress, the horrid winter season is at our doors. It will begin to snow soon and we shall feel happy only next spring. One day I went for a walk in the little wood, not far from my village, to look for mushrooms, by chance there were many of them, I brought home almost 4 pounds and we had an excellent evening meal.

Many affectionate greetings from my family and from me and I am

Yours most affectionately foster child
Vincenzo

October, 1955

Dear Foster Parents;

How goes it, dear Foster Parents? I am very sorry that I could not receive any of your letters for a long time. Please write me sure next time. All the Korean farmers are very busy for harvest in these days. The leaves are colored so beautifully by cool wind. Shortly we shall go on a picnic into a mountain.

The 30th of September was one of the great festival of Korea called Chu Suk. On the day, all the Korean rest the work and put on the new clothes and perform secrifice before their ancestral graveyard. It seems Thanksgiving Day in your country.

The 3rd of this month was National Birthday of Korea and we had a ceremony in school. The principal said that Korea formed four thousand and two hundred and eighty seven years ago.

Fall is sport-season. We had an athletic meeting on the 15th of this month in school. All the class-mates played so actively before the parents of students. I won a victory on the race-game and I received a fine sort shoes.

The orphanage is covered with the great deal of cosmoses and chrysanthemums now. I like very much their aroma.

I always pray to God for your good health and happiness and am counting the days till I hear from you with my fingers crossed. Send best regards to your family. So for now then, An Nyung.....

With all my love and best

Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

September 22, 1955

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

August 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

I received the 5000 liras monthly allowance you kindly sent me and heartily thank you for all you are doing for me.

Dear Foster Parents, we are now in August and Winter is approaching; all us children feel so sad because we can not go out-door and play soccer ball. It is since a few days that it is raining and I feel so sorry because I must stay at home.

Locking forward to receive your good news, I send you my dear ones' best greetings and thankings and all my dearest kisses and love.

Yours affectionately,

Vincenzo (Italy)

GR.(DE SIMONE VINCENZO)

August 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

I send you my best greetings.

With love

Z. Bednarczyk (Polish child in England)

July, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

Hello, dear Foster Parents! It is now very hot here. The summer vacation of our school will begin on the 20th of this month and the camp-life of the orphanage will be opened on the 23th of this month, too. I am awaiting the day with my fingers crossed, because of I like best the swimming and boating and the fishing with many friends at sea-shore. I will write to you about the camp-life and send to you some pictures as last year's.

It has rained so hard few days ago that the flood came about here and there. The houses were broken, the fields were buried, the domestic animals were floated and some people were also swallowed by water. The teacher in school said to us, "Korean mountains have so less trees that the flood come about so often. So we must plant many trees on the mountains" I have seen a view of flood of your country by a moving picture once.

There are many tomatoes in bunches and many kinds of the flowers in the gardens of the orphanage and the aroma is filled up in all the orphanage in these days. I wish, if possible, I send to you the aroma to you with this letter.

I hope you have a good time with sunny summer season. With all my wishes and best to you and to your family until the next letter, I remain

With all my love and best,

Cho Kum Yo (K-305)
Korea

Foster Parents

September 1, 1955

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

15th July 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

This is my last letter before the summer holidays, and my last letter from this school. Some weeks ago we had a bad weather and I wrote you about the cloudy and wet summer in my last letter. But now it has changed. Many days are very warm and I would say it is even too hot sometimes. Now our rose garden is full of rose bushes and plenty of roses. The scent of the roses is lovely. We can hear every day the singing of the birds. There are hundreds of them in the bushes around us. The weather is now so hot that we cannot play football. Instead of football we play cricket.

There are only about 6 days to the end of the school year. I shall go home on 23rd of July. I am very sad to write you that there will not be any performance this year. The performance has been cancelled. But I think though we had prepared a performance and we knew our parts we have not lost by it. We have learnt on our rehearsals many new words and we learnt to speak better. The title of the performance was "The Magic Sweets." In that performance I played the part of a boy who could not speak any word in English. Then came the second part which was a dream and then I spoke beautiful English. Our Teacher of English went for 10 days to Bangor in North Wales. There was a meeting of many teachers from all over the world. They teach English to many children in different countries. We had no English lessons but our Teacher before going to Wales left us something to write so that we should not forget English. It was the description of the third voyage round the world. Sometimes we had some free lessons and then we described parts of the voyage and we made fine maps. We wanted to complete the work and show our Teacher what we can do. On that voyage we went through the following places: The West Indies, through the Panama Canal, then to New Zealand, to Australia then to South Africa and back to England. When our Teacher came back he was very glad to hear that we have finished our third trip round the world. When he saw our copybooks and our maps he said it was the most pleasant surprise for him. In history now we learn about George VI. Soon we shall come to the last events in history, the Second World War, Queen Elizabeth II and the present times.

I am very sorry to write you that I must leave this school. After the summer holidays I shall not come back here but I shall go to a grammar school which is at another place. I was very happy here and I think I shall not find a better place.

From the Foster Parents' Plan I have received a composite parcel and 4½ lb. of powder milk.

With all my love

Z. Bednarczyk (Polish child in England)

July, 1955

Dear Foster Father; Mr. Gerald Maulsby,

I received your monthly allowance of L. 5.000 and I thank you with all my heart also on behalf of my family.

I received the package containing the butter and cheese from the Foster Warehouse and I also thank you for it.

Here it is harvest-time and I like the sight of the reapers with the reaping hooks in their hands.

It is very warm and it has not been raining since April, therefore the country is very dry. I often go to play foot-ball with my friends and I have lot of fun.

Having nothing else to tell you, I send you many regards from my family and many kisses from your foster child,

Vincenzo (Italy)

(DE SIMONE Vincenzo)

as.

Foster Parents

July 25, 1955

To: Mr. Edward R. Murrow - 485/17

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

May, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

It has become May. Many kinds of slogan are pasted on the streets on May as follows; Protect Children, because the first of May is Children's Day in Korea. So May is Children's Month, too.

On Children's Day, I and some of my friends in our orphanage had a pleasant party with many children in other orphanages at Pusan City Hall. There were many interesting programs, chorus and dancing and drama, and our play was No. 1 of all the plays in the Hall. Have your children the Children's Day?

The 8th of this month was Mother's Day, too, in Korea. In the morning of the Day, Mr. Park Tae Duk, said, "Origin of Love is Mother" When I heard the words, suddenly I desired my died parents to long for warmly. But I am the happiest girl of all the orphans in Korea, because I have you for my Foster Parents.

On the Mother's Day, we Nam Kwang-Chorus visited an Old People's Home in Pusan. We bought several boxes of fish to console the old people in the home and we carried them. We opened a short party with chorus and dancings before the old people. Then, the old people were so pleased and thanked us dropping tears. They were so lonesome. We have visited once or twice them in a year.

In this time, we move to a new building that was built by our carpenter's member with the assistance of AFAK, as I had told to you by my last letter.

I close for now and I will write to you next month again. God bless you, I remain

With all my love and love,

Cho Kum Yo (K-305)
(Korea)

June, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

Hello, Dear Foster Parents! It gets hot day by day and I recollect the cool seashore. It is very busy for the harvest of barley and the planting of rice-plants in Korea now. Many kind of flowers are blooming on the gardens in our orphanage and I took a picture of myself in the flower-garden yesterday so that I send to you. I am sending to you it with this letter.

We held exercises in celebration of the completion of the new buildings in our orphanage on the 3rd of this month. The provincial governor, the mayor, some American soldiers of AFAK and the guests attended the ceremony. The superintendent, Mr. Park Tae Duk gave the letters of thanks and the momentos to the men of merit for the new buildings. We all friends and teachers opened an entertainment meeting so merrily at the hall.

The 25th of this month was the fifth memorial day of Korean-War and I never forget the day, even in dream. I had lost my dear family and house, as you may know, and I had become a war-orphan. On the day, all the Korean held a demonstration of anti-communism and marched the streets shaking the Korean flags. Also, the wounded soldiers, who had lost their eyes and arms and legs by the enemy's bullets, marched leaning the sticks together. When I saw them, I felt as if my heart would break with sorrow and the tears ran down my cheeks.

I hope the miserable war never burst out on this land again and we always thank to the friendly nations which helped our country in this time. It is just 10 o'clock and the sleeping bell rings now, so I must switch off the light and must go to bed. Hearing the chorus of frogs in the lake, I am longing for my old house and family. Until next letter, all my sincerest wishes to you.

With all my love and best.

Cho Kum Yo (K-305)
Korea.

June, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

I let you know that I received your monthly allowance of L. 5,000 and with all my heart I thank you for your kind thought on my behalf. Here we are in June; the country is so beautiful and rich; the ears of corn are waving, the roses smell so lovely.

I love flowers so much!

Having nothing else to tell you, I send you many regards on behalf of my family and many kisses from your foster child.

Vincenzo (Italy)

(DE SIMONE Vincenzo)

15th June, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

Again a month has passed very quickly. I am sitting at the desk and I am writing my monthly letter to you. I am writing again about the weather as this is the usual way in which I begin to write my letters to you. The weather is rather bad. The sky is often cloudy and it is cold and windy. Sometimes there are showers or even long periods of rain. Sometimes only the sun is coming out from behind of the clouds and then the world looks different. We hope that the weather will still change for the better. Our gardener has planted a lot of flowers and he is always looking up to the sky if the sun is coming out or not.

Now I must write you about the happy news that came to our school. I have passed the examination and nearly the whole class has passed it successfully. Thirteen of us went to sit for the examination and eleven of us passed the examination. I will go to the Boarding Grammar School which is far from my home.

We had Corpus Christi Day at our school. In Poland it was a great day. It was celebrated in every house. There was always a grand procession. The procession was going through the town. The priest stopped at four altars erected by the people. There the priest gave blessings to the town. There was also a choir in this procession. The choir was singing throughout the whole way they went. Girls were dressed in white and they were scattering flowers.

We had Whitsun holidays at our school. I went to my grandmother and spent a few days with her. I went to church only once because we had only five days holiday. I was also playing with my friends. During the holidays I was at a cinema. The film was about a man who killed a very rich man. But then came the day and I had to go back to school.

Now in England there is a railway strike. There are not so many trains running for the people. The trains are used to transport coal and other products from place to place. When I was to go back from home to school there was no train. So our school van came to our camp and we came back to our school by our school van. We left our camp very late as we had to wait pretty long time for the van. One boy from our class came one day later to school because where he was he could not catch any train.

In our school we have organised a scout group. Now our aim is to help not only the grown ups but also our younger friends. We have a place where we have our gatherings. During that time we are singing and talking about things which are right and which are wrong. It is nice to be a scout.

With all my love.

Z. Bednarczyk (Polishchild
in England)

May 19, 1955

To: Edward R. Murrow - 485/17

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

18th April, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

I was waiting three months for the Easter Holidays and at last they came. It was a very happy day when I left school. I went to my grandmother who is always very good to me and I love her dearly. When I camehome grandmother was waiting for me. She was very pleased to see me and made me at once a very good supper. I was very tired after the long journey and it was 6 o'clock.when I went to sleep. I never slept better than that night. Next day I got up very early and I went to church. It is a lovely little church and I like it. When I came back I went out to see all the places. Soon I met my best friend and I played with him. He showed me his new books. They were lovely. There were three books about Rupert and I read them. So some days passed very quickly. Every day I went to church because I was on holidays and I was free in the morning. At last came Easter Sunday. This day was a very sunny day and also a very happy one. We all were out in the open air and playing games like cowboys football and many others. This day passed very quickly. So came Easter Monday. Monday was a very good and rather funny day for boys and for girls. We got up very early, we took water in cups and we poured it on anybody we met. I do not know whether you know this custom. It is a Polish custom that on Easter Monday people can pour water on each other.

The rest of the holidays passed quickly and soon came the last day; I said goodbye to my grandmother and went back to school.

Now I am here and it is the 18th of April the first day of school. I sat down at once to write you my letter. I wrote always letters to you on the 15th but we came later back to school. Next time I will write you about our life at school. From the Foster Parents' Plan I have received 3lb of butter.

With all my love

Z. Bednarczyk
(Polish child-England)

o------o

April 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

As usual, I have received the 5000 liras monthly allowance and gratefully thank you for what you are doing for me and my dear ones.

Dear Foster Parents, in a few days it will be Easter and my dear ones and I send you our sincerest wishes of happiness and peace.

We have already entered Springtime; the trees and flowers are in full bloom, the meadows are green of new grass; the sky is always blue and the birds are now again merrily chirping, particularly early in the morning.

Best greetings, thankings and wishes from my dear ones and many dear and big kisses from

Yours affectionately
Vincenzo

(DE SIMONE Vincenzo-Italy

June 17, 1955

To: Edw. R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

15th May, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

I am very glad I can again write a letter to you. This is my second letter after my Easter Holidays.

The weather in our park is fine. There is much sun and there are not many rainy days. It is spring but not so fine as we hoped to have it at this time. There are many flowers in the fields. The green fields look lovely with those blue white and yellow patches of flowers. Now the trees are also getting green. There are again many daffodils everywhere in our park. Round our park along the hedges there is a long chain of daffodils and in the meadow beside our park there are also many of them. On our lawn the grass is very short and very even because it has been cut by the gardener. We would like to have a football ground with such a lawn. It would be wonderful to play on it especially for the goalkeeper.

In our school we had an exciting event. One evening at 8 o'clock we gathered in the hall. Some exercises made by the Civil Defence Corps were to take place. We all were to take part in it. We went into one room. There were some gentlemen who had putty and they made some wounds and injuries on our faces, legs and arms. We all were supposed to be injured or shocked by bombs and they took us down into the cellars. Then came some other people from the "Rescue Party." They had to find us and to take us to the hospital. They found me. I was quite pale, of course painted because my leg was broken. They took me on a stretcher and they went with me to the ambulance. After some time I was in a hospital. When I was well I came back to school in the same ambulance. There were many other exercises made especially by the Fire Brigade. It lasted more than an hour and then they all left our school. Now it is a very good month and it is the month of the Holy Virgin. It is May. Every evening we have a Service in our Recreation Room. In our bedrooms we made little altars with flowers and a picture of the Holy Mother. It is also a very happy month.

We celebrated a great day which is the Third of May. In the morning we pinned to our dresses small flags. On that day we had only lessons till dinner. After dinner we went out to play. We were playing football on that day. We had two very good teams. The score was 3 to 3. At about 4 o'clock we went to the Recreation Room. On the wall there was hanging a big flag and near that flag there were many flowers. We stood up in one group and we sang some songs. Then some boys and girls recited a poem. At the end we sang our national anthem.

On the sixth of May we went to the interview. It was the last part of our examination. One part of our class had to go in the morning after having milk, which we always get for our second breakfast. The other part went after dinner. We went to the grammar school. I went after milk and we had to wait in a room till they called us in. I was the second one. They asked me how old I am. I answered that I am 11 years old. Then they asked me if I had read some books, and many other questions. We waited till all the boys came out and we went together back to school. We have not yet received results. They will come on the 18th of May. We are waiting impatiently for all the results. We hope we all did well.

Our Teacher of English invited us to his home to see on the television the Cup Final between Newcastle and Manchester. It was a very interesting match. Whenwe saw that match and came to school we began to play football and we tried to play better. Now we know how to play. The score of that match was 3-1 and Newcastle won. We saw also how the Queen gave the Cup to the captain of the Newcastle team.

We shall celebrate our Headmaster'sBirthday on the 18th of May. The day will be free. We shall say our wishes and we will give him flowers. We will also sing some songs. They all will be birthday songs.

At our school there will be a very great celebration. It will be the First Holy Communion of some children. We have that celebration every year. It is always a wonderful day not only for the children who take their first Holy Communion but for all of us. Now we are working very hard. We have to finish the two big stained glasses and models which we planned to make. The models are very fine. They will all be ready at the end of our school year. We are cutting out with blades houses, people, and many other things. I was cutting a lot of soldiers. Some of them were Romans, some Normans.

From the Foster Parents' Plan I have received 4½lb. of powder milk and 5lb. of cheese.

With all my love.

Z. Bednarczyk.
(Polish boy - England)

May 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

I inform you that I received the 5000 lira check and I thank you very much for your good heart towards me and my family. I also inform you that it is already many days since we are having hot weather; in fact we are in May in which flowers are blooming and roses smell from very far. Besides we have begun to play again soccer ball in the open air. I wish I had more to tell you. Many dear greetings from my family and many kisses from your foster son.

Vincenzo (De Simone)
Italy

April, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

How are you, dear father? In Korea, the blue barleys are rising and falling by Spring wind in these days. The golden balls, cherry-blossoms and the peach-blossoms fell off already and now the leaves are growing vividly day by day.

5th of this month was Planting Day in Korea. On this day every year, all the Korean take a rest from their work and must plant the trees on gardens or mountains. In our school, we planted ten trees per one on the day. When I came from school, I also planted them on the gardens in our orphanage with many friends of mine. Have the American the Planting Day?

As you may know, 10th of this month was Easter Sunday. We got up at 4 on this dawn and we all friends and teachers had a dawn-worship singing the psalms. At the same time, all the member of choir sang in chorus at the broadcasting station. Our teachers gave us some nursery stories through the megaphone. It was very fun sure. I would like to hear about Am erican children's Easter.

The Children-Money in our orphanage was changed this time. I think I had told to you about the Children-Money by my letter once. We get one Hwan per one hour in these days when we work. I bought some things for my good study in this term at Nam Kwang Stationery with the Children-money this time. I saved the other money to the Children-Bank in our orphanage.

I close for now and I will write to you next month again. Praying to God for your good health and happiness.

With all my love and love

Cho Kum Yo (Korea)

March 22, 1955

To: Mr. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

January, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

How are you getting along in these days? Greeting the holy X-mas seasion, I received a nice present from Foster Parents' Plan for War Children Inc. in Korea and I was very much glad. I would like to hear from you more often and to receive your letters. I will never forget for your great favor and I will study more hard and I will become a good girl.

We all friends and teachers in our orphanage walked about all the streets singing the "Silent Night, Holy Night" at the dawn of X-mas day in spite of much cold weather. And we had a very nice X-mas party with many American soldiers in Pusan at our hall on the same day, as I had told to you by my last letter. I was one of the member of dance-group on the day and I received a wild reception with their hands clapping. We received lots of presents and we had a very good time sure.

We all friends and teachers in our orphanage got up at 1 o'clock at the night of 31st of Dec. 1954, and we celebrated the New Year's Day. Hearing the voice of steam-whistle knowing the New Year, our superintendent, Mr. Park Tae Duk, gave us some address of instructions. At the same time, we made an orphanage slogan of this New Year. That is "Raise up a power for one's life." We all friends in our orphanage must live by oneselves in our future.

A few days ago, we set up the megaphones each room in our orphanage. This is called Nam Kwang Children's Broadcasting-Station. We can hear the interesting news and sweet melody at one's room in these days and it is very fun.

I will write to you again. Praying to God for your good health and happiness, I close for now.

An nyung Hi.....

With all my love and love,

Cho Kum Yo (K-305)

February, 1955

To:

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

February, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

How are you, dear Parents? I am very well and studying very hard as usual. I was very much glad to receive your letter written 19th of last month. I was also very much glad that you have received my X-mas card and picture. Your letter was very interesting. Thank you very much, dear Parents.

How is the weather there? Spring has come here, in Korea, completely. All the ground frozen by the heavy cold of winter is thawing softly and the green sprouts of plant are shooting up lovely in sunny place. Many girls held the baskets are digging the culinary vegetables here and there. Do the American girls dig the culinary vegetables in Spring? Birds are singing merrily in the morning and my fell refreshed. I get up very early in the morning in these days and I go up a low hill with some of my friends in our orphanage. We have some sport on the hill and we breathe fresh air deeply. It is very fun and refreshing. All the little friends in our orphanage, who played only in the corner of the room in cold Winter, run about all the field and foot of the hill holding the hands each other. I like best Spring. Do you like best Spring, too?

By the way, Father, I have a specific favor to ask of you. Would you send me some kind of flower-seeds with your next letter, if you have many kind of flower-seeds in your home? I like best flowers, too. If you send them me, I will make a good flower-garden by myself and I will take some pictures of it and I will send to you one.

I will write to you soon again. Praying to God for your good health and happiness, and counting the days till I hear from you my fingers crossed, I remain

An Nyung Hi....

With all my love and love

Cho Kum Yo (K-305) (Korea)

February, 1955

Dear Foster Parents:

I tell you that I received the 5000 lire February allowance and we thank you very much for your good heart you have towards all of us; it has been raining for many days over here and there have been many landslides in the surroundings and the poor farmers cannot walk on many roads.

Many dear greetings from my family and many kisses from your foster son

Vincenzo (Italy)

February 21, 1955

Dear Foster Parents,

Thank you very much for the letter which I have received from you. It is so nice to have your letters as now I can read English much better. You asked me how many boys were playing last year in our school orchestra. There were over thirty boys in it. I still remember the play "Peter Pan" and I liked Wendy very much. I will write about our performance later when I know more about it and we begin our rehearsal. This time I will write you about a fine day we had about a fortnight ago. We went to London to see "Cinderella on Ice". It was such a wonderful performance that I cannot forget it.

When the day of departure came we left school after dinner. We went to London by a coach called the "North Star". This coach is very comfortable. The seats in the coach are very soft and we felt inside the coach, as if we were in a room. We said "Goodbye" to our school and we went off. We know the way to London and all the places on that route. Soon we were going through the streets of London and at last our coach arrived at a big Hall where the performance took place. When we came in we saw seats going up like seats in an amphitheatre. In the middle was ice. In front of us was a big curtain. On our left was an orchestra. The Hall was crowded and we all were waiting for the start of the performance. After some time the curtain rose and we saw the first scene of the show. On the stage was a little village. From that came many men and they began to dance. They were skating on the ice and singing. Then from one house came Cinderella. She showed a wonderful dance, jumping up, skating backwards, turning round and the orchestra was playing. When she finished we were cheering her. Then came another picture. Cinderella went to the forest to collect some wood. She met different animals and together with them she again danced a lovely dance. Cinderella danced in the middle. She passed quickly all the animals but she never touched one. Among the animals was a mole carrying a big lamp. Then all the animals desappeared because the noise of a hunting party came nearer and nearer. Only a deer remained and then entered the hunters. It was a fine scene the hunting scene. A group of dogs were running after the deer. The deer was escaping so quickly that the dogs could not catch it. And so the chase lasted for some time. All the dogs and hunters were on skates and the hunting was really a fine dance. At last Cinderella helped the deer to escape. Then came other scenes and everything was just as it happened in the fairy tale. We saw Cinderella in the kitchen. She was very unhappy because her father and her two sisters were going to the ball. When she was left alone she sang a sad song and went to dance first in the kitchen then on the ice. There she saw the Fairy God Mother who helped her to go to the ball. It was also a very fine scene when Cinderella got a lovely dress, beautiful shoes and everything was done on the ice. At last she gave Cinderella a beautiful coach shining in the lights because it was made of silver and gold. The ponies were harnessed to the coach. Behind the coach were the footmen. The orchestra played a march and Cinderella went into the coach which drove slowly to the King's Palace. The next scene was about Cinderella in thePalace. This was the most wonderful scene. She danced with Prince Charming. They were dancing very nice. She jumped sometimes high into the air or stood in one place and turned round and round. At last they sang a song, and then all the dancers were singing. So the performance ended. We were very sorry because it seemed to us too short. But we had to go back to our school. It was really a wonderful show and we were glad that we could see it.

With all my love.

Z. Bednarczyk

Foster Parents

January 12, 1955

Dear Mr. Robinson:

Thank you for your letter of December 30th.

I wish I had the time to serve on the committee of judges as you suggest, but I am very much afraid that the pressure of my schedule will not permit me to do so. I am sorry.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Arnold Robinson
Publicity Department
Foster Parents Plan for War Children, Inc.
Suite 5005
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

fc

Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

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December 30, 1954

No

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is written to you because you are one of the most important figures in the fourth estate and therefore can best aid us in selecting the outstanding journalism student in America to "cover" the story of Europe's distressed war children next Spring for Foster Parents' Plan For War Children.

Deans of thirty journalism schools across the country together with the managing editors of the newspapers in their cities are now hand-picking one journalism student from each of their schools as candidate for the European "assignment". The national winner, who we hope you will help select, will go to Europe as a professional news gatherer to get the story and pictures of what is being done to aid the "lost generation", the war children of World War II.

Since 1937, when Foster Parents' Plan was founded, we have cared for 84,000 war children in fifteen countries and over 500,000 Americans have helped do this. The story today is quite different from the early days and we think it is important for America to know all about it. That is why we are giving a free trip to Europe to the journalism student selected by his peers and the working press. He will be able to portray from first hand experience the conditions under which these destitute children exist and what is being done for them in their own countries and by Americans to lead them toward a more peaceful and fruitful future.

Please Send Clean Used Clothing, Shoes, Blankets, Small Kitchen Utensils and Toys to us:

43 WEST 61st STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

Contributions are deductible from income tax.

We are now in the process of getting finalists' papers gathered from each city and would like you to serve on the committee of judges who would select the winner.

Judging will be based on the professional skill with which the student handled a news assignment given him by his local managing editor, his or her scholastic record as submitted by the Dean of his college, and on his or her community relations.

Would you spend the few moments required to glance through these papers when submitted some time in the Spring of 1955?

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Robinson

Arnold Robinson
Publicity Department
Suite 5005
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Please address reply to:

AR:mw
Encls.

Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

In Canada:
P.O. BOX 65, STATION B, MONTREAL, QUE.

International Headquarters:
43 WEST 61st STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. - U. S. A.

January 1955.

Dear Foster Parent:

New arrangements have been made for the sending of packages, purchase of gifts, and the sending of cash gifts to "your child", and we hasten to inform you that:

1) In the matter of sending packages to "your child", instead of the postage charges for which we have billed you heretofore, there will be in the future, a charge of 50¢ for service and handling.

2) There will be a 50¢ service and handling charge also on gifts which PLAN purchases for you here in New York for shipment to "your child".

3) And, there will be a 25¢ service and handling charge on all cash gifts sent from the New York office to "your child".

We know that you will be interested to learn that through this new arrangement our work will be simplified and that in many instances the cost of mailing will be reduced for you.

Again, many grateful thanks.

Sincerely,

Lenore Sorin

Lenore Sorin
Associate Director

February 1, 1955

To: MR. MURROW

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

December, 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

How are you, dear parents? It has become long-looked for X-mas season. And I am awaiting for X-mas day, 25th of this month, pointing out a calender on my desk with my fingers crossed.

There are some X-mas trees and a laughing Santa Claus before the front-door of our orphanage, that were made and ornamented by ourselves, and they welcome us every day. Red, yellow, blue and many of small and beautiful electric balbs twinkle in the X-mas trees at night and it is very lovely sight.

Dear parents! The first of this month was birthday of our orphanage. Our orphanage is 12 years old since it was founded. On the day, we all friends and teachers in our orphanage wore new clothes and performed a ceremony with a modest mind. At night, we had a nice party eating rice-cakes, apples, candy and others. I mimicked a humpback dancer on the party and all my friends laughed out clapping their hands, as the room fall over. We had a very good time on the day.

Dear parents! There was a big fire at a supply company a little distant from our orphanage and all things were burnt to the ground. As you may remember, Foster Parents' Plan for War Children Inc. in Korea burnt out by Pusan Big Fire last year. We set the stoves each room in our orphanage from the first of this month, so so we are taking care of fire firmly now.

Dear parents! All housemothers in our orphanage are making pickles in these days and they are very busy. Do you know how to make pickle? Have you ever eaten Korean pickle? It is very nice sure. I wish, if possible, I send to you a jar of Korean pickle.

Hoping your warm love in this New Year also, and Merrily X-Mas and Happy New Year.

With all my love and love,

Cho Kum Yo (K-305) (Korea)

To: September 27, 1954

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

August, 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

I was very glad to receive your letter which you sent on last 9th of June. It was very interesting letter to me. I want to go to the three parks. Are you quite well dear foster father? Here I am very and study well in your warm care. Our school will close for our summer vacation from 25th of this month, July, and will open the new term from the first of September. During our vacation, we all brothers and sisters in our orphanage will have a camp-life at sea-shore for our good health, for one month as last summer. It is very interesting life sure. In that time, I will send to you my daily reports and picture at camp.

On last 10th of July was a Flower-Sunday so we all brothers and sisters in our orphanage had a good time with many of pretty flowers and we took some nice foodings.

It seems that it is rainy season now in Korea. It rains and cloudy every day, and it is very hard to see the sun in these days.

Awaiting your early reply with my fingers crossed, I remain,

With many of my love,

Your foster daughter,

Cho Kum Yo

(Postcard from Ely, Cambs)

Dear Foster Parents:

My best wishes from my summer holidays.

With all my love

Z. Bednarczyk

To: September 27, 1954

From: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

August, 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

I am now replying to your dear letter dated June 23rd and have greatly enjoyed the description of New York. You tell me about the great confusion and traffic in this city and I cannot but tell you about the monotonous life of my home town.

You say you often hear the tolling of the bell of the Church of Herald Square and that sometimes you cannot hear it owing to the noise of the automobiles. But you can at least hear something while here only very few automobiles can be seen. We cannot even hear the tolling of the Church bells since more than a year because our Church is a very old one and there is danger it may fall down if the bells toll. There was also a Church clock that used to ring every hour; but this clock does not work anymore since more than two years and the local authorities do not even think to have it repaired. The roads are all broken and trucks and automobiles can pass but with great difficulty; therefore no foreigners come here. We have only one fountain that pours water for 1600 inhabitants!

This is just a country place placed on a hill; the air is excellent and there are lots of flowers. Allthe houses, although very old, have balconies full of flower pots and every year there is a competition among us and a prize is given to the best balcony. As I told you, the air is excellent because from one side we have sea-air and, from the other side, we have mountain air. Our fruit is juicy and fresh because we all pick it directly from the trees. Our food too is very good. But we all long to go sometimes to town to the movies or the theatre and to see something of new. If you think you can come to pay me a visit I assure you that besides being a great pleasure for me and my friends, this would also be a thing of which we would talk about for many years!

Best greetings from my dear ones and a dear kiss from,

Your,

Vincenzo

Besides your 5000 liras monthly allowance, I also received, through Foster warehouse, a food parcel containing 2 bxs. of cheese and 3 of butter.

Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

In Canada:
P.O. BOX 65, STATION B, MONTREAL, QUE.

International Headquarters:
43 WEST 61st STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. - U. S. A.

CHRISTMAS FOR THE CHILDREN - 1954

It's hard to think of Christmas now during the hot summer months...but we must think of our children in Europe so that they will receive their gifts in good time for their Christmas holiday.

Many Foster Parents will want us to purchase their children's Christmas gifts for them and we will be pleased to do so. However, we should like to suggest a cash gift if you wish so that "your child" will have the joy of choosing his or her own gifts and the added privilege of sharing Christmas with those they love...which is truly in the spirit of Christmas. Also, your cash gift which can be in our offices as late as November 10 will assure you that "your child" will receive your gift on time without the complications sometimes arising from shipping problems which in the past have caused serious delays.

We all know that every child has some Christmas hope and dream which is not readily communicated to the adult world. Perhaps your cash Christmas gift this year will mean fulfillment for your child. Please send your check or money orders to us at the above address.

Foster Parents who want us to purchase gifts may use our shopper's service. We do ask you to be sure that your gift is ordered by September 1st. Your suggestions will be followed carefully in the selection of "your child's" gift, or if you prefer, our shopper who is familiar with the children's needs will choose appropriate articles. If you wish to use our shopper's service, send your check to us indicating that you wish to have a Christmas gift purchased for "your child", giving his or her name and number and we will arrange for the purchase of a gift in any amount you wish to spend from $1.00 to $25.00. A Christmas card will be enclosed and your parcel will include at least a small toy or game and candy to insure a real holiday.

Many Foster Parents will want to send packages they have made up...and these should be in our warehouse no later than September 15 to assure delivery on time..As usual, things most needed are clothing and food but, Christmas is no fun for a child without some little toy or game and candy. The governments in Europe recently made rulings which apply to Gift Parcels for export, and we will appreciate it if you follow these carefully. 1: No one gift for any child is to exceed $25.00 in value. 2: Not more than one parcel per week, to any child. 3: No luxury items such as jewelry, watches, cameras or radios. (Such items can be purchased for your child overseas by our Directors in each country.)

We ask please that our Foster Parents who are making up their own parcels, use the attached two gummed labels when mailing the package to us for shipment. You have only to fill in your name, number and return address and "your child's" name and number on one label. The other is our Contents of Parcel label which is also to be pasted on the parcel...in the lower left corner. It is most important that you fill in this label, listing each article separately, and giving the value of each.

Many thanks.

Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS — 43 WEST 61st STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y., U.S.A.
Telephone PLaza 7-8124 — Cable Address: Fosterplan
In Canada, P.O. Box 65, Station B. Montreal, Que.

1937 1954

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ESTHER WILLIAMS

August 27, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As you know, Foster Parents' Plan for War Children is one of our favorite charities -- with good reason. Since its inception, this organization has aided over 73,000 destitute children in Europe and Asia and that total is increasing daily.

This Fall, the Plan is starting a nation-wide drive for funds to buy Korean shoes for Korean children. You can see from the enclosed photograph that these shoes made of rubber are quite different from our American shoes. Korean shoes are preferable for Korean children because of their convenience. Koreans take their shoes off when entering a house, and these can be slipped on and off easily. Also the Korean roads are unpaved, and often muddy. Our Western shoes get drenched and are unusable till dry. Then, too, the Korean shoes are warm...rubber insulates and the Korean winters are hard. They cost only fifty cents a pair...made in Korea...and a child needs only three or four pairs to carry him or her through the year.

These shoes are urgently needed and it is vital for the health and well-being of the youngsters that this drive be successful. Within the next ten days you will receive additional material about the shoes and suggested spot announcements from Plan's headquarters in New York City. Won't you help this very worthy drive by using some of the material on your program?

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Steve Allen

Steve Allen,
East Coast Chairman
for Korean Shoe Drive

Art Linkletter

Art Linkletter,
West Coast Chairman
for Korean Shoe Drive

Foster Parents' Plan for War Children, Inc.

Please Send Clean Used Clothing, Shoes, Blankets, Small Kitchen Utensils and Toys to us:

43 WEST 61st STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

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August 23, 1954

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

15th July 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

Thank you very much for your letter. Time went quickly and now I am writing again at the table to make you a surprise with my letter.

I was again in the Polish hostel. We had a procession on Corpus Christi. The priest was going under the canopy held by four gentlemen. I was there too and we sang hymns at four altars. When the procession was over we gave a play and later returned to school.

The end of the school year is near and we are going to have an exhibition. I build a bridge which is going to be in the exhibition. Other boys made some things too. Some made a windmill which turns its wings.

I am glad that our holidays are coming. I shall stay with Grandma and play with my friends. We shall ride bicycles, fish and when the holiday are over return to school again.

From the Foster Parents Plan I have received 1 vest and 1 pants, and 2 lb. of butter and 2 lb. of cheese.

With heartiest greetings.

Z. Bednarczyk

July 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

I received your monthly allowance of lire 5000 and I thank you very very much. You are so good to me!

It is very hot here now and I go out in the evening when the air cools down and I play soccer ball with my friends: in the early afternoon you could not see any body in the streets, as it is too hot and also because every body goes into the fields for the harvest. If you could see the fields now! They look like seas of gold.

Love and lots of kisses

Yours affectionately

Vincenzo

June 17, 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

I am very sorry that I never received any your letter since I had received your letter on last December. Many friends in our orphanage are enjoying that they have received some letters and presents from their foster parents. What matters happened you? When you will receive this letter, surely write me a reply.

How are you in these days? I am always anxious for your health and hope that you are very well every time. I am very good and am going to school every day with many of my friends.

It is the harvest-time of barleys in these days in Korea, and this season is very busy to all Korean. In our orphanage, we had finished our harvest the day before yesterday, and we will begin to set rice-stubbles in a few days.

There are about fifty kinds of flower in our garden. Almost of them were in bloom, red, yellow, and white. It is a nice sight. Have you some gardens in your house?

Then, I must close this letter today. Sometimes I will write to you. In closing, I pray to God for your good health and happiness.

Counting the hours and minutes till I hear from you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Your foster daughter,

Cho Kum Yo.

Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

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ESTHER WILLIAMS

August 9, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Many grateful thanks for permitting us the use of your name in our work.

Sincerely yours,

Lenore Sorin

Lenore Sorin
Director Foster Parents' Relations

LP

Please Send Clean Used Clothing, Shoes, Blankets, Small Kitchen Utensils and Toys to us:

43 WEST 61st STREET, NEW YORK 23, N.Y.

Contributions to Foster Parents' Plan are deductible from income tax.

Foster Parents

July 30, 1954

Dear Miss Sorin:

In reply to your letter of June 16th I am, of course, happy to give permission to continue using my name as a sponsor for the Foster Parents' Plan.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Lenore Sorin
Director Foster Parents' Relations
Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.
43 West 61 Street
New York 23, New York

rh

Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

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PERCIVAL WILDE
THORNTON WILDER
ESTHER WILLIAMS

June 16, 1954

Yes.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As you know we have been using your name on our letterhead for sometime now since we have been informed that you are a member of a group at CBS who has been supporting some of our children. We need not tell you how very much your name as meant to us. Now we ask you for your written permission to continue the use of your name.

It is through the use of your name that we have been able to interest many others in our work. We are hopeful that you will find it possible then, to let us have your permission as soon as possible.

Many many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Lenore Sorin

Lenore Sorin
Director Foster Parents' Relations

LS:LP

Please Send Clean Used Clothing, Shoes, Blankets, Small Kitchen Utensils and Toys to us:

43 WEST 61st STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

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July 28, 1954

TO: Mr. Murrow
FROM: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

15th June 1954

Dear Foster Parents,

I looked forward to writing to you. Now I am glad I can send you some news.

On May 9th I was in Calmbridge with a large group of the children from this school. Our people from this district celebrated there the Xth Anniversary of the Battle of Monte Cassino in Italy. They sang songs and dance Polish dances. I took part on the choir. To finish with we sang British and Polish anthems.

Headmaster's birthday went off very well a week later. We were waken up by the record music through the adapter. We know that there was a nice day in front of us.

After breakfast all gathered in the Recreation Room to wish the Headmaster a happy birthday. We had ice creams for lunch and they were good too. In the afternoon there was a play acted by children and I had the main part in it. I acted a little boy who on St. John's night went to look for a magic fern flower which it was believed would give you anything you wanted if you found it. The boy did not know that you could only use the flower for yourself and not for the others. When some wood creatures tell him of it he does not pick up the magic flower although he found it, because he wanted to use its magic power to make his mother well who was ill. I enjoyed to act this part.

Spring was very cold and wet this year. Very often there were lightnings and thunders. We are looking to the hot days of summer.

From the Foster Parents Plan I got a food parcel.

With all my love.

Z. Bednarczyk

June 1954

Dearest Foster Parents:

After a very long and cold winter Spring has suddenly arrived with a terrible hot weather. The big snowfall of April 16, 17 and 18 has destroyed nearly all the crops of this year. People is complaining about the bad crops.

I am still learning the shoemaker trade by a teacher here and I therefore have no earning. I am doing this trade with good will and I have a great desire to learn it. However I am sad to think that as soon as I'll be a skilled

shoemaker I won't have money to install a little shop, but I'll work anyway. I hope that when I'll become a good shoemaker I'll win the lottery and I'll have then a big shoemaker shop. I'll try to give you the happiness to know I have a good job.

Hearty greetings from your foster son

Vincenzo

July 19, 1954

TO: Mr. Murrow
FROM: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

May 13, 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

How are you getting along these days? I am sorry that do'nt hear from you so long time, and I wish you and all your family a good health and happiness.

I am very well, and have a good time in school. I am taught Korean, Arithmetics, Music and several other subjects in school. I like Arithmetics and Korean very much of all subjects. Our school begin recently at half after 8 in the morning. We shall soon begin to learn sewing in school, and I was told it is indispensable lecture for girls.

It has been a fine weather here. The flowers are gone, and the plants are covered with verdure. The green fields of wheat are growing to be yellow, and the larks are merrily singing high in the sky. It will soon be summer here. The verdurous scene is also very fine, and it is not inferior to the flowery season of spring.

We went on a picnic with all house mothers of the orphanage to Puk-Myun in memory of the Mother's Day on the 8th of May. It is an excellent resort about 6 miles east of Pusan city we live, and there the large and smooth lake lies in the mountain. It was a very fine view, and we all had a very good time.

Well, I must finish now, and I will write to you soon again. I hope you a good health, and I am looking forward to receiving nice letter.

Yours sincerely,

Cho Kum Yo.

Foster Parents

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

June 1, 1954

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

15th April 1954

Dear Foster Parents,

I think of making this letter the nicest I have written to you.

Spring has arrived for good. We go for walks to see all new flowers that spring has given to us. Daffodils seem to be the nicest of all at the moment. They dance happily when the wind blows at them. Squirrels have waken up from long winter sleep. Birds are busy finding cosy spots for their nests. Jackdaws make them in the chimneys of our school which makes the fires smoke. Their nests will have to be destroyed unfortunately.

When it is not wet we can play football or hockey, for which we found long crooked sticks, because we have no proper ones to play with. Easter holidays start next Saturday. I am going for a fortnight to my grandma. I will play with my friends there, and I will enjoy myself as I can.

Here at school we are busy with lessons, particularly observing all new things that spring brings to us like tadpoles, seedlings which we planted in jars and also we are getting ready for the end of the school year concert in July.

I wish you a happy Easter.

T. Bednarczyk

April 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

I want to thank you for your monthly allowance and for all that you do for me a poor little orphan. Winter is over at last and we are going to have our wonderful springtime. The country is all green and plenty of flowers. I received your parcel containing one pair of shoes and some vitamin pills. I thank you very very much.

Very soon it will be Easter and I wish you all the best; may God bless you in all your wishes.

Lots of kisses and love: my family sends the best regards and I kiss you

Yours affectionately

Vincenzo

Foster Parents

June 16, 1954

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

15th May 1954

Dear Foster Parents,

Today is dull and it is good time for letter writing.

My school report for the spring term was very good. I spent Easter with my granny. I enjoyed my stay with her very much. I played hide and seek and other games with my friends. Days used to pass very quickly. On Saturday before Easter I took some food which granny prepared, to the church to be blessed by the priest. We ate that food for Easter breakfast. This is a Polish custom. Another week went after Easter and I returned to school.

There was a Polish holiday on May 3rd. There were no lessons on that day. The priest celebrated service for Poland in the morning. Then we sang songs and danced dressed in the national costumes. Bad weather spoilt the day, because there could not be any sports in the afternoon.

Now we are gradually ready for the end of the school year and there is much school work to be done yet.

With all my love,

Z. Bednarczyk

May 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

I received your monthly allowance of lire 5000 and I thank you very, very much.

The weather here is very bad and it is very unusual: we had snow lately and now it is still raining; very seldom we have sunshine and it is very bad for the crops.

I say bye bye for now and I kiss you with love.

My family sends the best regards.

Yours affectionately

Vincenzo

April 9, 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

It rains sometimes in spring. Yesterday was rainy weather but it is fine today. The grass and plants are full of the joy and they are getting to be more fresh and green.

I like a flower in the bud than in the best. I am not in my best but a life in the bud that no one guess it right what it is when a flower is out. I will continue to work for future. I like'a bright future' and it is all my passion.

How are you these days? It has been very long time since I had received your letter. Now a new term had begun and I am in third grade and enjoying myself in school. We sometimes go to mountain and field after school to gather the wild vegetables and enjoy spring.

The younger sisters in orphanage follow us and merrily run about culling the flowers.

I pray you write me more frequently, and I will write you again soon.

Yours sincerely,

Cho Kum Yo.

NOTE: This translation is pretty quaint. You will have to make your own re-translation.

J.M.

TO:

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

April 28, 1954

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

March 1954

Dear foster daddy, Mr. G. F. Maulsby,

I wonder if you enjoyed my last letter in February? I am always very sorry when I see my little friends who are enjoying reading letters and seeing pictures from their foster parents.

My dear foster daddy, yesterday I received my last term's result-slip from school. I was very glad to see my excellent mark in each lesson, and my nurse teacher too was rejoiced at my good record. I am very anxious to hear from you and to see your picture again my dear.

Now here in Korea where we live, it's spring for all the plants to bud out of the earth.

So all the leaves on the trees are budding and it's getting greeny world little by little. Now it's the best season of the year here.

But it will be soon hot summer. Then we will have merry camping trip at seaside again, and enjoy sea-bathing. This season is my favourite time of the year. I am sure it's nice season too now in America where you live.

I have some more to tell you, but I think I must stop writing here since the bell to let us go to bed has rung already.

Good night my dear!

Cho Kum Yo

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby April 8, 1954

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

15th March 1954

Dear Foster Parents,

While I am sitting in the warm classroom and writing this letter to you a wish comes into my mind. I would love to travel all the way along with my letter and see all the people, towns and seas before it gets to America, that would be very interesting.

Winter comes to an end. I saw snowdrops and crocuses in bloom this year. It was snowing again and this time we were able to make snowman.

A fortnight ago we went to the theatre by coach to see a musical called "Wild Violets." It was funny but too long and made us tired. We came at 11 o'clock back to school. We had to behave very quietly not to wake up the others when when we were undressing for bed.

Some of the children dressed themselves up Shrove Tuesday. It is a Polish custom. On Ash Wednesday Lent has started. We sing sad hymns for the morning players now.

Cheerful Christmas time went by. Our Class Newspaper has a division called "Puzzles and Crosswords". We like both.

We are making Easter cards for handwork now. One of them I am sending to you with my best wishes for a very happy Easter.

From the Foster Parents Plan I have received jacket, trousers, polo shirt and cap, soap.

love from
T. Bednarczyk

March 1954

Dear Foster Parents:

I received your monthly allowance of 5000 liras and my family and I thank you very very much.

The weather is lovely now and nearly every day I go out with my friends and we pick up lots of violets in the woods.

I say bye bye for now and I kiss you with all my heart.

Yours affectionately

Vincenzo

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

March 23, 1954

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

February 25, 1954

Dear Foster Parents,

My dear foster parents, I am terribly worried about my last letter written in January and a picture of me. Did you enjoyed both of them by now? Maybe you haven't got them as yet, those perhaps will not be delivered you forever. I am very sorry that, might you hear Radio, we had such a awful fire again in the neighbourhood of the Foster Parents' Plan Inc. just as a big fire in the Pusan Post Office before. And even the building of Foster Parents' Plan Inc. was burnt down by the fire. So that they certainly must have been lost in that fire. But fortunately it was not near our Orphanage, but we were awfully frightened at that fire. I am very sad with those burnt out. That time I told you all about this last Xmas and how wonderful time we had at Xmas season in our Orphanage, and also sent even a good picture of me dressed in fine clothes, made just beside Xmas tree decorated wonderfully.

It is winter here now, but I think it is also winter in America you live in. I love the spring best my self my dear, how about you? I can not get outside when it is too cold. From last night it has been raining to this morning, as a result of it, all the waters in ponds froze so hard that it was thick enough to skate on. So this afternoon we enjoyed so much the ice, propelling ourselves across icy ponds on sleds. We had a wonderful time at icy ponds this afternoon.

Well, now I must say "Good bye"

I'll write you another one soon again.

Cho Kum Yo

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

March 17, 1954

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

15th February 1954

Dear Foster Parents,

A month has gone since I wrote to you my last letter. Here I am writing to you again to tell you the lastest news of my friends and me. Not long ago we went by coach to a Polish Camp near Cambridge to give a Nativity Play there. I did not take part in the play but some of my friends did. There were shepherds, angels, three kings, Mary with Baby Jesus, Joseph, Herod, Death and Devil in the play. There were sad, funny and beautiful parts in the play. I enjoyed myself very much.

Weather changed much recently. We had a snowfall and frost. Sometimes the sun comes and we know it will be spring soon. Pods, Ponds and rivers are frozen now. We would like to slide on the pond but the ice is still to thin. Sometimes we go for walks. We can see then how the New Town is growing. I have never seen a New Town being built before. Sometimes we play football or other boys' games. When it is wet outside we got to the recreation room and spend our free times there. Boys in our class bought themselves an electric train to play with. We are also building the railway station with bricks.

We had some pictures at school. We like pictures very much.

From the Foster Parents plan I got lard, sausages, meat, dry dry fruit and eggs.

This will be all for now. Hoping to get a letter from you I sent you my love.

T. Bednarczyk

Dear Foster Parents,

I received your monthly allowance of 5000 liras and I thank you also in my family's name.

I want to tell you that it is snowing here and I like to do with my friends to play on the snow; it is very nice. People say that there are some wolves around here and a few nights ago two wolves were killed.

My family send the best regards and I kiss you with love.

Yours affectionately,

Vincenzo De Simone

Guide - Foster Parents

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby March 8, 1954

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

15th January 1954

Dear Foster Parents,

We have begun another year, and a new school term. Before we went on holidays our teacher of English gave me a little note book. And every day when evening came I sat down at the table and I wrote one or more sentences about all the day. And so that letter will be quite different from the other letters which I wrote during my holidays. When you read it you will see what I did when I was at home.

19th December.

Today I went home with my friends. When I was in the town I saw beautiful things in the windows. There were little Christmas trees. Those trees were looking very nice. On the trees there were plenty of coloured decorations. In the evening I came home. On the clock there was the time 10 o'clock. I went to sleep and I slept well.

20th December.
This morning when I awoke I saw my friend who came to see me. I was happy and then we went together to the church. Then we came back from the church and we were playing. We were jumping up and down a hill and we were very happy to be on holidays.

21st December.
In the morning when I awoke I dressed quickly and I went to my friend. We were playing again and we were making a hut. It was a lovely hut. I told him about our hut at school and we tried to make a hut as big as that one at school.

22nd December.
Today was also a happy day. We were playing with our cat. But that cat ran away from us and so we could not play with him anymore. That cat is very funny. We like to play with our small cat.

23rd December.
In the morning I went to my friend and I said to him "I will show you some thing." And he went with me. I showed him that a dog was running after a girl. The girl was running and crying. But I knew that the dog was not bad. He only wanted to play with the girl.

24th December.
In the morning I got up very quickly. And I was singing some songs about Christmas. Then came evening. It was Christmas Eve. And I went to the window and I saw the first star in the sky and I told it my grandmother. My grandmother said "Now we must say prayers." And we said prayers. Then we took the wafers and I wished my grandmother a very Happy Christmas. I recited her some poems and we sang some Christmas carols. Then we sat down at the table and we began to eat. Later we went to sleep. But at midnight we went to the church to the Midnight Mass. It was very nice and the choir was singing Christmas carols.

25th December.
In the morning we went to church and in the church all the people were singing Christmas carols. There were some special prayers for Christmas. Then we saw in the church a Manager. It was beautiful. Then we went back from the church home and we were playing.

26th December.
We went to church. I like to sing Christmas carols. They are very nice. When we came from the church I was playing on my harmonica. I like to play on the harmonica. When I come back to school I shall play in the school orchestra. My teacher told me that. So now I must play and learn to play better.

27th December.
Today I was playing with my friends nearly all the day. In the afternoon I went to the pictures. It was a lovely film.

28th December.
In the morning I met my friend who lives near us and we made a little hut for our little cat. We wanted to have a little cat. I have hot that cat from one man.

29th December.

I went to church. When I came from the church. I went to my friend. He has a fine Christmas tree. We stood before the Christmas tree and we sang Christmas songs. There was a parcel for my friend under the Christmas tree. Somebody put it there later.

30th December.
Today I went to the cinema with my friend. I saw there a coloured film. The film was lovely. I like to look at coloured films. We had plenty to talk about when we came back home.

31st December.
This day was a fine day. I went to my other friends and I said to them. "Come and play Indians and cowboys." And we played cowboys. We went to the bushes to play Indians. The boys like to play Indians and cowboys and we have so many nice placed to play. Just as on the films.

1st January.
Today is the first day in the new year. Now we have 1954. On that day we sat at the table and we read English and Polish books. I read one book. The title of the book is "In Britain long ago."

2nd January.
Today I went to my friends and we made a bow and arrows and we wanted to make a little hut for us. But we began to shoot and play and then there was no time for making a hut.

3rd January.
When I looked out of the window in the morning I saw snow on the ground. I went out to make a snowman. But the snow was not good for that. Late in the afternoon there was no snow only the ground was wet and there was mud.

4th January.
I think always about the snow. But no snow is coming.

5th January.
Today one of my friend went to school. And I went to another friend and we played there chess.

6th January.
Today we have snow. I went also to that friend and we made a little fortress and a snowman.

7th January.
Today I was reading and writing. I sat at the table and I wrote some stories. I wrote also some poems and letters. And then I took a book and I read till evening came.

8th January.
I went to the pond and near the pond there were some reeds growing. I took those reeds and I wanted to make a little hut. But then I met my friends and I forgot about the hut.

9th January.
Today is the last day at home. Tomorrow I shall go back to school. I again went to my friends and we were making a snowman. We gave him a stick a hat, we made him a nose, eye and mouth, and we were happy that we made such a big snowman.

10th January.
Today I went back to school. I was very happy to see again my friends. I came back when it was late. I was tired so I went to bed.

11th January.
When I awoke I saw that I was not at home but at school. I went down to see all the places. I played with my friends football and we also played many other games. One boy has a ball for rugby. Now we play rugby.

12th January.
Today is the first day at school. I am happy that I am back at school. We all must read and write at school. We all must work because we want to be clever.

The 12th of January is last day in my diary. Next month I will write another letter to you.

From the Foster Parents Plan I have received a Christmas present.

With love

T. Bednarczyk

January 1954

Dear Foster Father Mr. Gerald F. Maulsby and Dear Friends,

I want to tell you that I received your monthly allowance of 5000 liras and I thank you for all that you do for me; my family too thanks you. It is very cold here and we have snow; little birds are very cold. I received one parcel containing 9 pieces of soap, one pair of trousers, one wool jacket and I thank you.

Lots of kisses and love.

Yours affectionately
Vincenzo

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

December 1, 1953

Mr. Edward Murrow
Foster Parents.

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

October 15, 1953

Dear Foster Parents,

I am very happy that I am back at school. I nearly forgot about the holidays but I am always thinking about my grandmother.

Autumn is in our park and many leaves are already on the ground. We can see them falling down from time to time but there are still many on the trees. They are yellow red and some are golden and brown.

In our park it is still nice and we are playing happily all games. We also sing in our park and march about. When we are playing we pretend that we are skiers. We like to play that we are skiers because our play ground is big. Now in our park there are not so many birds as in summer. And now the birds are not singing as before. The birds have left us and have flown to the warm countries like Africa. Some birds did not go away. Those birds will stay here with us during the winter time. We put some bread on the windows and the birds came to the windows where the bread is lying and they eat the bread. Some children are making little houses for those birds. Those birds are very happy to have their own houses and they will live in those small houses. We are very happy to have them with us.

Some days are nice but some days are not so nice. Some times rain is falling and the sky is gray for many days. The days are much shorter than they were in Summer. After tea we go to our park and we play only to six o'clock. Then we go back into the house because it is dark. We can play on in the house.

Now we must learn very hard. We are learning about history of England, how the Romans came to Britain. We shall learn about many plants on our lessons of Nature Study. We learn from our Polish history about a great polish king called Bolstaw Ohrmbry and about St. Adalbert. We shall learn about many other kings.

When some days are nicer we are going on long walks. We are going to the new town which the people are building now near our school. We can see how they build plenty of houses. I think that I would like to be a housebuilder. We also pick blackberries which grow on the bushes.

Santa Claus is near and I am very happy that he will come to us. All children are very happy that Santa Claus will come to our school. I would like to get from Santa Claus a steoroscope "Wievmaster". Some days ago our Priest had his brithday. We sang some songs, we wished him many happy returns of that day. We also were reciting some poems. After the service we played till evening, then we went to bed.

From the Foster Parents' Plan I have received a food parcel, 2 vests, 2 p. underwear, trousers, a sweater and soap.

With all my love,

Zbyszek Bednarczyk
(C-14285)

October, 1953

Dear Foster Father, Mr. Gerald F. Maulsby
and Dear Friends,

I received your monthly allowance of lire 5000 and I thank you very very much for all that you do for us, little orphans. My family too thanks you.

It is raining here and all people working in the fields for the vintage comes back all wet.

Winter is on the way and I am not very happy thinking that I cannot play anymore in the open.

My family sends the best wishes and thanks, I kiss you with love.

Yours affectionately,

Vincenzo De Simone
(C-25926)

September 26, 1953

Dear Foster Daddy,

How are you, daddy?

I am very well and sound with little friends of mine. It is cooler and falling season began. Sometimes I go to the hill to pick up some leaves coloured, that is big fun for us.

In the field we found many flowers had withered away. There at the field we pick up many leaves in colour and brought them home for some fun.

I suppose, dear foster mother and father, fall must have visited to the place where you live.

I tell you about me something, now I am in the second grade of the primary school, and I go to school every day merrily.

Well, I close for now and will write again, bye bye.

With lots of kisses,

Cho Kum Yo
(K-305)

TO: Edward R. Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

Foster Parents

October 22, 1953

SP

FOSTER PARENTS' LETTERS

August 1953

Dear foster father Mr. Gerald F. Maulsby
and dear American friends,

My family and I thank you for the monthly allowance and for increasing it to L.5000. I got a food parcel with many good things in it: rice, cocoa, sugar, margarine and four cans of meat and sausage. I thank you with all my heart and feel sure that the good God will reward you for all your kindness to us, poor orphans. We have been informed that we must tell you if we go into some orphanage or are there already. I am at home and I am learning to be a showmaker in my little village.

Best wishes from my family and lots of kisses from your foster son.

Your foster son,

Vincenzo De Simone
(C-25926)

July 1953

Dear Foster Parents:

How are you these days, dear dad?

Have you received my letters which I wrote twice to you the other day? I regret to say that I have not received it yet and am still eagerly waiting for it.

Sultry summer weather has visited us here in Korea. We will have our summer vacation in about ten (10) days and are going to have camp life near the sea as we did in the last year.

Our garden in the orphanage is dressed new with many pretty flowers. I hope you will have my letter soon, before these flowers wither.

I feel much happy to think of that I am going to camping near the sea. I like the sea: How vast and endless she is! I believe you do too. Don't you? It will please me to swim in the sea, to row a boat and play round on the sands.

I will close my letter now, looking forward to hear soon from you and have your picture too.

Pray to God for your health. So long, dear parents!

Love,

Cho Kum Yo

September 20, 1953

Dear Foster Parents:

I am very happy to be back at school. I will still write you something about the end of our school year. At the end of our school year we had many visitors at our school. They were looking at our school exhibition which we had prepared. Besides there were some performances. Some children were dancing and some children were reciting different poems. I was also reciting some poems. It all was very nice. Some plays were very funny and all the people were laughing.

At our school there was an orchestra. There were some funny nursery rhymes. Some boys were singing and the others playing. I was not in that orchestra because there were playing the bigger boys. I was not so big at that time. But maybe this year I shall take part in that orchestra. I am very happy that I am in this school. I am in the third Junior now. I will learn much better because I must get a good report at the end of the first term. All my friends are back at school and we are playing some new games. We have learned how to play cricket. The girls play their games which they like.

Next day after the end of the school year I went to my grandmother. It was very nice there and I was very happy when I came to my grandmother. My grandmother was also very happy. I was going many hours by train to my home. I was going with some of my friends. When I came home I saw my grandmother, my uncle and my best friend with whom I was playing during the holidays.

One day I went with my friend to the river. He was catching fish. He caught one big fish. Next day we also went to the river. This time I was also fishing. We caught again plenty of fish. We were there many times. At last came the day and I said "goodbye" to my friend, to my uncle and my grandmother.

Now I am back at school and I will be a good pupil. Now I close my letter.

With love,

Zbyszek Bednarczyk
(C-14285)

September 1953

Dear Foster Father, Mr. Gerald Maulsby:

I received the August allowance of L.5.000 and my family and I thank you most heartily. I also thank you for the shoes that fit me very well.

Here it is very hot in my little village;we have only one pump. If it does not rain soon we will die of thirst.

Lots of love to you from all my family and fond kisses from your foster son.

Your foster son,
Vincenzo De Simone

Wed. 11/19/52 Studio 9
12:15 - 12:30

Engelsad.

THIS IS FOSTER PARENT EDWARD R. MURROW. I WANT TO WELCOME GEORGE, WHO HAS COME HERE TO THANK AMERICANS FOR HELPING TENS OF THOUSANDS OF HIS LUCKLESS BROTHERS AND SISTERS THROUGH FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN FOR WAR CHILDREN. WON'T YOU HELP GEORGE BRING HOPE AND HELP TO THESE CHILDREN IN EUROPE? WRITE FOR INFORMATION TO FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, BOX 944, NEW YORK 8, N. Y.

HELLO! THIS IS FOSTER PARENT EDWARD R. MURROW. LITTLE GEORGE HAS COME TO AMERICA ON BEHALF OF EUROPEAN WAR CHILDREN TO WISH YOU A HAPPY HOLIDAY AND TO ASK YOUR HELP IN FEEDING AND CLOTHING THEM FOR THE COMING WINTER.

WON'T YOU HELP GEORGE BRING HOPE AND HELP TO THESE NEEDY CHILDREN? WRITE FOR INFORMATION TO FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, BOX 944, NEW YORK 8, N.Y.

Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

AMERICAN HEADQUARTERS — 55 WEST 42nd STREET — NEW YORK 36, N. Y.
Telephone LOngacre 4-6647 — Cable Address: Fosterplan
In Canada, P.O. Box 65, Station B. Montreal, Que.

FIFTEENTH

1937 1952

ANNIVERSARY

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THORNTON WILDER
ESTHER WILLIAMS

November 12, 1952

Yes.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

While we know how very busy you are and we do hesitate to write to you, this matter is of such great importance to us that we ask of you a little of your time if you can possibly manage it. Actually we need about one hour and at your own convenience sometime next week (week beginning November 17).

We are having one of our children visit us during the month of December and we need advance spots for recording for what we are trying to make a special event. Do you think you could help us on this? We need a few fifteen second spot announcements. If you can help us, would you please let me know what time you can give us. I do believe that not more than one hour on any day will do...the studio is conveniently located...Mary Howard Recordings at 37 East 49th St. PL 8-7910 3rd

Could you let me know please whether or note you can help us, and if so, when, so that we can set up the time with the studio. I shall of course be there to meet you...and many, many thanks.

A quick reply will be most helpful so that we can proceed with the project.

All good wishes.

Cordially

Lenore Sorin

LS:df

Lenore Sorin
Director Foster Parents' Relations

Please Send Clean Used Clothing, Shoes, Blankets, Small Kitchen Utensils and Toys to our WAREHOUSE, 5-30—47th AVE., LONG ISLAND CITY 1, N. Y.

Contributions to Foster Parents' Plan are deductible from income tax.

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PERCIVAL WILDE
THORNTON WILDER
ESTHER WILLIAMS

November 13, 1952

Mr. Ed Murrow
C.B. S.
485 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.

Dear Mr. Murrow..

In consideration of the letter I wrote you yesterday, asking for your help in making a few 15 second spot announcements...we believe you will want to know the complete situation. The Greek government has asked the Plan to accelerate help to their children, and to bring one Greek child to this country in order that interest and support of Greek children be appreciably increased.

We are therefore bringing one George Georgias...who was here on a special visit three years ago for the special fitting of limbs by Dr. Rusk....George is a double amputee. You will see enclosed the photo of George as he was in 1949. You will also see a set of photos of George as he is with his limbs, and the captioned pictures fully tell his story of rehabilitation...he is also a well adjusted child.. the head of his class...interested in sports, and altogether normal in his attitude towards his friends and the world in general. WE believe that much of this was made possible not only through the material help he received but because he has had the opportunity of living in one of our colonies, THE LEA, just outside of London...he lives here with a large group of children of many, many different nationalities.

In order to make George's stay here a special event, thus helping other children, we find we need some spot announcements, and we felt that you with a few of our other Foster Parents who could be of help to us, might consider giving of your precious time to do these spots for us. While I have not had the time as yet to write them...they will be in content

PTO

Please Send Clean Used Clothing, Shoes, Blankets, Small Kitchen Utensils and Toys to our WAREHOUSE, 5-30—47th AVE., LONG ISLAND CITY 1, N. Y.

Contributions to Foster Parents' Plan are deductible from income tax.

something like the attached copy.

To get back to George for a moment...his background is...a complete orphan..who was picked up on the streets where he was crawling and begging.. in Corinth, Peloponese. His father wad killed fighting the rebels, his mother lost her life during a raid on their native village. He has no sisters or brothers. George lost his limbs after a passing German truck ran over him necessitating the amputation of both limbs. The Plan has been looking after him, giving him the special attention he needs.

I do hope that this information will answer any questions and clarify our reasons for asking your help.

We would be grateful for an early answer. Again.. many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Lenore Sorin

Lenore Sorin
Director Foster Parents' Relations

ls/nn

SAMPLE SPOT.....FIFTEEN SECONDS

PERHAPS TWENTY....

THIS IS FOSTER PARENT ED MURROW. I WANT TO WELCOME GEORGE WHO HAS COME HERE TO THANK AMERICANS FOR HELPING TENS OF THOUSANDS OF HIS LUCKLESS BROTHERS AND SISTERS THROUGH FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN FOR WAR CHILDREN. WON'T YOU HELP GEORGE BRING HOPE AND HELP TO THESE CHILDREN IN EUROPE? WRITE FOR INFORMATION TO FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN BOX 944, N. Y. 8, N. Y.

P. S. It may be that not more than one or two of these spots will be necessary.

Ed. R. Murrow

October 6, 1952

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

Nancy
FYI and
file

SP

Last week the Foster Parents Plan people in Rome arranged for Vincenzo De Simone to spend ~~a day with~~ Ned Calmer. Following is Ned's report on the visit, which I think you will find very interesting:

"Vincenzo De Simone came to Rome October 1st accompanied by his uncle, his nearest male relative. Vincenzo has a mother, whom he seems devoted to, and two sisters who live with the family in a rural area some 30 miles from Campobasso. It's wine and olive country, roughly halfway between Naples and the spur on the Italian boot. No problems of land reform are involved because all the properties are small pieces of land (no big landowners to exploit the peasants) and though the local production market is depressed because of falling prices in the wine industry, there is no Communist problem, at least as yet. Judging from a talk with Vincenzo's uncle (a very intelligent, well spoken man who was an anti-fascist partisan in Yugoslavia during the war and self-educated to a remarkable degree) the people in Vincenzo's home "paese" are peaceable, hardworking folk, good Catholics and supporters of the Christian Democrat (government) party in politics.

"Vincenzo seems typical of them. At 12 he appears sturdy and sound, but the tragedy in his early life apparently has stunted his growth and he will not be as tall as the men in his family. Like most war victims (there are 2500 like Vincenzo on the Foster Parents' rolls alone in this country) he is much older than his age. His natural peasant taciturnity adds to this impression of a withdrawn child, but I think it is a deceptive impression largely due to his shyness. He was moreover practically stunned by his first visit to Rome. After he got a little used to his surroundings and more himself with me, he thawed quite a bit.

"He has the friendliest pair of brown eyes you ever saw. It's a good face, open and honest. He will be a man of much character. Vincenzo has now finished the equivalent of our fifth grade in his education. The family can no longer afford to send him to school and he is eager to apprentice himself as a mechanic. He likes especially "truck repair jobs," he told me. The sleek warplanes he sees every day in the skies above him (he lives not far from the air base at Foggia) don't seem to interest him as much as a truck. Maybe the truck fits more into the picture of down-to-earth practicality and realism you get in his attitude (God knows, boys like Vincenzo have to be realists). NB: any mechanical gadgets you can send him will fill his heart with gratitude. I think he would prefer tools to toys.

"He was fascinated by the Columbia LP record player attached to my radio. He has, of course, no radio in his own home. Soon after his arrival in Rome Vincenzo came to my apartment with his uncle and a very capable, charming woman attached to Foster Parents here who had won the boy's confidence immediately. We had lunch((it was a feast for V. and his uncle; the first time the kid had ever seen agnolotti (ravioli), much too expensive a dish in his paese, where you get meat once a week if you're prosperous and otherwise live on vegetables))

and Vincenzo drank good white wine with his meal in manly fashion.*

"He has a lot of poise considering what he has been through in life. During lunch I asked him what he wanted most as a present from me and what he wanted most to see in Rome. He obviously hates to ask favors of anybody, but he finally selected a soccer ball and St. Peter's. On the way through the city his uncle discussed the ancient ruins we passed (he knows more about some of them than I do, though he had never seen Rome before) while Vincenzo sized things up. Vincenzo doesn't say much, and he doesn't miss much either. Before going into St. Peter's we arranged to have him photographed chatting with a papal sentry at the gateway to Vatican City. That will certainly be something to show the gang in Campobasso!

"I told Vincenzo that if he had given me a little more notice I would have arranged to get him in to see the Pope. For once I don't think he believed me. Inside the church he seemed more interested in kissing St. Peter's foot than in studying Michelangelo's Pieta, (there's his practical touch again), and said he wanted to bring some sort of religious memento back to his Mamma. When we parted company later, he seemed so overwhelmed by everything that was happening to him that he hardly knew how to say thanks or goodbye. It's nice to know that Vincenzo will never be a smoothie. I'll bet he never let go of that soccer ball all the way home.

"*(above): He ate four helpings of agnolotti, a large escalope Milanese, three helpings of string beans, Bel Paese and Gorgonzola cheese, half a loaf of bread and butter, two pieces of pastry, three glasses of wine and coffee."

TO: E R Murrow -17

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

November 17, 1952

$5 a month

Pd 12/10

30

FOSTER PARENTS - 1953

With December almost on us it's time for us to let the Foster Parents Plan know our intentions for next year.

Please check the form below and return to me.

Many thanks.

Jerry Maulsby

CBS FOSTER PARENTS

ward R. Murrow

Jerry Maulsby

July 23, 1952

Here are some letters from our three kids. I gather from the tone of them they aren't receiving much mail. Let's get going!

I don't know to whom the letter from Vincenzo that refers to Barbara should be addressed. Whoever it is, thanks for being the exception.

Although the others are translations, the letters we receive from little Zbyszek are written in English

Dear Foster Parents:

As usual, I have just received, through the Plan, your monthly cheque for which I thank you very heartily.

Grandmother thinks the best would be to keep the money of the coming months to be able to buy me, just before the winter, a set of new clothes. For the summer, I can manage with a pull-over I am knitting myself and two little light dresses I had last year. I shall only buy a sun's hat and sandals.

The weather here is rather cool for the season; meanwhile, during Easter's week, we had really a summer's heat.

At school, we are working at different things which are to be sold at the school-feast just before the holidays. I have to sew and embroider a blouse (chemisier) in a stuff we call "plane's linen." Then I shall make a few others of several colours. I hope they will be all right. I had a good success last year with such a work and, having more experience now, if I keep careful, I guess the "blouses" will be sold pretty well. The sale's product is to buy stuff and material the apprentice's classes need.

I hope you are all quite well. I am myself much better than last year.

Many kisses from your very affectionated

Marcelle Meilhac
(C-14350)

Dear Foster Parents:

I always think of you and I go to school. I often speak of you with my companions at school and with my uncles. Please write more often. I shall always write to you.

This month I have had the allowance too, I had also a parcel with 60 vitamine pills, 2 tins lard, 2 tins meat and 6 tins saussages.

In the evening I go to hear the people who speak in the squares, because there will be elections on May 25th. Do they also hold speeches in your country?

(more)

I have had a beautiful letter from you, and am glad to know you have 3 children. I go to the grammar school, but I should like to continue my studies, to be a teacher one day. I shall be very glad to have a letter from Barbara, written in Italian.

With much love and many thanks.

Your foster child

Vincenzo De Simone
(C-25926)

Dear Foster Parents:

I am writing you nice letter every month and tell you about myself and my family. Why don't you write to me? How I would like to hear from you. Will you write?

In a few days I will to with a summer colony to Termoli with other orphan children. I will surely enjoy myself and will go swimming.

Thank you for the money you send to me. This month I received 4025 lire.

Love from your affectionate

Vincenzo De Simone
(C-25926)

Dear Foster Parents:

Last month was a month of great surprises. On the 18th of May our Headmaster had his birthday. We gave some performances and we danced. The day was very warm and so some performances were given in the park.

In the morning we all wished the Headmaster many happy returns of that day and then we went to church. In the performances the boys were dwarfs and the girls different birds. We made exercises with small flags. At last we all went to the Recreation Room to see a performance given by the elder boys. It was an "automatic orchestra" and it was very funny.

I am very well and I am trying to do my best at school.

With love

Zbyszek Bednarczyk
(C-14285)

ster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

55 WEST 42nd STREET — NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

BULLETIN

NUMBER ONE JULY, 1952

"THAT WE LOVE ONE ANOTHER..."

So that our Foster Parents will know how far our work extends and how meaningful is the tradition of America, we give you here a few excerpts from letters from men in the service of our country.

"I have been serving as a Flying Officer out here in the Far East now for the last two years, and during that time I have watched the misery of war, and the children who are the most poignant victims and I guess there will never be enough aid for them to make up for their suffering". Capt. M.K.H., USAF.

"I thank you for your kindness and consideration in my request about Andre Aubrey and his mother. I feel much better now. He is but eleven years old and consequently he does not compose a rhetorical letter. But I wouldn't have them otherwise. Even though my shipmates and I have a most difficult time translating his letters so they make sense to us. We get our meanings a bit off now and then. As a result of Andre and his letters, about ten of us are taking up French by correspondence school. Perhaps some day I can write to Andre in French, but not for some time to come. Kindly allow me to be of service to you should the occasion arise, and thank you". J.K.R., USN.

"The experience of seeing at first hand exactly what war does to children prompts this letter. My eyes have been opened. I was once mobbed by an entire pack of war children, grubby tikes, shoving in one crushing sea of grubby hands, shining eyes and runny noses trying to get close enough to touch me and have me notice them as individuals. It seemed that they would wipe away their memories and loneliness by just tugging at an American uniform. I wanted to be able to call down a miracle on the spot to give them the happiness and security they wanted. I can never escape the memory of that episode. Tonight I saw an advertisement in the New Yorker magazine and I knew I had found one possible answer to the question, how can I help?"... Cpl. C.G.M., AF

"Dear Foster Parents: Would you find an Elena, Reggie, Bernadette, Maxie or a Giovanni for me? I would like to belong to one of them. They and I have not ceased to have an affinity. The war still does go on for us. Provision, however, was made for me and my disability. Foster Parents offers a way for me to share. A child brings me closer to God". Very truly. Sgt. J.A.K., V.A. Hospital.

Such are the things that Foster Parents are made of...and in these days with our boys fighting across the seas, they think not of themselves and their misery and weariness but of the youngsters of the world whose future they are fighting to secure...This is brotherhood... "THAT WE LOVE ONE ANOTHER..."

* These bulletins will come to you from time to time to keep you informed and because we believe you are interested.

Mr Murrow

October 15, 1951

FROM: Jane Hadra

SP

The following letters were received from the Foster Parents' War children:

Dear God-father: Att: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

It is with pleasure that I have just received your letter dated 22nd of May. I thank you for asking news of my Grand-Mother and sister Nicole. They are all right.

Nicole took her first Communion on the 5th of May. She was pretty in her white dress. She is three younger than me.

Spring slipped by in France as it was cool and rainy, just the kind of weather we have in Autumn. We now are in Summer but the weather is not as hot as it was during the past years. Let us hope it will keep warming so that I can go to the river and swim in it.

I do not know your emission on the wireless, "Listen Now." But I often hear the voice of America and I wonder which one of my god-fathers talks when I listen. I am very curious.

My Grand-Father used to read to us at night out of his newspaper, what welcome was given to General Mac Arthur, in America. The people saying hurrah and throwing things which looked like wreathes. The show must have been beautiful to look at.

I have worked well at school and at the workroom. I have been rewarded. I passed my primary School Certificate, and at the School Show, which took place on the occasion of the prize-giving, I got the honor prize for studies in general and the first prize for sewing and embroidery. I was given two rewards, a beautiful book nicely illustrated and bound, and an embroidered table-cloth which I shall keep for when I am a grown-up and have a house on my own.

I still have two years to go to the workroom to obtain my diploma, the C.A.P. (Professional Studies Certificate.) I shall then get a job.

Accept, dear God-Father the kisses from -

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Foster Parents: Att: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

It is with much pleasure that I write you this letter to thank you with all my heart for the money order which we received, as every month, through the Foster Parents' office of Paris.

With this money and with the one of the late months, my Grand-Mother bought for me a silk-dress colored "bois de rose" with flowers on it. I suppose it will be strong and that I shall be able to wear it all Summer and next Autumn.

Before the holidays which will start on the 13th of next month, the school I am going to will give a show on the occasion of the prize-giving. At the present time, we are learning a short comedy which I have a part in. As I have not a too awful voice, I shall sing in the choir.

I am expecting a prize which will be a beautiful book, illustrated and bound, as I have always been among the first pupils of my class.

Grand-Parents took me and my sister on a picnic day last Sunday. We walked in the Montmorency forest, trees were green and very beautiful. The alleys were shady. I very much like the Nature, the trees, the rivers.

As during the passed years, I shall spend my holidays in the center of France, which I very much appreciate for its picturesque country.

I send you big kisses, my dear God-Fathers.

Your god-daughter,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear God-Father: Att: Mr. Lester Gottlieb

I have just received your nice letter written on the 23rd of April and it is with pleasure that I answer it.

I am in good health, still feeling a bit tired after this school-year work.

I am going away on holidays in a few days and I feel glad when I think that I am going to rest and breath pure air.

You were graduated in your work and I congratulate you. I hope you will give me as good news as these ones every year, till you get to the highest position in your administration.

I am going to talk a bit of myself.

I passed with success my Primary School Certificate last month. Besides, on the School year's day, I got the honor prize plus the 1st prize for sewing and embroidery. I was given a very nice book and an embroidered table cloth which will make a table runner.

The school reopening will take place on the 1st of October. I shall attend then the 2nd year apprenticeship. The third one will be the end of the apprenticeship and I shall then take the C.A.P., a state diploma, which certifies that you know enough technical things to work. I shall afterwards have to serve my time in a workroom. I shall be seventeen at that time and won't be late.

Please accept, my dear God-Father, the loving kisses from

MARCELLE MEILHAC

NOTE: These letters were written in July 1951. I'm sure the children would appreciate hearing from their Foster Parents.

July 24, 1951

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Miriam Kerrigan

S/O

The following letters were received from the Foster Parents' children:

March 1951

Dear Mr. Maulsby:

I am in good health and hope the same goes with you.

Last Sunday, on the 25th of March we celebrated the 130th anniversary of our National Independence day. On that very day we were liberated from the Turks. Our teacher delivered a speech in which he said that Greece was the first of all the states that raised a Revolution flag on the 25th of March. Greece was then the most civilized nation, that's why she iw worth being free. Kanaris was asked how he dared fight the Turkish Armada in such a little ship. He answered: "I told myself that I would die for my country." Kolokotronis was told: "Where are you going, you old man, the Turks are mmerous at Dervenakia". The old man of Moria answered: "I will die here, so that I am eaten by the crows of my country." Our teacher finishing his speech, said: "Such Greeks, Greece and I want you to be."

The President of the Great America, appreciating Greece and the Greek people, sent a moving cable to our King.

Thank you ever so much for your lovely presents.

With many fond kisses,

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Dear Foster Parents:

It is with such gratitude that my Grand Mother has received your monthly allowance. Thank you ever so much.

Your money will be used to buy and make a summer dress. It is the material I received from you; since it is a little thick, I shall be able to wear it next winter.

Owing to your generosity, I shall be well dressed for spring.

I am now on Easter vacation for few days already. I am taking a good rest and stay in bed very late. I go in the park where I read. I have also some sewing work, and embroidery to the exhibition given by our school on next month. Best works from the pupils will be on exhibit.

On March my report announced I was the second with 1/4 of mark with the first. My work in school and at the work shop is well appreciated by our mistress.

Since March, spring is here. Trees are blossoming and the sun is hot. However it does not prevent rain to fall from time to time.

.....

On the whole, last winter was rather bad, rather rainy. We had big snow falls and cold on last December.

I am praying, so my dear godfathers and their families are feeling fine.

Your grateful daughter,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

May 1951

Dear Foster Parents:

As every month, I received your monthly allowance through the Foster Parents Plan in Paris. I thank you so very much.

In a few days, my grandmother will make me a summer dress, but since we have a rainy season, not too warm, I shall wear it until next autumn, since it will be made with the material you sent me. It was a little thick.

I am taking the same opportunity to thank you so much for the parcel which was given to me by the Foster Parents Plan in Paris and which contained:

8 cakes of soap, 3 tins of meat, 2 tins of frankfurters, 8 tins of lard. This food will be very useful and grandmother will use them for cooking.

I also received from you, but through the Foster Parents Plan in Paris, a pair of shoes for which I thank you very much. I wore out my shoes, and the ones I received will last all the summer.

Next month we are organising at school a festival where the young pupils will dance. The big girls are in charge to make 24 small dresses for the little ones to dance with. We are working hard to be ready on time. At the same time, there will be an exhibition of sewing works in the Hall, also of embroideries made by the seniors. I shall show a dress for a baby entirely hand made and embroidered by myself, also a blouse with embroideries.

I shall tell you about this exhibition.

I am kissing all my dear godfathers and godmothers from America at the Columbia.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

May, 1951

Dear Miss Siousset:

I am just receiving your kind letter by the Agency of the Foster Parents and all that you tell me is very interesting.

In fact, I learned at school and I read in a book that George Washington was the first President of the U.S.A. and one of its founders. Helped by Lafayette and Rochambeau, he joined in the Independence War. He was twice President of your country. I read that he was a great President, very honest and simple. Such men deserve that we celebrate their birthday with joy.

I can easily realize your pleasure of having an aquarium with some lovely fish. I know

.....

a shop where we can buy fish of every colour; some come from America, some from Japan; they have some fins like wings. They are curious to see.

You must be pleased in your house situated on the seaside. I have never seen the sea, but I can realise that it is very beautiful to have the sea in front of you, especially when there are waves. It must be impressive to see it and I would be afraid to go bathing in.

My studies and my work are allright. I satisfy my teachers. I will expose some of my sewing works and embroidery for the next school festival.

With love,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Foster Parents;

It is with a great pleasure that I acknowledge receipt of: 2 blankets, 1 pillow case, 1 towel, and 4 soaps. These things will be very useful because I want to camp during those next holidays and I had no blankets. Yours are made of wool so, I will not be cold when I will sleep in the forest.

Camping is a pleasure that I can realize, but I never camped before. It is very cheap. With some friends, we make our cooking and shopping.

As the last year I was too young, I was not allowed to camp. This year will be the first. You can realize that your blankets and other things are welcome.

I thank you again and I send you my love.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Mr. Mickelson;

It is with pleasure that I answer to your letter that the Foster Parents of Paris gave me with its translation in French, for I don't know your language and I have no time to learn it.

I am very busy with my french studies and my manual work. It is my first year of pre-apprenticeship and I need two years more to get my C.A.P. for my sewing. When I get it, I shall be apprentice and will earn my living. I like very much the sewing.

In France, last winter was not too bad; not too cold, but there was rain. For the moment, the temperature is not warm there, there is no sun and we are in spring. I hope we have a fine summer and that I shall be able to go to swim in the little river that I can see every year.

With love,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Foster Parents:

Thank you for your nice letters. I am a small boy and I am 6 ears old. I just begin to learn writing, so my teacher helps me to write this letter. In our school-garden are many flowers. It is nice here.

I send you my love and kisses.

Zbigniew Bednarczyk

Dear Sirs:

This is Zbigniew's first letter. He is a nice and clever boy. He can write a few sentences only. He is healthy and happy. The children got meat fat and sausages from the Foster Parents.

Yours sincerely,

S. MAZURKIEWICZ
Housemistress

May 1951

Dear Sirs:

On behalf of your Fosterchild Z. Bednarczyk, I beg to inform you that he is quite well and healthy. He is a very good pupil at school.

On the 3rd of May, which is our National Holiday, Zbigniew took part in a performance given by the children and he did it very well.

He sends you all his best wishes and his love.

Yours sincerely,

S. MAZURKIEWICZ
Housemistress

May 1951

Dear Mr. Dudley:

By this letter I want to thank you for the lovely presents you sent me. I wish God grants you every happiness.

I attend school regularly and study seriously because in a short time we are to sit for the second term exams. I am getting tired but when I think that within a month there will be no more lessons then I forget everything and take courage. I will be able to play from morning till night, to go swimming to the lake and go fishing. I will be able to go to the playing field and play soccer. I will go on several excursions with my friends. How happy would I have been if lessons were over today.

I was very glad to get the lovely presents you sent me. They are: a can of lard, a canned meat, a hat, a towel and 4 bars of soap.

I am looking forward to hearing from you soon.

With many fond kisses,

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Murrow

May 28, 1951

Miriam Kerrigan

50

The following letters were received from the Foster Parents' War Children:

Dear Foster Parents: March, 1951

As every month, I received through the Foster Parents' Plan organization your money order and I thank you very much.

With this amount and with the length of material I told you about and that I received from the Foster Parents' in Paris, my grandmother wants to make me a nice dress to wear in spring and summer. As the material is fairly thick I shall wear this dress next winter under my coat. Thanks to you I shall have a nice dress.

The diet the doctor prescribed does me a lot of good, and I am putting on weight. So I hope there will be nothing wrong with my lungs.

I am doing well at the training school. For the moment I am doing a baby dress. I cut it out, sew it and embroider it, and it will be on show at school for my work is good, my teachers say so.

The temperature is not very high in France for the season. It is windy and rainy, but it is not as cold as it was last December. Spring is getting near. However, we might still have cold weather, but we would be more courageous only because Spring and sunny days will come.

I hope the Korean war and its consequences do not make you and yours suffer.

I send you all my love.

Yours,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Mr. Maulsby: February, 1951

I hope you are keeping well. Thank you very much for the lovely gifts you sent me.

My news of today is that on the 21st we celebrated the anniversary of the liberation of Yannina from the Turks in 1913. For three whole days we had celebrations and the Prime Minister, Mr. Venizelos, and many ministers, as well as English and American officials came from Athens here to assist to this celebration. All the shops were closed and the town was decorated with our national colors. On Wednesday there took place a parade of the Armed Forces and the Officials seemed to be very pleased with the Greek Youth. In the afternoon, military cars transported many people to a place called Emin-Agha where then in 1913, the crown-prince Konstantinos had his Headquarters. We placed a wreath and then we came back to Yannina where we assisted to National Folkdances.

Love,

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Dear Mr. Maulby: January 1951

I wish to all of you and to your families as well every happiness for the New Year.

Thank you very much for remembering me and sending me such lovely presents for the Holidays.

I received the following: 1 blanket, 1 nice toy, 2 tins of canned meat, 1 tie, 1 cap, but what gave me more pleasure was Mr. Bendick's book, which I got last time. Give him my love, please.

The first semester's examinations have already begun. I hope to pass them well, for up to now I am doing alright. Please write again soon.

With much love and respect

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the boy Z. Bednarczyk, I inform you that he is quite well and healthy. His school report for the 2nd Term is very good.

He sends you the best Easter wishes. He has received from the Foster Parents' Plan one blanket, 1 pillar, 1 towel.

Yours faithfully,

S. MAZURKIEWICZ

April 24, 1951

TO: Mr. Farrow

FROM: Miriam Kerrigan

The following letters were received from Marcelle Meilhac and Mrs. S. Mazurkiewicz on behalf of Zbigniew Bednarczyk:

January 15, 1951

Dear Foster Parents:

On behalf of the child Z. Bednarczyk I inform you that the boy is quite well and healthy. He is a very good pupil. He spent his holidays merrily and happily at his school. He asked me several times about his Foster Parents. His progress is very good. I send you his kisses.

Yours faithfully,

S. MAZURKIEWICZ
Housemistress

February 15, 1951

Dear Foster Parents:

I inform you that your foster child Z. Bednarczyk remained three weeks in bed because of measles. But now he is quite well and he attends the school again.

I send you his kisses and love.

Yours faithfully,

S. MAZURKIEWICZ
Housemistress

January, 1951

Dear Mr. Mickelson:

I am answering to your letter of October 11th last, and thank you very much. Indeed last year, and though we had a rainy season, I walked many times in the woods. I could not go often swimming as the water from the river was cold. Any way I had a good rest, and for the new term of school I moved to a technical school. I am learning sewing, embroidery and fashion. Next year I shall attend sewing courses which especially interest me. I shall take three years of apprenticeship, the present year included to obtain a diploma in sewing. I shall be 17 by then. I hope then to work for a dress maker for one or two years having then a better training, then I shall try to work for myself and earn my living, so I won't be any more a charge for my parents who are old.

I am glad to hear that you had a good rest during the last vacation, and you have gardening. It is a good sport and an enjoyable one.

In France, we had a time of cold weather with a lot of snow, but it did not last. Now the temperature is mild. Still winter can hide some very cold surprises.

I am sending you my best kisses.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Foster Parents:

I first want to thank you very much for the allowance that I regularly received every month through the Foster Parents Plan.

Your last money order has permitted my grand parents to pay Doctor and medicine for I had a serious quinsy with a high temperature of 40 degrees cent. Now I am recovered, but the doctor whom took care of me thought I was too tall for my age and did a cuti reaction which was positive. Then I was X-Rayed and nothing showed on the lungs. He prescribed me medicine, rest on a chair after the meal, and sleep for 9 hours. He also prescribed me some sport exercises to develop the thorax.

As I already told you, I am attending apprenticeship courses. For the third month, I am in school, I am always the first from 27 pupils. It is a little pretentious to say it, but to you dear God Fathers I must say everything. My nana saw the principal of the school and she had compliments for me. My teachers like me very much as I like them too.

Before closing my letter, I want to thank you very much for the articles sent to me by the Foster Parents Plan in Paris, and which are, a wool piece, a toilet towel, two tins of lard, two tines of meat.

All these articles are very useful and pleased us very much. The material most of all thrilled me. Grandma will make me a dress for next spring.

Once more thank you and my best kisses.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Mr. Murrow

FROM: Miriam Kerrigan March 5, 1951

3/6

The following letters were received from the Foster Parents' children:

Dear Mr. Maulsby:

I'm keeping well and I hope everything goes alright with you.

Winter has, as all the other seasons, its good point of views. We have the snow and the winter sports, we have the biggest holiday of the Christianity, the birth of our Savior, Jesus Christ. This is what the calendar says, this is what we chant in our churches, that's why we celebrate this day and we don't go to school. Yesterday came from the orphanage my two sisters and my brother. How happy we are to celebrate Christmas all together. We are anxiously awaiting the Christmas gifts. I got your gift, the nice book and thank you very very much. I don't know what to write you because I am still too young. When I say my prayers, I always ask God to keep you in good health and give you a long life.

I thank you very much for all your gifts and wish you a merry Christmas and a happy New Year.

With much love

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Dear Mr. Bendick:

I was delighted Mr. Bendick to get your letter and see that you spent a very nice vacation. I'm very anxious to get your book, even though I won't be able to read it now. Now I'm going to look just at the pictures because now we are only learning French at school, but next year we are going to be taught English too. My happiness will be immense the first time I'll be able to write you my first letter in English.

With love

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Dear Foster Parents:

I am taking the opportunity of the New Year dear godfathers to send you all my best wishes for happiness and good health, for you and your family. I want to express you all my gratitude for your kindness towards me, also for your nice letters and your monthly allowance which have helped my Nana to clothe me. Thank you ever so much.

This month we duly received your monthly allowance and Grandma bought me a sweater and also some socks for this winter.

In my room, preparing for apprenticeship, we have trimmed a Christmas tree which was

exposed in the hall. This tree was for the young children. I myself made samll woolen animals and I stuffed them with Kapoch. I drew faces on them with wool thread. Also with coloured paper, we made small and cute baskets. Our teachers filled them up with sweets. All those small things adorned the Christmas tree, and afterwards they were given to the young pupils. The Christmas tree was also decorated with coloured lights, and it was very gay and lovely. We danced with piano music.

I am trying to spend my Christmas vacation wisely, and in my next letter, I will tell you about it.

All my love.

MARCELLE MEILNAC

FROM: Miriam Kerrigan February 12, 1951

The following letters were received from the Foster Parents' War children:

Dear Miss Green: Att: Mr. Abelow

I got your letter and would like to thank you very much. Your letter was written when summer was starting and now my answer is in the beginning of winter. All seasons are beautiful, but how could one look forward to the sports when he is not having any heat in his house.

You are asking me which season I like better. I'm too young, this year. I'm in the first grade of high school and I can't still make up my mind which season I like better. To tell you the truth, though, I prefer the summer because then I can run out and play a lot.

Love,

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Dear Mr. Maulsby:

Thank you very much for your letter and the story of Christopher Columbus who discovered America.

On October 28th, 1940 is the day when the Italians attacked Greece. Our country is small, but has an ancient civilization and our people are courageous and have a great heart. Well, yesterday, we celebrated our national holiday, which is the day when we defeated the Italians and we pushed them back and threw them into the sea. We paraded in front of our generals and the American Officers.

There is no space left to describe you the whole feast, but I tell you that I'm going to be an officer someday.

Much love,

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Dear Miss Kathy: Att: Mr. Abelow

It is with great pleasure that I received your letter of 23rd September and am hurrying to reply.

I did not know your name and you must be the daughter of one of my deal foster parents.

Your name is gracious and in french you would be called Catherine

Just on the 25th of this month we celebrate St. Catherine's Day, it is for the young girls who have passed 25 years of age and who are not married. They do not work on 25th November and wear lovely clothes with hats made by themselves, in eccentric shapes, but pretty. The workshops where they work offer them champagen and they walk in the main streets showing off their bonnets.

(Cont'd)

am glad to read the details that you give me about your school.

I too am very busy especially since 2nd October when I went back to school. I am in the pre-apprenticeship class. I am learning there a bit of everything this year. Sewing, modeling, embroidery, housekeeping, all continuing my studies for some hours a day. School begins at 8:00 AM and finishes at 5:30 PM. We have two hours for lunch. In the evening we have homework and lessons to learn by heart. On Thursday and Sunday there is no school and we still have our manual work to finish at home. At the end of this school year I will go to an apprenticeship centre where I will learn the branch in which I want to specialize, in the pre-apprenticeship. After three years of professional studies I will have my C.A.P. Diploma which will enable me to find a job to earn my living.

I was 14 on 25th August and I am the youngest in my class. For the first month's work at school I was graded 1st out of 26 pupils. My teachers are charming and my work pleases me.

One afternoon per fortnight we do housework that is we learn cooking, gneerally soups and cakes that we eat ourselves. Another afternoon we learn ironing, especially delicate articles. We continue our studies with this. This does not leave us much time for work or reading for ourselves. At the end of the school year we have a display of work done by the seniors. For me I will show embroidery, as my mistress says that I embroider well.

I would love to start to learn English, but I lack the time. I hope next year that I will be able to try to learn this language. It seems that English grammar is less difficult than the pronunciation. I will realize when I try.

I send you lots of love;

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Foster Parents;

I thank you with all my heart for the monthly money order that you were kind enough to send me and that I receive regularly by the means of the Foster Parents in Paris.

My Grandma keeps this money as she did last month to buy me things that I need for my clothes, for the celebrations for the end of the year.

My studies and manual work are going on as usual. I have good marks, I like my teachers and they are kind to me.

We are learning singing for Christmas and if I could sing on the radio you could hear it. Naturally my voice is not comparable to those of the stars that you make sing on the Columbia.

I have a repertoire of old songs that I sing when I have no homework or lessons. My grandparents tell me that in the New York region they have suffered from a strong wind accompanied by snow and cold.

I hope that my dear foster parents have not suffered too much from this catastrophe. In France the temperature was mild, but now it is getting cold. We feel the approach of the feasts that are in the heart of the winter. I hope just the same that we will have more snow this winter than we did last. The snow is so nice to look at before the melting. I wish you my deal foster parents to you all and your families a Happy Christmas.

I send you lots of love,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you a few words about Zbigniew Bednarczyk who is an orphan at this Boarding School. He attends the Infant Group. He is under my care and cannot write a letter yet. He would be nicely surprised to hear from you. All his love and best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Yours faithfully,

S. Mazurkiewicz (Mrs.)
Housemistress

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 565

To Mr. Murrow

From Mr. Maulsby

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

February 7, 1951

Today is the seventh of February!

By the first of the month I should have made the February payment to the Foster Parents' Plan.

5/0

I haven't and can't, until I have it to send.

$60

I would appreciate no end your entering this little matter on your calendar each month, thereby helping me to meet our commitments on time.

Many thanks.

G.M.

P. S. Please don't forget your letters to the children. None of them are coming through.

Mr. Murrow 17

FOSTER PARENTS PLAN

LETTER WRITING SCHEDULE
1951

PARENT	CHILD'S NAME	DURING WEEK BEGINNING
Abelow, Sam	Marcelle Meilhac	January 15
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	February 26
	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	April 9
Backlund, Ralph	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	January 15
	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	February 26
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 9
Bendick, Bob	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	January 15
	Marcelle Meilhac	February 26
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	April 9
Bryson, Lyman	Marcelle Meilhac	January 22
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	March 5
	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	April 16
Calmar, Ned	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	January 22
	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	March 5
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 16
Crothers, George	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	January 22
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 5
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	April 16
Edwards, Doug	Marcelle Meilhac	January 29
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	March 12
	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	April 23
Gottlieb, Lester	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	January 29
	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	March 12
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 23
Feller, Robert	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	January 29
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 12
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	April 23
Hewitt, Don	Marcelle Meilhac	February 5
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	March 19
	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	April 30
Lesueur, Larry	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	February 5
	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	March 19
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 30
Paulsby, Gerald	Zbigniew Bednarzyk	February 5
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 19
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	April 30
Mickelson, Sig	Marcelle Meilhac	February 12
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	March 19
	Zbigniew Bednarczyk	May 7

Murtaw, Edward	Konstantinos Yannopoulos Zbigniew Bednarczyk Marcelle Meilhac	February 12 March 26 May 7
Robinson, Hubbell	Zbigniew Bednarczyk Marcelle Meilhac Konstantinos Yannopoulos	February 12 March 26 May 7
Sicouset, Helen	Marcelle Meilhac Konstantinos Yannopoulos Zbigniew Bednarczyk	February 19 March 26 May 14
Uefing, Henry	Konstantinos Yannopoulos Zbigniew Bednarczyk Marcelle Meilhac	February 19 April 2 May 14

F. 565

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To

From

Station

Mr. Maulsby

Mr. Murrow

Foster Parents Plan

December 20, 1951

I am of course interested to continue participating in the Foster Parents plan and shall repeat my usual contribution of $60 a year unless you indicate that more is needed.

E.R.M.

Yes

To: Edward R. Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

December 7, 1951

The time has arrived for the annual soul-searching in connection with our foster children.

We will go into the New Year with only two of them--the Polish youngster in England and the perennial Marcelle. The Greek boy can now be taken care of by his own relatives.

I would like the usual statement from you as to whether or not you wish to continue with the plan during 1952 so that I can make our commitment to the Foster Parents organization.

I will appreciate having word from you on this no later than December 24. If I don't hear from you by that time, I will assume that you are not continuing as a foster parent.

When you confirm to me please indicate the monthly amount that you will be responsible for throughout the year.

Jerry

December 8, 1950

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Miriam Kerrigan

The following letters were received from the Foster Parents' children:

October, 1950

Dear Foster Parents:

I thank you with all my heart for your money order I have just received as I do every month, through "Foster Parents" Paris.

My grand-mother, who has kept the money you sent these last months bought me two pinafores for schoolwear, one pull-over and other things which I shall need this winter.

School opened on the second of this month. Having finished my Elementary I have started a pre-apprentice school where I shall stay a year. We study in the morning general subjects and work in the afternoon on practical ones (sawing, ironing, washing, etc....)

At the end of the year I shall choose the part that will interest me, taking into account my capacities, this will enable me to earn my living when I get diploma in three years time.

There is no time lost because I am 14 years old and that is the required age to follow the courses of the pre-apprentice school.

Letter from Lester Gottlieb of July 17th, 1950

I thank you for your very kind letter. The details you give me of your daughter Madeleine's appearance are just as I expected them to be. I also have brown hair, but my eyes are black.

I sent off, about two months ago, my photo through Foster Parents Paris. I hope you received and saw it, you and my other god-fathers of Columbia.

This summer has not been a very good one in France. Temperature went from one extremity to the other. It was sometimes 30 to 32 degrees C., and then cool with rain and wind. As a whole this summer has not been as hot as that of 1949.

September was very rainy. We might have been already in Autumn.

I send lots of kisses to your daughters and yourself, as well as to all my dear god-fathers of Columbia.

Letter from Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Bendick

I had the agreeable surprise of receiving on your behalf through Foster Parents Paris, your very beautiful book on television, written by you both.

(Cont'd)

It is beautiful as regards binding, printing and engravings and it must contain a very interesting study of television. I shall keep it preciously until I can understand English enough to be able to read it.

From next year onward, I shall make arrangements to take English lessons in an evening school.

When I begin to understand English and if I have the luck to dispose of a television set, your book will tell me how it is built and its mechanism.

I thank you very much for this gift and I kiss you with all my heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Foster Parents:

Today I went to the office of Foster Parents Paris and they gave me on your behalf one pair of shoes and one shirt.

The shoes are beautiful and fit me very well.

The shirt is comfortable and will keep me nice and warm this winter.

I thank you with all my heart for all these beautiful things and I send you lots of kisses.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

October 30, 1950

SP

This is a Foster Parents report to those of us who are continuing with the Plan in 1951.

During the next year our monthly contributions will total $45.00, just covering the three children remaining to us —including Chen Tse-yuen, whose support the group overwhelmingly endorsed. There was only one dissension.

As of October 1st the Czechoslovak government ordered the Foster Parents Plan for War Children to discontinue its operations in that country. We therefore are no longer contributing to the support of Karel Bejdo. Inasmuch as our payments to the Plan continue to be $60.00 a month ($15.00 per child) for the balance of 1950, we will enter 1951 with a $45.00 credit. I have arranged with the Plan for this money to be used as our January payment for the three kids we still have. So our 1951 payments will begin with the month of February.

B U T ——— THERE'S GOING TO BE A NEW DEAL!

Monthly payments must be in in advance.

For the last three years I have made each month's payment two or three days before the first of the month. This practice was based on the assumption that the request that everyone have his contribution in my hands by the 26th would be complied with.

Although some pay up several months — in two instances, the whole year — in advance, today (with the November payments past due) there are $65.00 outstanding which I have covered for you. Please put the payment date on your calendar each month and get up your cash when it comes up. Next year I shan't make any payment for the group unless all dues for that month are in.

Your monthly commitment is $3.00

Number of months in arrears, as of 10/30/50 . . . . . $ —

Amount due . . . . . $ none

Jm

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

September 29, 1950

FOSTER PARENTS SP

Important

It is time to preview our Foster Parents activities for 1951. Please check all items on the page attached for that purpose and return it to me.

Also attached is a communication from the Foster Parents' Plan regarding China. Please read it.---The way we are set up, the manner in which many of us make our payments, and most of all our year-to-year membership, make it difficult for us to make any changes this late in the year. On the matter of the Chinese boy, we will continue his sponsorship only if two-thirds or more of us wish it to be done. } yes.

I will appreciate your getting the check sheet back to me as soon as possible so that I can let the Foster Parents people know what our intentions are.

Pm

As a Foster Parent of a Chinese child and because of current events, we feel it only right that we clarify for you our position with reference to our continued operations in China. Also, to extend our grateful thanks for your continued interest and support of our work.

Your Foster child now lives in a territory that has been taken over by the Communists. Many of our Foster Parents feel that the Plan should not continue to work or support a child in such a country. We know that it will be increasingly difficult for us to obtain support of our work for these Chinese children.

Our American Director in China, in a communication dated July 8, 1950, indicates his anxiety by stating, "I can only assure you that our work has been continuing without any let-up. Our monies and goods in kind are being received gratefully by the Plan children. I dare not think of the misery and suffering to which these children would return if Foster Parents and contributors will not remember that these are only hungry, tired children...and so withdraw their help".

Our own State Department had indicated that American agencies may continue their help to China if they wish, providing that the agencies keep contributors and the general public informed as to the progress and the handicaps of work in present day China, and that reports are made periodically as required to the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the State Department in Washington, D.C.

It may help you to understand more fully at this time why we are continuing our work in China if we quote from our charter the purpose of the Plan..."To provide an organization purely humanitarian in character which should be free from any connection with, or allegiance to any group having any political or propagandistic interest of any kind...To provide for the care, maintenance, education, training and well-being of children orphaned and distressed as a result of the ravages of war".

We would like to assure you of our understanding no matter how you may feel now about continuing your support of your child in China. The important thing is to help some child who needs help desperately. We ask you to please let us know if you wish to continue helping your Chinese child, or if you would prefer a child from another country. We will be pleased to make the change for you as close to your specifications as possible."

TO:

FROM: B. Fitzgerald

August 23, 1950

The following letters were received from the Foster Parents children.

June 1950

My dear Foster Parents:

First of all let me thank you most sincerely for your letter, money and the package I got. I liked the material for shorts you sent and Auntie made them for me immediately. They fit me and suit me. And the shirt, sport shirts and pajamas was very nice too.

We have a lot of work at home now. We painted the whole house the other day and now polish windows and doors. My auntie and uncle will go for a recreation trip with the factory and I, with Kaja, shall stay at home. But I shall go for a trip with our school. It will be a six days' trip and we shall go to Lower Tatras. I have never been in these mountains and so am looking forward to it with eagerness. I do hope the weather will stay as it is — so warm and without rain. All blossoms in the garden are gone and cherries and currants will soon be ripening. I always enjoy the time when there is a lot of fruit everywhere.

I also like to go and see the football matches that take place in our town. Last Sunday the neighbouring team Vitkovice won. It was a very interesting game. It is nice to watch the matches even if our team loses. I would be so interested to see an American Team play.

I shall be looking forward to hearing from you soon. I like your letters.

Greetings and best wishes,

Yours,

KAREL BEJDO

May 1950

Dear Mr. Maulsby:

I am keeping well and hope the same goes with you. I got your parcel and I thank you very much. As I've already told you we are going to finish school for this year.

Wish I could see America - the great country. Greece produces tobacco and oil. It is the first country in the world in history.

When you write, please tell me about America.

With much love,

Your foster son

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

June 1950

Dear Foster Parents:

I have received your money order and I thank you very much for it.

Thanks to your support last month and this month I was able to buy a summer dress, with little flowers that I like. I will wear it when it is warmer. As it is light coloured it will get dirty and when it does I will wash and iron it myself. Next month I will buy sandals for the summer.

I have received three letters from my foster parents, and I reply with pleasure.

Letter from Mrs. Priscilla Calmer

Well, I really received three letters from Mr. Calmer. I keep them carefully like all those from my foster parents. I am glad to have you for my foster mother among all my foster parents who are so good to me. How your words on the subject of France, that you love, pleased me. Your daughter must know French very well, and you too, if you are able to read my schoolgirl style.

We are now at the end of the year, and about the end of this month we take our exams. I hope I will pass, I am confident that I shall.

I will not become a teacher as it is necessary to study a lot and I have not the time. My grandparents are old and I myst hurry up and earn my living as soon as I am sixteen or seventeen as my little sister Nicole, who is ten, is also under their charge. She too is lucky enough to have American foster parents.

I do not live very far from Perigueux in the region of Auvergne. I am in a picturesque district...Among rivers and mountains that are not very high. I know the castles in the Loire, but only from postcards. I hope that one day I will have the opportunity of visiting them.

We have about the same tastes, as I love the country and especially the birds, of which I know several kinds, those that sing. They have already come with the spring.

I send you and Mr. Calmer and your family affectionate wishes.

Letter from Miss Helen Sioussat of March 29, 1950.

Thank you for the affectionate tone of your letter. My greatest joy is to receive letters from my foster parents and to reply to them. In France too, the Spring has been quite late. We had great rainstorms on Ascension Day, and even now the temperature is still fresh. Let us hope that the fine weather is going to reappear, and that we will have hot days. As during the summer

holidays, too, if I cannot go for walks in the forest and in the country, and if it rains all the time, I shall be very disappointed.

I have never heard of Monte Carlo. My grandfather tells me that it is a very lovely town on the Mediterranean, and that it is warm even in winter. It must be paradise.

I hope that you had a good trip to Washington, and that you are glad to have seen that lovely town.

Letter from Mr. Sig Nickelson

I am glad to reply to your letter as you are one of my foster parents and I am glad to meet you. Well, last year I had the pleasure of receiving a nice letter from Mr. Taylor. Now that you are working in New York, I hope to hear from you often. Like several of my foster parents you work on television. I have a vague idea of what it is. Last year I saw in a window of a radio shop a set that was working. It interested me very much to see the pictures moving and at the same time the set was talking. I regret that we have not got one at home. This is very expensive, and it is not in the everyday sphere of life here. One day perhaps, when I am rich I shall have one.

You are looking forward to the holidays and so am I. At the beginning of the new term I will probably go to another school to do more advanced studies. I will have more work, but I will always find the time to reply to the letters of mydear foster parents.

Last winter was not too hard, but quite balmy. In the spring it was raining all the time. The harvest will be good, but now we need some sun, and then we will have an abundance.

I send you my love and all my foster parents too, with all my heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Dear Mr. Robinson,

Thank you very much for your letter. I am keeping well and hope you are too.

Are you really working at a radio station? I am going to school in the sixth grade of the primary.

How nice it must have been to see all the places you have seen. But it is a pity you haven't been to Greece.

Tell me all about the life in America, please. I would feel then as if I have been there. I would like to know about Columbus, who traveled so much.

God bless you.

Love and kisses,

KONSTANTINOS YANNAPOULOS

April, 1950

Dear Foster Parents,

It is with great pleasure that I am answering the charming letters you sent me.

Mr. Bendick - 31/1/50

In effect this is the first time I have written to you and I am very pleased to do so. If my other foster parents have said nice things about me I thank them very much but they may be deceived if they knew me, as I have many faults. My grandmother says I am mischevious and a chatterer.

Now I know all about your family — your wife is named Jeanne — your little boy is called Robin which is a French name. Your little girl must like candy as I did when I was a little girl.

I think I understand the kind of writing your wife does — books and magazines ("Suzette's Weekly"). She must be very well-schooled to be able to write like that. I thank you in advance for one of her books you have sent.

Your garden should be starting to flower now. In France the lilies are starting to bloom. If the weather does not change we should have beautiful flowers.

Your work in television which, as my other foster parents say, is very interesting. Last year I had the opportunity of seeing one work. It interested me very much. When I was very small and living with my parents in Toulouse I used to go to the zoo. I saw monkeys and had a lot of fun throwing them peanuts which they shelled just like a human being. I thank you very much for your good health wishes and send mine to you and your family.

Mrs. Jefferson - 21/1/50

I wrote to you last March in a letter to my foster parents. Meanwhile I had the pleasure of receiving your second letter dated 2/1/50. I thank you on behalf of my grand parents, my sister Nicole, and myself for your New Year wishes. All of us send our hope and best wishes to you and your family.

At Christmas time we never did much after Midnight Mass. We supped with the family and then went to bed. Apart from this, I saw all the Christmas windows and it pleased me very much to see such wonderful things.

In France the winter was abnormal. Some days were very warm for the season.

I answered all my parent's letters. I hope they received them. I would be very happy to receive some photos and views — above all if they are of my foster parents.

Did you have a nice trip to Washington? To do 600 kms. to see your Australian friends is a nice gesture. I hope Mr. Herman is still having a nice trip. It is more interesting than the voyage I read about by Jules Verne - "Around the World in Eighty Days". In those days travel was by sea and train.

I will follow your advice to be good at school and may-be at home.

MARCELLE HEILHAC)

Mr. Church - 27/1/50

I received your letter. It is curious that in winter instead of having snow you have 70-degree temperature as in the desert. I wonder if the climate in America is not much different than in Europe. In France the weather in January was like spring.

My work in school is not too bad. I am the third in class. The summer examinations are coming soon and if I pass I may get my diploma next year.

In my village the authorities do not have a Christmas tree for the children, but there are some small ones in people's homes. I never saw a skater. It must be a good leg exercise, like dancing but it is for grownups.

Mr. Gottlieb - 31/1/50

Thank you for your letter. I am happy to count you among my foster parents. Your work in Columbia must be very interesting, whatever it is. Everybody says that television is a marvellous invention. The further it goes the better it gets. When I shall be able to buy myself a set, it will be perfect.

I do not know any French actors. Any way I never went to a theater. On the radio I have heard Maurice Chevalier who went to America to sing. If ever "Battleground" comes near here I will ask my grandmother to take me. I would like to know your daughters, especially Madeleine who is the eldest. She must have blond hair and blue eyes like nearly all Americans. I intend having my photograph taken and I shall send you one so as you can see how your French foster child looks.

To each one of you dear foster parents to whose letters I have answered today, best love and kisses.

MARCELLE HEILHAC

May, 1950

Dear Foster Parents:

I have received the money order that you send me regularly every month, by the intermediary of the Foster Parents Plan in Paris, and I thank you for it with all my heart.

During the Easter holidays Granny bought me some underwear with the money of last month's, and I really needed it. This month's money will be used to buy a pair of shoes and a summer dress. As I am growing, the underwear, the linen, the dresses and the shoes are never worn out and I pass them on to my sister Nicole who is younger than I and she finishes them out.

At the moment, in France, the weather is very bad. Especially since the 15th of April, it has been colder than in the winter. It snowed this week in our district. And even though the hargest, which appears to be an important one, the peasants are afraid of the hail, and snow and frost that will destroy several of the crops of the earth. Let us hope that the sun will soon make his appearance and clear all this up. What a difference between the spring of 1949 and this year! Last year it was dry and hot, whereas now we only see rain, hail and wind.

Our two weeks' holiday for Easter was soon over. They are regretted, but we are resigned to it. As we must work too, and that is what I am doing as we must make up for the first time. I passed my fortnight's holiday usefully, and I helped my Granny with the sewing and mending. I knitted and I read books borrowed from the library. I also wandered in the woods to see the trees that were getting green. The Spanish chestnut has the first buds, they are already covered with green leaves and if the fine weather returns they will soon have pink or white flowers. I like the other trees too. Theacacias, the horse chestnuts, the oaks and the catalpas are later in view of the bad weather.

At the beginning of April we had some flowers like the lilacs. When the sun comes out, we will have roses, carnations and so many other flowers that I like so much.

I hope to be able to tell you in my next letter that the weather has become warm and that all the meadows are decked with flowers.

Kisses to all of you, my dear foster parents.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

TO: Mr. Murrow - 17

FROM: Mr. Maulsby

July 12, 1950

May 26, 1950

Dear Friend:

Your letter has been received with many thanks. I have now made a rapid progress in my studies, especially in mathematics and science. During the time of leisure, most of it is devoted in listening to the broadcast. As we are ignorant of foreign languages, we find no interest in short wave, so long wave covers all our listening. I hope very much that someday I may be able to have a radio, capable of receiving the broadcasts from every corner of this world.

What is the usual programme in your broadcasts? Is there any lecture? Are all big current affairs in this world broadcasted? Do you know the news concerning the liberation of Chusan archipelago by our People's Liberation Army? Do the broadcasting stations in your country give the real news to the peace-loving people in the States? I hope you will tell this good news to your friends, so that they may feel happy too for our liberation.

As for me, I am very fond of reasted duck and ham. They are very famous dishes in China. Have you ever tasted them? I wonder if they are on sale in your country. However, I have never thought to have them, because our present daily dishes are all compabatively good. Furthermore, we have really no time to think about them, for all our time is engaged in studying mathematics and science.

With best wishes,

From your friend,

CHEN TSE-YUEN

April 10, 1950

Dear Friend:

It is now again a month. The weather here is ideal. The meadows around our school are extremely good looking. The grass is sprouting, while the trees are changing into their green coats. Is your country as beautiful as ours?

It can't be denied that spring is the best season for learning. There are many ~~xxx~~ schoolmates making these successive story-drawings which are very popular in this country. The dramatic section is also writing a story called "Members of Youth Organization" in which it fully demonstrates how they love their country, people, science, and labor, and how they protect the public properties. On June 1st we plan to present a show called "Mao Tse-tung and Young Pupils". I have also joined the work, but which part I am going to play has not been decided yet, because our work is now still in its initial stage.

I should like very much to learn something about the condition of the children in your country. I hope you will tell me how they are living, etc. Have all of them bread to eat, houses to live in and a chance to study? Is there any Youth Organization like ours at your place?

I have received all your letters, from which I know all of you have the opportunity to attend opera and concerts. We have also many stage plays here such as the "Question of Thoughts", "The Song of the Red Flag", "Wong Shu-liu", and "Liu Wu-lan", etc. We have seen all these plays, and they are really wonderful.

With best wishes.

From your friend,

CHEN TSE-YUEN

April, 1950

My dear adopted parents,

First of all I send you my best regards and thanks for your letters, money, soap, and lard.

Spring is here and we are growing some vegetables in the garden. Today we are going to have lettuce for lunch.

I like to go to football matches. We have a nice playground here.

Now we are free from school for a week because of Easter holidays. On Monday I am prepared to go after my aunts with a braided willow and perfume. It is a custom here for the boys to beat the girls with whips and then ask them for painted eggs. The boys also pour perfume on the girls. I am also looking forward to visiting my grandmother who lives in Andelska Hora. I have not seen her since last summer.

I am looking forward to your letters and thank you once more for them.

Yours,

KAREL BEJDO

May, 1950

My dear adopted parents,

First in my letter I greet you and thank you for all your letters and also for the shoes.

Yesterday I had a beautiful day. In school I pledged for the Pioneers, and received a red cloth, badge, and legitimation. Our group of Pioneers received a gift of 2.5000 Kcs. I shall never forget this solemn promise.

On Saturday I was at the Warsaw-Prague race. I saw a very lovely race in which eleven nations took part. Also I like to go to see a football match and to the movies. Last time, I saw a Soviet film called "Young Garda". This was a very nice film which was about the fight of the Soviet farmers against the Germans.

The trees in the garden were in bloom, and auntie said that this year we shall have enough fruit. We shall have a great many pears, plums and cherries but not very many apples.

I look forward to your letters. I thank you once more for them, and for the money and shoes.

Greetings and love I am sending to you.

Yours,

KAREL BEJDO

April, 1950

Dear Sam,

I am very well and hope you are too. Thank you for your very nice letter.

You ask me if I like school. Going to school I learn so many things and I like it very much. I am a good pupil and my teachers are very fond of me because I read a lot. I always have good marks.

Now I am going to write to your sister-in-law.

Thank you very much, Sam, for your letters. I am looking forward to hearing from you again.

Love and kisses,

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Dear Cathy,

Today I received your letter which gave me great pleasure to read.

I am twelve years old and I live in Yannina, a town in North Greece. I go to school in the sixth grade of the primary. I am not very tall; I have brown eyes and very light brown hair.

We celebrate Christmas as you do. This year our Christmas tree was lovelier than last year.

I don't study English, but I would have liked to learn foreign languages very much. WE learn at school history and math.

On the 21st of February we celebrate the anniversary of our town's freedom from the Turks.

In my next letter I will write more about my life.

Love and kisses,

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Foster Parents

May 2, 1950

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Miss Fitzgerald

The following is a letter from KAREL BEJDO.

March

My dear adopted parents:

First in my letter I send you my best regards and send you all my love. Thank you many times for the money, letters and stamps which I received from you. We have bad weather here and my aunt got a cold.

I look forward to when I will be able to listen to the broadcasting of the ice hockey matches of the World's Championship. And also I like to go to see football matches. I went also to see the match between Sparta and Vitkovice, but our team was beaten.

And now I have one great favour to ask you; if you will send me some stamps, please do not cut them so near the pictures, because thus the stamps lose their value. And also I would be very happy to have your pictures.

Today is Sunday and I shall go to the movies. Here they play nice films. Today I shall see a Russian one "Meeting on the Elbe". Maybe you have seen it too.

The spring is near and we shall work on our garden. We shall not plant any vegetables because we want to have only grass. Before this letter will reach you it will be spring over there. I would like to know how it looks in such a big city during spring.

I learn English and hope that within a year I will be able to write you a letter in English.

I close for today. I thank you once more for everything, for the letters, stamps, and money. I greet you all and send you my love and remembrances.

Yours,

Karel

March

The following is a letter from MARCELLE MEILHAC:

Dear Foster Parents:

Thank you very much for the money orders that I receive regularly through the Foster Parents at Paris, each month.

As the fine days will soon be here, I am going to spend your money to buy some underwear for the Spring.

This Winter we have had a season of changes, sometimes mild weather for the season, sometimes very cold. Above all a great deal of rain and snow. The Snow was of a soft kind that melted quickly. I would have preferred a harder kind so that we could have skated and slid.

Now I am going to reply to my dear foster parents who were kind enough to write to me.

Letter to Mr. George D. Crothers.

I am late in replying but the letters from my foster parents are long in arriving, they must come over the ocean by ship. That is nothing as I get them in the end, and I enjoy them.

I like talking better than writing. If you were here with me you would have to stop up your ears, fortunately this is not necessary with a letter.

My grandfather, who is very interested in America, said that you have had a water shortage this summer, and that even now you are still short because there is not much rain there. It seems that your sages wanted to call down artificial rain. If only we could send you some from France where it rains a lot; in fact there a floods inc certain areas. Nature is not always fair.

We had ten days holiday for Christmas and New Years. This rested me a little as school is tiring.

I know that your country has been colonized by the Europeans who come from good sturdy stock, according to my grandfather, strong and hard working. I am proud that your ~~great-grandmother~~ was French.

Letter from Mr. Edward R. Murrow

This is the third letter that I have received from you and I am very flattered. I started shcool again in October. Since then we have had ten days holiday. I spent these few days in the country, because to go to Paris for so short a time is very dear and the fares have again been increased.

I am new in the class and for the first time this year I am third in the class.

I am pleased that your little Casey had passed good holidays at Christmas in the country and that he enjoyed himself in the snow.

I have never seen an artificial skating rink where one skates with the music. It must be good, but I think that skating on real hard ice on wide spaces is even better.

Father Christmas was very kind to me and specially to my sister Nicole who is younger than I.

Letter from Mr. Bill Bratter

Thank you for your letter; I like your writing very much. The characters are quite different from French writing.

I hope that you had a good Christmas, and I wish you all the best for the next year.

It is raining a lot in France, and in some areas there is a lot of snow, and there have been avalanches which caused accidents. Oh-for the Spring. The flowers-the green leaves-this is what I like.

Letter from Mr. John Jefferson

It was a nice surprise to receive a letter from you and to make the acquaintance of a new foster father. As I have read the history of the United States, I know that there is a president who bore your name, and I looked in the book for confirmation.

I know Mr. Hermann from his charming letters, and I hope that he will have a good voyage.

I am following his journey on the map, it is easy enough. I saw there Tokyo the capital of Japan, and then on the China Sea, the Philippines with their capital of Manila, and in the Pacific the Island of Hawaii.

If he passes through Paris and I have enough notice, I will make the journey of 416 kilometres to meet him.

I would have liked to have heard the radio but our set is not powerful enough, to obtain America, by the radio diffusion francaise.

I send all my sympathy to him for the death of his father.This winter we have much ronin and snow. At the moment the temperature is mild, between 5° and 8° in the daytime or more. I and my sister would like very much to go in a plane. Two things that I hope to do one day are - to fly and to go for a trip on a boat.

Thank you for your New Year greetings. My grandparents and I send our best wishes for 1950.

MARCELLE NEILHAC (Continued)

Letter from Mr. Sam Ablow

I read your letter with great pleasure. Christmas is the season that we celebrate in the family with great joy. Last year I was present at a friend's house, where there was a tree decorated with toys and sweets, and hung with little lamps, of all colors, all lit up. It was very lovely. After midnight mass we all had a good supper and the merrymaking lasted until the morning. I understand that you enjoyed Christmas Eve with your friends at Annecy.

To all my dear foster parents in America, I send my love, and good wishes.

Your little foster child in France,

Marcelle Neilhac

The following was received from CHEN TSE-YUEN :

February 14, 1950

Dear Friends:

I am glad that I have received such a bundle of letters from you. Thanks for your kind regards.

Lately I have seen much improvement in my lessons, especially in mathematics. I am also greatly interested in radio fitting. But it is a pity that we only have a limited stock of such books in our school. It will be even more difficult for me to listen to your broadcast, because I have no idea how to set up a radio. On the other hand, we do not have a shortwave radio in our school. Dear friends, can you tell me how to put up a radio receiver? Is it possible for me to listen to your broadcast? I would like to know something about it.

I learn that one of my friends will make a tour round the world. Is it true? How I wish that he could come to China and pay us a visit! Do you think that he will?

If it is impossible for him to come, I will be delighted if he could tell me something about the countries that he has visited.

Best wishes to you all!

Yours,

Chen

March 11, 1950

Dear Friends:

With the time flying like an arrow, spring has now come. We had a wonderful time in the winter vacation; during the time we had plays and movies sometimes. We have had considerable warm weather this year. It only snowed a little the day before, and it was the only snow throughout the year. I heard that you had heavy snow quite often at your place, and the snow had to be swept away to the underground tunnel. I think you would make the snowman, if you are not afraid to be exposed to the cold.

Our class has been resumed, and everything is just the same as that of the previous one. A part of our school is going to be removed. The building at the new place is larger and also it contains a recreation ground. We shall have the chance to play the ball. After our removal, I shall tell them exact details of our new living.

From your friend,

Chen

The following was received from KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS.

January 1950

Dear Mr. Maulsby:

I am fine and hope the same goes for you. Thank you so much for your lovely presents. I hope God will keep you always well and happy.

I am now in the sixth grade, and feel very pleased because my teachers like me a lot and think I am always improving. I'll never forget how good you have been to me.

I received a package some time ago, with cocoa, sugar and a box with marbles. I also received another package later, which contained a coat, trousers, a hat, some cocoa and a pistol. Thank you very very much for everything.

Love,

Konstantinos

* * * * * * * * *

February 1950

Dear Mr. Maulsby:

I now know your name and am very happy about it. The first semester exams are over and we are all anxiously waiting for the results, which will show us our progress during this year.

Thank you very much for the sugar and the spaghetti, which I received a few days ago.

Walking in the street one day I saw some poor children wandering around. I wrote a composition, after I got home, about the National Orphanage for Girls, which I read over the radio; have you heard it?

I hope that some day we'll meet and hear about each other not through letters any more.

Please write to me, and tell me if you have a family, and children; I would very much like to hear about you and your life.

Love and kisses,

Konstantinos

March 30, 1950

TO:

FROM: Betsey Fitzgerald

The following is from Karel Bejdo:

February, 1950

My dear FosterParents:

First of all I send you my greetings and remembrances. Thank you for the letters, stamps and gift of money.

Here in Ostrava the weather is already changing. There is very little snow and it already seems like spring. During the mid-term holidays I was at my grandmother's in Andeloke Hore where I went sledding. Grandmothers raised a pig and when I was there she had it slaughtered. It was very tasty when cooked. I would be glad if there were more pig slaughterings during the year. I wasn't exactly pleased with my report card. I had four II class marks and the rest I class.

A pioneer group of the Boy Scouts was founded at school. I pledged myself in this group that I shall change the four II class marks into only two. I have been named president of the third group of pioneers and I like it here. We are announcing a contest in school and we are contesting also among the pioneers. Yesterday I was at a hockey game of the regional championship. I like to go to hockey games very much and on February 12 I shall go to see a friendly football game in Vitkovice. I like football best of all sports and I also play it (in summer). In Vitkovice this year the state championship is going to be played and the first game is with the Prague Sparta team. If I have time I shall go to see it.

Once again I thank you for everything you are doing for me. I shall close for today and next time I shall write more.

I greet, think of you, and kiss you.

Yours,

KAREL BEJDO

March 30, 1950

The following is from Marcelle Loilhac:

February, 1950

Dear Foster Parents:

I have just received from you, through the Foster Parents of Paris, a money-order which is the allowance you kindly send me every month. I thank you with all my heart for it.

My Grandmother keeps this money in order to buy for me some clothes for next spring. Now, I have only one letter to write every month so I take advantage of it for writing to all my dear foster parents.

Letter from M. Robert Hudson of September 23rd 1949:

As I told you in my letter of the last month, I thank you again for the parcel of sweets. Everything was excellent. I have eaten all during my Christmas holidays. I understand your children who are obliged to change ~~at~~ their school because of your moving. I would have felt like them. We are used to the school and to the teachers.

I know, because I learnt it on the map, the small town Eu, with 6000 inhabitants, is in Normandy and it is well-known because of its castle where the Princes of Orleans lived.

During my Christmas holidays, as the weather was not very cold, I went for a walk except when it was raining. So I stayed at home where there is always something to do. My work consists in the mending of my clothes and my socks and I help Nanny to clean up.

Letter from M. Quincy Howe of November 13th 1949.

Thank you very much for your long letter which gave me lots of interests. I am very pleased you are no longer ill and I pray God you are keeping quite well.

I do not remember the life French people had before the war. I was about three. Nowadays everything is nice in France. We find plenty of food and things in large quantity but Nanny thinks that everything is very expensive. She compares with the prices we had before the war.

I heard that last Summer we had lots of tourists. I did not see but one. I cannot distinguish between them and other people. The next summer I will ask my Grandad to show me some American people and I will send a kiss to them for your sake.

My Grandparents think there are big changes in France since their youth. They did not know the wireless, nor the plane, nor the electricity, nor the cinema. But for me there is no change because I did not know anything else.

I would like to see New York, but not to live in. If it is a town bigger than Paris, which astounds me when I go to it, I can understand very well that it is the biggest town in America. I prefer the small and quiet towns in which we can breathe fresh air and where everybody knows one another.

Letter from M. John Derr of December 14th 1949.

I thank you very much for your good wishes you sent me when I was 13, and I thank M. Murrow too for having spoken of me with you.

I read in books all about sports and golf but I have never seen that played. It must be very interesting because it is played in the open air, and Mrs. Derr is a champion.

When I am a good girl, I am obedient, my Nanny is then pleased. But it is said, sometimes, that I am capricious, and then my Nanny gives me a scolding. She tells me that I have a bad temper. I will try to be better.

Letter from M. Lyman Bryson of November 2nd 1949.

Even, when I am very busy I find a little moment to talk with my dear foster parents. I understand the discipline and the work make a good future for the children. But sometimes I forget it. It is stronger than me. They say that I am obstinate. I do not know the meaning.

My sister Nicole and me are still quite well. God thank you.

I would like so much for my schooling to be finished! I must go to school during the next two years in order to get my "Certificat d'Etudes". Until that day I will have to work hard and with discipline. After my "Certificat" I will go to a technical school.

What a pity, I am not 18, I would be able to help my Grandparents and all my dear Foster Parents.

Many kisses,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

April 20, 1950

Chen Tse-Yuen
Child's No. C121
Folder No. 3659

Dear Chen Tse-Yuen:

It is quite a long time since I have written to you, and during that time I have covered all of this country and some of Europe. At the end of February I flew to England to broadcast from there about the British elections. Mrs. Murrow and I had hoped to visit the continent, but unfortunately there wasn't time, as I had to broadcast every day. Some of our English friends, whom we hadn't seen in several years, insisted that we visit them and spend all of our leisure time with them. I hope someday that I may have the pleasure of visiting your country.

When we got back to the United States, we started to travel again almost immediately, but this time we took our son Casey along with us. He was too young to go to Europe -- he's only four, and so he had visited his grandmother while we were gone. The whole family then came to Washington, D. C., our country's capital. Then I went on a very exciting trip to the west coast of the United States, doing my broadcast every night from a different city. As it is three thousand miles across the country, we were in airplanes most of the time. Now I have returned to Washington, where spring is just arriving. The beautiful cherry blossoms are in bloom, and we are enjoying mild weather.

I am sure you are enjoying school, and doing very well, especially in mathematics. I hope that all is going well with you, and that you are getting pleasure out of your studies. We think of you often and send you our best wishes.

Affectionately,

Edward R. Murrow
CBS News

Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

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Telephone LOngacre 4-6647 — Cable Address: Fosterplan

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April 20, 1950

F3659

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thank you for forwarding to us the letter from Mr. Rolf Valtin, one of our Foster Parents.

We are attaching our reply to him as per your request. We hope that our letter to Mr. Valtin answers any questions he might have about our work in China.

Most sincerely,

Lenore Sorin

LENORE SORIN

KS:le

Please send Clean Used Clothing, Shoes, Blankets, Small Kitchen Utensils and Toys to our WAREHOUSE, 5-30—47th AVE., LONG ISLAND CITY 1, N. Y.

Contributions to Foster Parents' Plan are deductible from income tax.

Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

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DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE
MRS. HARRY S. TRUMAN
AMY VANDERBILT
MR. AND MRS. MARK VAN DOREN
UNITED CHRISTIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT
PERCIVAL WILDE
THORNTON WILDER
LEO YPSILANTI

AMERICAN HEADQUARTERS — 55 WEST 42nd STREET — NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
Telephone LOngacre 4-6647 — Cable Address: Fosterplan

F880

April 19, 1950

COPY

Mr. Rolf Valtin
920 Clinton St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Mr. Valtin:

Mr. Edward R. Murrow of the Columbia Broadcasting Company forwarded to us your letter about your Chinese foster child and his reply.

We are very much distressed to learn that you question the integrity of our organization, Foster Parents' Plan for War Children, Inc. If you have any suspicions at all will you please check with the following:

National Better Business Bureau
405 Lexington Avenue, New York City

National Information Service
205 East 42nd Street, New York City

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid
Washington, D. C.

We are sure that you will receive A-1 recommendations from them. We are, and always have been, above any suspicion. We are quoting to you at this time the purpose of our organization:

> "To provide an organization purely humanitarian in character which should be free from any connection with or allegiance to any group having any political or propagandistic interest of any kind. To provide for the care, maintenance, education, training and well-being of children orphaned and distressed as a result of the ravages of war."

The above is quoted from our by-laws.

Unless one does charity, which is a word we have learned to detest, purely with the idea of helping for the sake of help, it is certainly a mistake to continue. Like many others everywhere, those in our organization who

Foster Parents' Plan For War Children, Inc.

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"Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-019 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the Department of State."

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UNITED CHRISTIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT
PERCIVAL WILDE
THORNTON WILDER
LEO YPSILANTI

were terribly embittered and who said they would never help a Nazi child or the children of any person who followed totalitarian ideals, will never again have such thoughts since traveling through Europe. No one has ever seen a child who was a Communist or a Fascist. There are thousands of children who are potential Communists or Fascists and if we have the right to influence them at all we can only do so by our own living, in our own country with the example we set for the rest of the world. Those of us who are fortunate enough to be able to extend material aid, as well as love, to these unfortunate children have a double opportunity. We feel that a child who has ever had an American Foster Parent will not readily fall for any "hate talk" about America.

China is at the present time in the grip of the worst famine in 50 years. Our own State Department has stated that if private organizations who have working staffs in China do not extend aid at this time the streets within a few months will be lined with cadavers. Therefore as long as our State Department sanctions our work in China, and we can continue to extend help without interference and with the assurance that all funds earmarked for children in Plan care are given to them and to no one else, we shall continue to do so as heretofore.

Even though you mention in your letter that you do not object to feeding a Communist child, perhaps you would prefer that we assign a child to you from a European country. It is so very important that Foster Parents enjoy the relationship with their children just as much as the children benefit by the adoption...it is important that Foster Parents are completely satisfied that everything is as it should be. We should be very happy to make a change in assignment for you and Chang-Huei would remain in Plan care just as long as she needs help.

We hope we have answered your letter satisfactorily - if you have any further questions please call on us at any time. We hope that you will continue as a Foster Parent, if not to Chang-Huei then to one of our needy children from another country. Won't you please let us hear from you?

Thank you so much for all that you are doing.

Most sincerely,

Please send Clean Used Clothing, Shoes, Blankets, Small Kitchen Utensils and Toys to our WAREHOUSE, 5-30—47th AVE., LONG ISLAND CITY 1, N. Y.

Contributions to Foster Parents' Plan are deductible from income tax.

KS:le CMR LENORE SORIN

P. S. We wish to point out that none of the children's letters from China, country, are censored. They are forwarded to Foster Parents just as they are wr. the children.

PARTIAL LIST OF AMERICAN FOSTER PARENT SCHOOL GROUPS AT:

SCHOOLS

Academy School
Adams, Jane, Voc. H. S.
Amana Public Schools
Ames Senior H. S.
Amherst H. S.
Atherton Girls H. S.
Auburn Senior H. S.
Augusta Senior H. S.
Averill Park Central
Baldwin H. S.
Bergenfield Jr., Sr. H. S.
Beverly Hills H. S.
Bishop Union H. S.
Blackfoot H. S.
Blow-Webb School
Boonton High School
Borel School
Bothel H. S.
Boynton, Frank David, Jr. H. S.
Bradford Senior H. S.
Branford Junior H. S.
Burbank, Luther, Jr. H. S.
Burbank Senior H. S.
Burlington H. S.
Byrd High School
Calvary School
Canoga Park H. S.
Cedar Grove School
Central High School
Central Junior H. S.
Central School Dis. No. 1
Central H. S. Girls League
Chaffee-Loomis H. S.
Chaffey Union H. S.
Chapel Street School
Chapin School
Chevy-Chase H. S.
Colorado Spring H. S.
Copeland High School
Crosby Noyes School
Danbury High School
Davis, Adelaide, School
Deal, Alice, Jr. H. S.
Dearborn High School
Decatur Girls H. S.
Deering High School
Delno Joint Union
Dormont High School
East Bakersfield H. S.
East High School
Eastwood High School
Eaton, John, School
Eldora Public School
El Monte Union H. S.
Emerson School
Emery School P. T. A.
Evanston Township H. S.
Fairfield High School
Fair Haven Junior H. S.
Fairview School
Farm School
Fillmore Grade School
Franklin, Benjamin, H. S.
Franklin School
Fullerton Union H. S.
Garfield & Intermediate Elementary
Garrison Junior H. S.
General Line School
U. S. Naval Base
Glen Burney High School
Greenville Senior H. S.
Grove School
Hale, Sarah J., Voc. H. S.
Hamilton High School
Hanahauoli School
Harding School
Harrison High School
Hartsburg-Emden H. S.
Hawthorne School
Hay, John, School
Highland Park Junior H. S.
H. S. of Commerce
Holden High School
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Junior High School -
Hubbard School
Ithaca High School
Janney Public School
Jefferson Junior H. S.
Jones Junior High School
Jordan High School
Kapalama School
Kenmore Senior H. S.
Knoxville High School
Kramer Junior High School
Lansdale Senior H. S.
Lassen Union H. S.
Laurinburg High School
Leonia High School
Levenworth Senior H. S.
Leyden Community H. S.
Lincoln, A., High School
Lincoln Junior H. S.
Lincoln School P. T. A.
Lincolnwood School
Lockland High School
Long Branch High School
Louisville Girls H. S.
Lower Merion Senior H. S.
Lowery, Harvey H.
Ludlowe, Roger, H. S.
McComas High School
MacFarland High School
Madison, James, H. S.
Mamaroneck Junior H. S.
Maplewood-Richmond Heights High School
Maugham School
Mayfield High School
Memorial Junior H. S.
Miami Senior H. S.
Moorestown High School
Morton Senior H. S.
Mt. Lebanon High School
Mt. Vernon High School
Murch, Benjamin W., S.
Nantucket High
Nazareth Junior H. S.
New Brunswick H. S.
New Dorp High School
New Miami Village S.
Newport High School
New Trier Township
New Utrecht H. S.
Nichols School
North Lima P. T. A.
North Side H. S.
Oberholtzer School
Oceanside High School
Olinville Junior H. S.
Olympia High School
Orlando Senior H. S.
Oxford (*Dearborn*)
Oyster, James F., P. T. A.
Passaic Valley H. S.
Penn, William, H. S.
Penn, William, School
Pleasant Valley School
Pleasantville Cottage S.
Polytechnic High School
Portsmouth High School
Potrero School
Prospect Heights High
Public School Nos. 64, 67, 73, 83, 106, 109, 113, 114, 115, 138, 149, 156, 158, 169, 178, 180, 216
Quakertown Jr., Sr. H. S.
Ramsay High School
Raymond School
Richmond, Julia, H. S.
Richmond Union H. S.
River Forest *Elementary*
Rockport High School
Roland Junior H. S.
Roosevelt High School
Sacramento Senior H. S.
Salem High School
Santa Paula Union
Scott Senior H. S.
Sequoia Union H. S.
Shaker Heights Junior H. S.
Shasta Union H. S.
Shepard School P. T. A.
Shorter High School
Soldan High School
Souderton High School
South Pasadena-San Marino Junior H. S.
Springfield High School
Stanton *Elementary*
Stoddart, Benjamin, Elem.
Straus Junior H. S.
Stratford High School
Summit Junior H. S.
Swarthmore High School
Tamalpais Union H. S.
Taylor Allderdice H. S.
Teaneck High School
Technical School
Ten Eyck Junior H. S.
Tioga Central School
Tobe-Coburn
Tranquility High School
University High School (*Indiana University*)
Verona High School
Visitation High School
Waialu Elementary School
Wago High School
Wallace, Lew, School
Walnut Junior H. S.
Walton High School
Warwood High School
Washington, George, H. S.
Washington School
Waterford High School
Waukegan Township
Weeks, John W., Jr. H. S.
Weequabic High School
Welch High School
Wellsburg H. S.
Westward Junior H. S.
Whitehorne, Henry B.
Widney High School
Wilson, Woodrow, H. S.
Winbrook School
Withrow H. S.
Yonkers High School
York *Elementary*
Yorkville High School
Yuma Union High School
Young Junior H. S.

INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

Agnes Irwin
Baldwin
Ballard
Bentley
Buckingham Friends
Chestnut Hill Academy
College Prep (*Cincinnati*)
Evanston Collegiate
Francis W. Parker
Girls Latin - Chicago
High Mowing
Hillsdale
Hotchkiss
Miss Hutchison's
Irving
John Burroughs
Kamehameha (*Hawaii*)
Kent (*Denver*)
Kentucky Home
Lancaster Country Day
Laurel
Lee Academy
Louisville Collegiate
Mercersburg
Mt. Vernon Seminary
New Mexico Military
Nightingale-Bamford
Old Trail
Ormsby Village
Oxford (*Hartford*)
Park (*Baltimore*)
Miss Porter's
Punahou (*Hawaii*)
Putney
Rosemary Hall
Ruth Randal (*Mexico*)
St. Agnes (*Albany*)
St. Johns (*Mt. Lakes*)
St. Margaret's (*Waterbury*)
St. Mary's (*Burlington*)
St. Paul's (*Concord*)
Scarborough
Sewickley Academy
Shipley
Sidwell Friends
Stuart Hall
Summit (*St. Paul*)
Sunset Hill
Todd
Utica Free Academy
Western Reserve
Westlake
Woodmere Academy
Woodstock Country

SUMMER CAMPS

Bueno
Ecole Champlain
Charlevoix
Osoha
Po-Ne-Mah
Ton-A-Wandah
Wasiyatah

COLLEGES and UNIVERSITIES

Adelphi
Agnes Scott
Alabama
Alabama Polytechnic
Albion
Albright
Alfred
Allegheny
Amherst
Antioch
Arizona
Arkansas
Baylor
Beaver
Becker Junior
Beloit
Bethany (*W. Va.*)
Birmingham-Southern
Blackburn
Boston U.
Bowdoin
Brooklyn
Brown
Bryn Mawr
Bucknell
California (*Berkeley*)
California (*L. A.*)
Carleton
Carnegie Tech.
Carroll
Case Tech.
Centenary Junior
Central
Chapman
Chevy Chase Junior
Chicago
Cincinnati
Colby
Colgate
Colorado (*Boulder*)
Colorado (*Colo. Springs*)
Colorado Schl. of Mines
Columbia
Connecticut (*New London*)
Connecticut (*Storrs*)
Cornell
Davidson
Delaware
Denison
Denver
Dickinson
Drake
Edgewood Park Junior
Endicott Junior
Florida
Florida State
Frances Shimer Junior
Furman
Georgia
Gettysburg
Goucher
Greenbrier Junior
Green Mountain Junior
Gustavus Adolphus
Hamilton
Hendrix
Hillsdale
Hobart
Hollins
Hood
Hope
Humboldt State
Houston
Howard
Hunter
Idaho
Illinois
Iowa
Iowa State
Jackson
Juniata
Kansas
Kansas S. T. C. (*Emporia*)
Kentucky
Kenyon
Keuka
Knox
Lafayette
Lake Forest
Lasell Junior
Lawrence
Lebanon Valley
Lehigh
Lenoir Rhyne
Lewis and Clark
Limestone
Lindenwood
Linfield
Longy Schl. of Music
Louisiana Polytechnic
Louisiana State
Macalester
Madison
Marietta
Mary Washington
Maryland
Massachusetts Tech.
Mercer
Miami (*Florida*)
Miami (*Ohio*)
Michigan
Michigan State
Middlebury
Mills
Milwaukee Downer
Minnesota
Mississippi
Monmouth
Montclair S. T. C.
Monticello
Mount Holyoke
Mount Union
Nevada
New Hampshire
New Jersey for Women
New York U.
New York S. T. C. (*Plattsburg*)
North Carolina
North Carolina Woman's
North Texas State
Northwest Nazarene
Northwestern
Norwich
Occidental
Ohio State
Ohio Wesleyan
Oklahoma
Oklahoma State
Olivet
Oregon
Oregon of Education
Oregon State
Ozarks
Panzer
Park
Parsons Junior
Pembroke
Pennsylvania
Pennsylvania State
Pennsylvania S.T.C. (*California*)
Pennsylvania S.T.C. (*West Chester*)
Pittsburgh
Pomona
Principia
Purdue
Radcliffe
Randolph-Macon Woman's
Reed
Rensselaer Polytechnic
Rochester
Rockford
Rollins
Russell Sage
Rutgers
San Jose State
San Luis Obispo Junior
Shorter
Shurtleff
Skidmore
Smith
Sophie Newcomb
Southern California
Southern Methodist
Southwestern (Tenn.)
Southwestern (Texas)
Stanford
Stephens
Stout Institute
Stratford
Susquehanna
Swarthmore
Sweet Briar
Syracuse
Texas
Texas Western
Thiel
Transylvania
Trenton S.T.C.
Trinity (*Hartford*)
Triple Cities
Tufts
U. of The South
U. S. Military Academy (*West Point*)
Upsala
Utah State
Valley City S. T. C.
Vanderbilt
Vassar
Vermont
Virginia
Ward-Belmont
Washington (*Seattle*)
Washington State
Washington and Lee
Wayland (*Texas*)
Wellesley
Wells
Wesleyan (*Conn.*)
Western (*for Women*)
Western Michigan
Western Washington C. Ed.
Westminster (*Mo.*)
Westminster (*Penna.*)
West Virginia
Wheaton
Whitman
William and Mary
Williams
Wisconsin
Worcester Polytechnic
Yale

FRATERNITIES and SORORITIES

Chapters of

Alpha Chi Omega
Alpha Chi Rho
Alpha Delta Phi
Alpha Delta Pi
Alpha Epsilon Phi
Alpha Omicron Pi
Alpha Phi Omega
Alpha Tau Omega
Alpha Xi Delta
Beta Sigma Omicron
Beta Sigma Phi
Beta Sigma Rho
Beta Theta Pi
Chi Omega
Chi Phi
Chi Psi
Delta Beta Sigma
Delta Gamma
Delta Kappa Epsilon
Delta Phi Epsilon
Delta Psi
Delta Tau Delta
Delta Upsilon
Delta Zeta
Farmhouse
Gamma Phi Beta
Iota Alpha Pi
Kappa Alpha Order
Kappa Alpha Theta
Kappa Delta
Kappa Delta Rho
Kappa Kappa Gamma
Kappa Sigma
Lambda Chi Alpha
Phi Delta Theta
Phi Epsilon Pi
Phi Gamma Delta
Phi Kappa Psi
Phi Kappa Sigma
Phi Mu
Phi Sigma Delta
Phi Sigma Kappa
Phi Sigma Sigma
Pi Beta Phi
Pi Kappa Alpha
Pi Kappa Sigma
Pi Lambda Phi
Psi Upsilon
Sigma Alpha Epsilon
Sigma Alpha Mu
Sigma Chi
Sigma Delta Tau
Sigma Nu
Sigma Phi
Sigma Phi Epsilon
Sigma Pi Sigma
Tau Epsilon Phi
Theta Xi
Zeta Beta Tau
Zeta Psi
Zeta Tau Alpha

(Interfraternity Councils)

Amherst
Colgate
Colorado A. & M.
Delaware
Denison
Denver
Georgia
Gettysburg
Hamilton
Hobart
Idaho
Kansas
Lafayette
Lehigh
Maryland
Mercer
Miami (*Ohio*)
Mississippi
Norwich
Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh
Purdue
Rensselaer Polytechnic
Rochester
Swarthmore
Utah State
Virginia
Washington and Lee
Washington State
West Virginia
Wisconsin

(Panhellenic Councils)

Alfred
Beloit
Brooklyn
Cincinnati
Colorado A. & M.
Denison
Denver
Florida
Florida State
Idaho
Illinois
Iowa
Louisiana Polytechnic
Maryland
Mercer
Miami (Florida)
Miami (Ohio)
Middlebury
Northwestern
Oklahoma
Pennsylvania
Pennsylvania State
Pittsburgh
Syracuse
Transylvania
Trenton S. T. C.
Tufts
Washington State
West Virginia

TO:

FROM: Betsey Fitzgerald

March 9, 1950

The following letter was received from Chen Tse-yuen:

November 28, 1949

Dear Friends,

I am glad to hear from you. Thanks for your kind regards.

Everything is going on fine in our school. We are all as busy as before. There are tests and quizzes from time to time. We are now being taught to dance the "Pleasant Workers" by two of our schoolmates, who just returned from Hankow. We have also given some performance outside.

A few days ago, when I came to Nanking Road, the biggest street in Shanghai, I saw that many were repairing the pavements. This led me to think of the corruption of the former Chiang Kai-shek government. Never once did they try to repair the roads, though they levied tax after tax from the people. The money all went into the pockets of the bureaucrats. As a matter of fact, Chiang Kai-shek never had time to do reconstruction work, because he was busy in fighting civil war. Now Shanghai has been liberated for merely half a year, and our People's Government is already doing some repairing work for us. How considerate is our present government! The workers are also putting forth every effort to their work. In order to give no interruption to the traffic, they have been working at night, without feeling the least tired, because they know that they are working for their country.

As you know, the streets are mostly paved with asphalt and bitumen, which are to be imported from foreign countries. But the workers have utilized the waste bitumen instead of asphalt, thus assuring the source of material, regardless of the blockade laid by the Chiang Kai-shek bandits to our ports. The roads now look as compact as new.

This shows that our government is paying full attention to the reconstruction work, and the workers are also eager to cooperate. Mao Tse-tung said "I do not deny the existence of difficulties in China, but I am sure that we have plenty of solutions and hope".

Best wishes.

Yours very truly,

CHEN TSE-YUEN

March 9, 1950

TO:

FROM: Betsey Fitzgerald

The following letter was received from Chen Tse-yuen:

December 16, 1949

Dear Friends:

It is December now, and it is time for your happy Christmas. I am sending you my best wishes.

Here in China, we do not have much celebration for Christmas. We only see some ceremonies in the churches. I am sure that it is one of the happiest occasions in the States. Can you tell me something about your celebrations on Christmas?

Under the Kuomintang reactionary rule, we used to rely entirely upon imported fuel oil for our electric power. After the liberation, our self-supporting power has become more significant under the shameless air raids and blockades of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Before the liberation 78% of the fuel used by our power plants came from foreign countries. Among them, the American Shanghai Power Company, which is the largest power plant in Shanghai, was the biggest consumer of foreign fuel. 96.54% of the fuel used consisted of imported oil, while the total amount of coal used only amounted to 3.46%. The average consumption of fuel oil per month amounted to 30,000 tons. The annual loss of foreign currency amounted to six million U.S. dollars.

Beginning from July the quantity of coal transported into Shanghai has gradually increased, under the cooperation of the People's Government in the earlier liberated areas. Nevertheless difficulties still existed during the months of July and August, in the generation of electricity. Being limited by the installations, there arose many technical problems, after converting the fuel into coal. But upon the mutual cooperation between the workers and engineers, this difficulty has eventually been conquered.

After these five months of anti-blockade struggle, we have at last won the final victory. Up to last month the percentage of the consumption of coal has come up to 96%. The total quantity of electricity produced surpassed by 48% than that of the pre-liberation period.

Now the government has appealed to the people to economize in the consumption of electricity, so that it can be used to keep the engines in the factories running. This indicates that we have completely frustrated the blockage.

Hope you could write often.

Best wishes.

Yours very truly,

CHEN TSE-YUEN

March 9, 1950

TO:

FROM: Betsey Fitzgerald

The following is a letter received from Marcelle Meilhac:

January, 1950

Dear Foster Parents:

I thank you very much for the letter which I receive every month through the Foster Parents' office in Paris. We have our Christmas vacation from the 23rd of December to the 3rd of January.

Saturday the 24th, my Granny bought me some underclothing and a pair of shoes, thanks to the money you sent me.

All the big stores had their windows decorated for Christmas with toys and clothes, chocolates, and things like that, enough to make your mouth water. I shall tell you in my next letter how I spent my vacation. The weather is not cold here and Granny says if we have no snow at Christmas we shall have it for Easter like the old proverb, "Christmas on the balcony, Easter by the fire". I would sooner have snow at Christmas than sun at Easter, otherwise it is not normal. During the month I received four letters from my dear Foster Fathers, and I should very much like to reply. Letter from Mr. Robert R. Ray (October) — My grandparents are old and very often tired. While my sister Nicole and I are keeping in very good health. You say France is very nice in summer — have you ever visited this country? I think it is very nice but I have never been to other countries, so I cannot compare it to any other. Coming from school at night I cannot do much as regards housework as I have my homework to do. Tuesday and Sunday when there is no school I help my grandmother at sewing.

I am happy for you that you spent a nice vacation with your family. We are always happy with our families, that what makes holidays so nice.

We heard on the radio that they are going to ration water in New York because there was no rain.

Letter from Mr. Ned Calmer (October 19)
It was the third letter I have received from you — it flatters me very much. It shows you are thinking of your little French protege. I was very pleased to hear that my letters interest you and your family in Virginia. Still better I like to hear that you know France where you once lived. Here the weather is changeable-some days it is 2 degrees below, next day 10 degrees above, but we have no snow yet. It snows in the mountains where people go to for cold cures.

MARCELLE MEILHAC (Con't)

Letter from Mr. Henry O. Wefing (October 21)

Thank you for your long letter which you found time to write in spite of your many occupations. Yes, I received a letter from you on the 5th of May. You ask me when I have time to write to my Foster Parents. I dedicate my Thursdays when there is no school. In the mornings I do my homework and give a hand in the housework. Sundays I go for a walk and sometimes I go to the movies just according to whether I have good school reports or not.

You see, we find time for most things. You are right, you must be very busy with television. That interests me very much. I saw one once, last Easter, I think it was. I have never seen one in color — or a film in color. My Grandmother says I am too young for such novelties. She said that at my age she had never seen a film or listened to the radio. Same as in America — last summer was very hot and it rarely rained. It started raining properly a month ago. The farmers are happy hoping for a good harvest.

Letter from Mr. Doug Edwards. (September 30)
I am very happy to know you by photo. I shall keep it safe as it is the only one of my Foster Fathers I have. I thought you to be blond with blue eyes like all Americans, but you look like a Frenchman from Toulouse, my native city, young and kind. I understand you are very busy and I am happy to hear from your first letter of April. I collect all my letters from my Foster Fathers in America.

I am on vacation for 10 days but I never go to play any sport, only twice a week to the gymnastic class.

Before finishing my letter I should like to thank all my Foster Parents for the parcel I received from the Parents Plan in Paris. It contained: 2 skirts, 3 pairs socks, swim suit, 1 sweater, 1 vest. The things are very useful and Grandmother fixes them for me as I am big for my age.

Grandmother is very tired and we could not go into the city to have my picture taken.

As the end of the year is here I wish you all the best of health and happiness for 1950.
Just at this instance I received a parcel and a letter from Mrs. Robert Hudson. Thank you very much. I shall reply in my next letter as this one is very long and I am afraid of boring you.

Thank you very much-I also have been told I have a certain sum of money as a Christmas present — thank you with all my heart.

As you say to spend the money now as I like — so I'll tell you in my next how I spent it.

Love,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

March 9, 1950

TO:

FROM: Betsey Fitzgerald

The following letter was sent by Karel Bejdo:

My dear adopted parents:

First in my letter I send you all my best regards and in the New Year I wish you much success in your work and much health and happiness. Thank you many times for the letters, money and stamps. I was very happy when I found in the letter the pictures. I was pleased and admired the interesting buildings. Here we do not have any skyscrapers only at Zlin, but even these in comparison with yours are very small. And also the stamps were very welcome because I can use them all for my collection. I am happy that you like my letters.

Here it snowed also but because it was too warm it melted again. I have it fine at school. We have much to learn. Since the New Year we have all the time only examinations, because within three weeks we will get our reports. In the evening courses I learn English and have done already nine lessons. I would like to write you English, but I still know very little for that. I would be glad if you could write me something more about the Thanksgiving Day because I do not know what that means. I also like the pictures which were published for the occasion of the cats' week.

I would like to sit at a television and look at a football match as is doing dear Mrs. Helen F. Sioussat. Here in our country no one has television as yet. But after I grow up and have the possibility I will surely buy it. I also found on the map the Lake George where Mr. George Crothers spends his vacations and I would like to spend a week there, too. Santa brought me many nice gifts. I got also money for which I bought some stamps. On Christmas Eve supper we were twelve at the table. We had fish soup, potato salad with fried carp, tea with sweets, and cake. X

I am fine and happy. Uncle and aunt send you their best regards. I think I will close for today and thank you once more for everything you are doing for me.

Regards and love from your,

KAREL BEJDO

February 14, 1950

Foster Children

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: Betsey R. Fitzgerald

The following letter was sent by Karel Bejdo:

December 1949

My dear Foster Parents,

Please accept my best thanks for the money, the letters and the post-stamps. Here the weather is rather bad and misty. It was snowing but the snow melted. Yesterday I was at a St. Nicolas performance, a magician used charms there. I had a good time. Tomorrow we shall have a St. Nicolas performance at school. I shall go there too.

Tuesday we make a trip to a shaft. I liked it there very much. Everyone got special trousers, a coat and a lantern and then we descended in a cage-velocity 6m per sec. We left the cage 600m underground. We went one after the other and nobody was allowed to get lost. We saw miners digging coal and loading carts and drawing them on ground. We spent there more than one hours. Above we saw the machine-room and the machinist directing the cages and we also saw how deep the cages are. We returned at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Next time we shall go to see the chemical works at Rutgersa. Wednesday we shall go to the pictures to see the film "Thomas Edison". I have seen it and I liked it very much.

I am ending and the next time I shall write more. I wish you a Merry Christmas and a very Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

KAREL BEJDO

February 14, 1950

TO:

FROM: Betsey R. Fitzgerald

The following letter was sent by Marcelle Meilhac:

December 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

I thank you with all my heart for sending me postal orders which I receive regularly through "Foster Parents". The money of the last few orders as well as of the next one shall be used to buy me some clothes that I shall need for the next year.

Meanwhile I had the pleasure to receive two letters from two of my foster parents. One comes from Mr. Lee Bland. It is dated September 16. The other, also September 16, may be from Mr. Red Barber. "Foster Parents" could not make out the signature. Yet it is a foster parent and I thank him for his kind letter which I am answering.

Indeed I have been going to school again since October first, and as I am in a higher class, the course of studies is more advanced. During the first quarter (there are three in the school year) from October first to the end of December we are studying Grammar, Mathematics, History as majors and several other subjects as minors.

I shall get myself photographed for the end of the year and I shall send you a photo. You will see how tall and strong I am for my age. I am 13 and my clothes are for 16.

In France also the last summer was especially warm. But I like summer better than winter. The cold, the rain, the snow bring dampness and we are not very warm in the house.

Letter of Mr. Lee Bland: I thank you for the letter. I realize that you are very busy since you work for the radio and the television. Emitting is more tiring than listening. I often listen, especially to "The Voice of America". I would like to recognize your voices and I often wonder which one of my foster fathers may be speaking.

I am still doing my best at school. Thanks to God, I am in good health. You ask me if I am happy...as much as one can be who has neither father nor mother. But my little sister and I are happier than so many little ophans who have no such nice grandparents.

I kiss, all at once, all my dear American foster parents and I wish them much happiness.

I thank very much all my dear foster parents for the package they had the kindness to send me last month and which contained 3 metres of material, 2 panties, 2 underwear suits, 1 cake of soap. All these very useful things have given me much pleasure.

Good kisses from,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

TO: Mr. Murrow

January 9, 1950

FROM: Miriam Kerrigan

SP

The following letters were received from the Foster Parents' children:

September, 1950

Dear Mr. Maulsby:

I got a letter from Miss Sioussat and from Mr. Sig Mickelson, so I'm going to answer to their letters.

Dear Foster Mother:

I was so happy to make your aquaintance among the other people of your radio station. I imagine your job must be very interesting, since so many famous people pass through your office. I'm glad too, because I have confidence in your judgement and the kinds of programs that are going to be broadcast are censored by you so that we are not going to listen to nonsense.

I was glad to hear about your godson Mickel, that he wants to be an officer. I would like you to know though that my father was a captain and died during the war. It would be strange, my dear foster mother, if Mickel and I ever meet as officers, fighting for the same idea.

I would like to thank you very much for your wonderful gifts.

Love,

Your foster son,

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

Dear Mr. Mickelson:

I got your letter and was very happy to hear that you are all doing well. I noticed that you too are working on radio broadcasts. How much I would wish to be able to speak to you through our radio station and thank you all for your affection towards me and all the Greek orphans. It would be very difficult for me to express my thankfulness to you, since I'm not educated and cannot write well.

Much love,

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS.

November 1950

Dear Foster Parents:

As each month I received through the Foster Parents Association in Paris your money-order and I thank you very much for it. I am saving this money so that I can buy a few useful things at Christmas time. I will dress nicely thanks to your help.

I entered the Apprenticeship school since October 2nd. I am learning sewing, embroidery, fashion and domestic sciences. After one year of it I will enter a professional school and work in one of the branches I am studying at the present time, the one I will be more interested in.

I started well this year. I came first out of 16 students in general studies and sixth out of 26 in handworks. The piece I sew and the one I embroidered were found very well done and my name will be mentioned on the list of merit. My teachers are very nice. They call me the tallest and the youngest of the class.

Once a fortnight we attend cooking and pastry courses. I have learned already how to make little cookies which were found delicious.

I hope the Korean war spared you and your family, dear Foster Parents, and that you are in good health.

I send you all my big kisses.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

LETTER FROM MR. ROBERT L. BENDICK,

Dear Sir:

Last month, I sent you through the Foster Parents Association a letter to acknowledge the receipt of your pretty book about television that you wrote together with your wife.

I thank you very much for it. It arrived safely and I keep it preciously. I hope the day will come when I am able to understand it, for I plan to learn American and when I earn enough money, I will buy a television set.

In spite of last summer not being warm, I went swimming in the river a few times. I have never been to the seashore, but I hope to get to know it some time.

As I told you in my monthly letter, I started school on the 2nd of October and I enjoy my studies.

I kiss you with all my heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

TO: Ed. Murrow-17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

January 4, 1950

FOSTER PARENTS

We begin 1950 with 6 new members and a new youngster. You will note from his attached bio that he needs our support as much as--if not more than--any of the others.

You will also find attached a farewell letter from Andrzej Rutkowski. It's pretty pathetic. The Polish Government will no longer permit the Foster Parents' Plan to operate in that country. They will allow only foreign relief and aid that is administered and distributed by the Government itself. Mrs. Edna Blue, International Chairman of the Plan, in a communication announcing the Polish action and assigning a Greek orphan to us, says in part:

> "There is no question about it . . . every single child we have been helping in Poland needs help . . . most of them need it desperately. The loss of this American link, I can tell you, will be heartbreaking to them. I cannot permit myself to think of the armless and legless children to whom we promised limbs. Many have already received them, but hundreds are still waiting. It is noteasy for us to close the door on the Polish children . . . the choice was not ours."

All the attachments make a lot of reading but please go through them. They include:

Letters from: Karel Bejdo
Marcelle Meilhac
Chen Tse-Tuan
- and -
Andrzej Rutkowski

Biography of Konstantinos Yannopoulos.

Biographies of our other three children for the benefit of new participants in the Plan.

A letter-writing schedule for the first six months of 1950.

You all know, from reading the letters we receive, how much our letters mean to the kids. So don't let them down in '50.

J. M.

JERRY MAULSBY

January 3, 1949

TO:

FROM: Roslyn B. Glass

The following letter was sent by Chen Tse-Yuen?

October 11, 1949

Dear Friends:

Another month is gone. Have you received the letter that I wrote you last time? Thanks for your five dollars of cash gift.

It is gradually getting cold now. Your money came in the nick of time, just as I am in need of money for buying some clothes and other necessities. I have bought myself a suit of lined uniform.

Our People's Republic of China has been inaugurated in this month. Henceforth, October the first will be our National Birthday. The people are all very happy about this grand occasion. We have ten days of ecstasy in all the liberated areas. Many activities have been promoted during these ten days. First, we went to participate in the celebration of the inauguration of the People's Republic of China. Although it rained heavily, but we were still much elated. Secondly, we went to various places to give congratulations. First we pasted a big red letter "Hsi" (felicity) on their gates, and then gave some performance and words of congratulation. On the eighth, we participated in the grand parade in Shanghai, held with a triple meaning, namely the inauguration of the People's Republic of China, the preservation of world peace, and the successful conclusion of the People's Political Consultative Conference. The paraders amounted to some three hundred thousand. We all dressed in our fancy attires, and our performances consisted of 'waist-drum', 'coin-stick', 'yanko', and torch parades. We set out at noon and reached the Race Course not until twelve midnight. We came back at two in the next morning and everybody was perfectly happy. Furthermore, we went to participate in the 'Floating Parade'. Our ship was one of the twenty odd others, called 'Mao Tse-tung'. Each ship had her own name, such as: 'Chu Teh', 'Stalin', 'Engels', 'Lenin', 'Sun Yet-sen', 'Liberation'. . . . . We danced Yanko and Coinstick at the top deck. We have been really happy during these ten days. Dear friends, will you give me a letter and tell me something about America?

Best wishes.

Your friend,

CHEN TSE-YUEN

November 1949

My dear foster parents:

I send you all many hearty regards and thousands of remembrances. We have here now a lovely fall weather. Sometimes it rains but in the whole it is quite warm and the sun shines and just from that the nature is preparing itself for a winter sleep we realize that winter will be here soon. And they will be quite a fun with our school we shall go for a week to the mountains to ski and sledge and also at home I could sledge. We all look forward to Xmas holidays which time I like best from the whole year. I do not know how you spent them, but I hope that you will write it to me.

I shall now try to tell you how it looks here in our country in the Xmas time. That means that already several days before holidays we live in preparations which we all like so much. Aunt bakes candy and cakes and prepare nuts and eat wherever we can. This year aunt has a goose and a duck for Xmas. On Xmas Eve we never do any hard work. We all wait unpatiently for the evening because then comes the tree and under the tree presents. We have our supper quite early on the day. Usually we have a fish soup, potatoes salad and fried fish, potatoes and jam, apples, nuts, tea, cakes. And during the supper which is a long time uncle lit the tree and then under the tree we find presents. Always there is one who distributes the gifts. At the supper we usually are: aunt, uncle, Mirek, Kaja and I, then Eda and his wife and Alenka, and Jirik with his wife and Kamil and Jarecek. After the supper we sit and talk about the last year. We remember our dear deaths and go late to bed. And also to the cemetery we bring such a very small tree with candles. This I am telling you a little bit too early but I suppose that before this letter will reach you, the time will be nearer to the holidays and everything will look just as I have told you and I like that time so much. I never could leave somewhere for Xmas, because at this time I love my home so much.

I just wanted to tell you that this time I learn English. I shall be happy when I shall be able to write you letters in English. My dear friends I am ending this and sending you my best regards and remembrances and love.

Yours,

KAREL BEJDO

October 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

I am answering in this letter and to all your letters that you, my good foster parents, had the kindness to send me.

First I want to thank you for your allowance I received as each month. Granny keeps this money to buy underwear and shoes for Christmas.

It was a pleasure for me to receive the letter from Mr. G. F. Maulsby of the 29th of July. When you wrote to me you were starting on holidays to rest. When you will receive this letter you surely will be working and may be you will be looking for a warm place.

I hope your cats had a good trip and they were not sick during the air trip. I hope they are always affectionate. How luck you are to know painting, it is a good distraction. I shall be happy to paint but I am just able to make some drawings with pencil representing animals.

I am answering to the letter from Mr. Wells Church of the 12th of August. Thank you for thinking of me as I am thinking of all of you, and I am sending to you as to all my foster parents, my gratitude.

What a sadness to work during summer time. In France it is especially in August, we have holiday because this month is the warmest. I had never been at a public concert, but I often hear an American concert from "La voie de l'Amerique". My studies started on October with the coming of school. I am working and trying to learn each day a little more.

My health is good and I have never had a cold, all this year.

I am answering too, to the letter from Miss Helen Sioussat of the 28th of August. I could not find her signature but in comparing it with the letter of the 18th of March, I know it. When you will receive mine you should be back some time from Nantucket. I know a little about from New York. Its industry was formerly the oil extraction of the codfish. Now it is almost finished since oil is extracted from plants. It was an important sea-port for fishing. These details I learnt from one of my foster parents. If you are swimming on the island sea front areyou not afraid by whales. They seem to be numerous around there. I heard sometime about television, I saw some view during the last time I visit to Paris. I was so interested that I had the resolution to buy a television set when I shall be working my living.

My sister Nicole and I are sending to you all our kisses. Before ending my letter I am thanking you all very much for your parcel which made me very happy. There were in it 3 yards material, 3 panties, 2 sweaters, one bar of soap. Everything is very useful. I am thanking you once more. My Granny will make for me a dress with the material. All my kisses to you, dear foster parents, from your God daughter.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

Warsaw, October 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

I enjoyed, Mr. Crothers letter very much. Alas, it is the last news I will have from you. It was always such a great joy to read your letters and I am frightfully sorry that our correspondence will have to stop. I will miss your letters very much. And that is why I have a great request, would you be so very kind as to write to my private address. I sent you our home address in one of my previous letters. I am very sorry that I shant get an answer from Michael Hudson. I was so glad that he will describe life in his school. I would have liked to know what are the customs of my American colleagues. But I hope that you will be able to write to me once more, Michael. I ask you to very sincerely - will you?

I don't know if you also celebrate All Saints and All Souls Day. On November 1, in the afternoon we all go to the cemetery and decorate the graves of our dear ones, with flowers and lights. We always spend this day at the grave of our parents. It is a day of sadness, but beautiful celebration. Granny is very sorry that I shant correspond with you any more. She thanks you for everything very sincerely and sends hearty greetings and best wishes. I also thank you warmly, for your help, but I shant say farewell, as I hope sincerely that you will write soon.

With lots of love and hearty greetings to all my dear Mommies and Daddies.

Your grateful,

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

KONSTANTINOS YANNOPOULOS

10 years old
Born August 15, 1939
Nationality — Greek

Konstantinos was born in Houliarades. His father was an army officer and always provided for his family very well. He was killed in battle in 1942. In the same year the child's mother dies of exposure and starvation. At that time the child was four years old. His mother's sister took the boy, his sisters and brother in to live with her. Later the other children were taken away to live elsewhere.

They live in Yannina which is situated north of Athens under most horrible living conditions. Although Yannina was not directly under fire during the Greek Civil War, hundreds of thousands of refugees fled there. They are still sleeping on the ground in tents in places hardly fit for animals. Konstantinos and the other children have one tiny room separated from some people which is used for sleeping, eating and all purposes. There is no water and no light and of course no sanitary conditions. The aunt has a hole in the ground with a few bricks that is used for cooking.

The boy's aunt is very strong and is able to earn about $10 a month doing actual labor. Konstantinos receives $4.66 a month which is his share of the $16.33 pension granted on the death of his father.

Konstantinos has suffered a great deal and shows many outward signs of this. He is very intelligent. He wants to be an army officer like his father. He is one of the very lucky children who was able to attend school and is a fairly good student. Although he is very fond of his aunt and appreciates the fact that she has taken him in, he misses his brother and sisters very much.

NOTE:

Since Greece is still a country at war communications are subject to delay. Things move normally at Athens only but outside of Athens, roads are often impassable for indefinite periods.

Child's No. 6111-G
Folder No. 3659

KAREL BEJDO

13 years old
Born September 25, 1936
Nationality — Czech

Karel is 13 years old, but he is small for his age. The fact that he is under-size should come as no surprise in light of the food deficiencies which scourged the children of Europe all through the war years. In recent years starvation has been only partially alleviated. Karel is one of the thirty million weary, ragged, stunted boys and girls on the Continent who are dependent on outside aid for life and strength.

Karel's parents died when the child was only two and a half years old. The father was shot by the Gestapo in Praha, and the mother was executed in Berlin. During the war, the little boy learned the meaning of unrelieved hunger, gnawing cold, and constant physical exhaustion. Peace brought some relief, but the aunt who has taken care of him since his parents were killed is finding it more and more difficult to provide Karel with the care his growing body demands.

The next few years are critical ones for him, since the scars of prolonged malnutrition will either be erased now or leave an indelible mark on him. Prices are high and life is precarious. Food is scarce and will remain so for a long time, since Czechoslovakia has had no rain from May to November. The fields are picked clean and the situation is critical, with famine casting a long shadow across the land and threatening the health and well-being of all the children. With PLAN aid, however, Karel will continue to receive adequate food and clothing to give him a chance for a strong, healthy adulthood.

He is an active, helpful little boy, a good child, and a hard-working pupil in his elementary school class. He likes to draw and he is also a stamp collector. At present he thinks he would like to be a clerk, and he hopes to have the opportunity to study shorthand and typing.

He has brown hair and black eyes and he is a most worthwhile child and deserves your interest and personal encouragement.

Child's No. 4794
Folder No. 3659

CHEN TSE-YUEN

16 years old
Nationality — Chinese

With conditions in China as dreadful as they are, and with the mortality rate high as it is, only children who have a chance for survival can be selected for help in the Plan. Among these is the young boy, Chen Tse-Yuen.

"This boy is in fairly good health, and holds an excellent scholastic record. At the outbreak of the war he evacuated with his family to Chungking. His father was a graduate of the Central University, having majored in engineering. He held a job with the railways, but his salary was so low that he had to sell most of his valuables to keep on living. Later, he worked in the Szechuen-Sicon Highway Administration where he died of fatigue and overwork. His wife attained a little money by selling all the family clothing and furniture, and she went with her children to Szechuen where her husband had died. With war conditions as they were, she could not make a living here, so she was forced to take the children back at the risk of their lives to their native village. She found her village occupied by the Japanese. Chen Tse-Yuen was unwilling to live under Japanese reign, so he remained in Chungking alone. It did not matter where the boy stayed really, for all areas suffered equal hunger and misery. Finally, after months of shifting on his own, the boy came to this school, the Yu Tsai, where he is now without any financial support. He has not heard further word of his family, but he knows that if they are alive still, they are barely surviving."

These histories have been translated from Chinese, and, in many cases, are pathetic in understatement. Continual malnutrition has left this boy rather undergrown for his age. He is about five feet two and weighs a hundred pounds. He is quiet and honest, and especially talented in mathematics and literature.

Child's No. C-121
Folder No. 3659

MARCELLE MEILHAC

12 years old
Born August 25, 1937
Nationality — French

Marcelle was born in the city of Toulouse a little more than twelve years ago. The war has seared a heavy mark of tragedy across her life and that of her nine year old sister. When the Germans marched into France, M. and Mme. Meilhac refused to sit idly by and watch the Nazis trample the country into unresisting servitude. Both the mother and father joined the underground movement and sacrificed their energy, their health, their safety and eventually their very lives in striking back against the oppressor.

The gallant couple were arrested by the Gestapo for their anti-Nazi activities. The father was deported to Germany where he died just before Christmas of 1944. The mother was also deported, but to an unknown destination. Her fate remains a tragic blank.

The children are now living with their grandparents who used to have a trade but who are now unable to work because of age and feebleness. There is hardly any money left, and the upbringing of the two little girls is impossible on the tiny sum alloted by the government. Neither of the sisters has had much of a childhood. Their early years were filled not with skipping ropes, whistles, dolls, tops, and rubber balls, but with fear, violence, hatred, and hunger.

The future is a little more certain than the past has been. At least there is the prospect of peace. Marcelle does not know yet what she wants to do when she grows up, but her grandfather is anxious for her to learn some skill or profession so that she will be able to work and earn a living when she is older. Only twelve, Marcelle is already faced with the problem of making her own way in the world.

She has brown hair and black eyes, and a firm character which augurs well for her future as a self-sufficient citizen of her community. PLAN is providing the physical means of supporting her young body as it grows into adolescence, but she remains much in need of the security and reassurance that only personal interest can give.

She needs affection as much as food and clothing. She is, as someone else has said about her own childhood, "desperately anxious to please, to like and to be liked, and if possible to be loved." Your encouragement will help Marcelle weather the emotional storms of the approaching years.

Child's No. 14350
Folder No. 3659

LETTER WRITING SCHEDULE

1950

PARENT	CHILD'S NAME	DURING WEEK BEGINNING
Abelow, Sam	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	January 8
	Karel Bejdo	February 19
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 2
	Chen Tse-Yuen	May 14
Barber, Red	Karel Bejdo	January 8
	Marcelle Meilhac	February 19
	Chen Tse-Yuen	April 2
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	May 14
Bendict, Robert	Marcelle Meilhac	January 8
	Chen Tse-Yuen	February 19
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	April 2
	Karel Bejdo	May 14
Bratter, William	Chen Tse-Yuen	January 8
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	February 19
	Karel Bejdo	April 2
	Marcelle Meilhac	May 14
Bryson, Lyman	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	January 15
	Karel Bejdo	February 26
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 9
	Chen Tse-Yuen	May 21
Calmer, Ned	Karel Bejdo	January 15
	Marcelle Meilhac	February 26
	Chen Tse-Yuen	April 9
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	May 21
Church, Ted	Marcelle Meilhac	January 15
	Chen Tse-Yuen	February 26
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	April 9
	Karel Bejdo	May 21
Crothers, George	Chen Tse-Yuen	January 15
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	February 26
	Karel Bejdo	April 9
	Marcelle Meilhac	May 21
Derr, John	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	January 22
	Karel Bejdo	March 5
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 16
	Chen Tse-Yuen	May 28
Edwards, Douglas	Karel Bejdo	January 22
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 5
	Chen Tse-Yuen	April 16
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	May 28

ttlieb, Lester	Marcelle Meilhac	January 22
	Chen Tse-Yuen	March 5
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	April 16
	Karel Bejdo	May 28
Heller, Robert	Chen Tse-Yuen	January 22
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	March 5
	Karel Bejdo	April 16
	Marcelle Meilhac	May 28
Hewitt, Don	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	January 29
	Karel Bejdo	March 12
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 23
	Chen Tse-Yuen	June 4
Howe, Quincy	Karel Bejdo	January 29
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 12
	Chen Tse-Yuen	April 23
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	June 4
Jefferson, John	Marcelle Meilhac	January 29
	Chen Tse-Yuen	March 12
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	April 23
	Karel Bejdo	June 4
Lesueur, Larry	Chen Tse-Yuen	January 29
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	March 12
	Karel Bejdo	April 23
	Marcelle Meilhac	June 4
Maulsby, Gerald	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	February 5
	Karel Bejdo	March 19
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 30
	Chen Tse-Yuen	June 11
Michelson, Sig	Karel Bejdo	February 5
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 19
	Chen Tse-Yuen	April 30
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	June 11
Murrow, Edward	Marcelle Meilhac	February 5
	Chen Tse-Yuen	March 19
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	April 30
	Karel Bejdo	June 11
Ray, Robert	Chen Tse-Yuen	February 5
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	March 19
	Karel Bejdo	April 30
	Marcelle Meilhac	June 11

Robinson, Hubbell	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	February 12
	Karel Bejdo	March 26
	Marcelle Meilhac	May 7
	Chen Tse-Yuen	June 18
Sicoussat, Helen	Karel Bejdo	February 12
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 26
	Chen Tse-Yuen	May 7
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	June 18
Wafing, Henry	Marcelle Meilhac	February 12
	Chen Tse-Yuen	March 26
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	May 7
	Karel Bejdo	June 18

LETTER WRITING SCHEDULE

1950

Ed Tomorrow -17

PARENT	CHILD'S NAME	DURING WEEK BEGINNING
Abelow, Sam	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	June 25
	Karel Bejdo	August 6
	Marcelle Meilhac	September 17
	Chen Tse-Yuen	October 29
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	December 10
Barber, Red	Karel Bejdo	June 25
	Marcelle Meilhac	August 6
	Chen Tse-Yuen	September 17
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	October 29
	Karel Bejdo	December 10
Bendict, Robert	Marcelle Meilhac	June 25
	Chen Tse-Yuen	August 6
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	September 17
	Karel Bejdo	October 29
	Marcelle Meilhac	December 10
Bratter, William	Chen Tse-Yuen	June 25
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	August 6
	Karel Bejdo	September 17
	Marcelle Meilhac	October 29
	Chen Tse-Yuen	December 10
Bryson, Lyman	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	July 2
	Karel Bejdo	August 13
	Marcelle Meilhac	September 24
	Chen Tse-Yuen	November 5
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	December 17
Calmer, Ned	Karel Bejdo	July 2
	Marcelle Meilhac	August 13
	Chen Tse-Yuen	September 24
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	November 5
	Karel Bejdo	December 17
Church, Ted	Marcelle Meilhac	July 2
	Chen Tse-Yuen	August 13
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	September 24
	Karel Bejdo	November 5
	Marcelle Meilhac	December 17
Crothers, George	Chen Tse-Yuen	July 2
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	August 13
	Karel Bejdo	September 24
	Marcelle Meilhac	November 5
	Chen Tse-Yuen	December 17

[illegible]er, John	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	July 9
	Karel Bejdo	August 20
	Marcelle Meilhac	October 1
	Chen Tse-Yuen	November 12
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	December 24
Edwards, Douglas	Karel Bejdo	July 9
	Marcelle Meilhac	August 20
	Chen Tse-Yuen	October 1
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	November 12
	Karel Bejdo	December 24
Gottlieb, Lester	Marcelle Meilhac	July 9
	Chen Tse-Yuen	August 20
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	October 1
	Karel Bejdo	November 12
	Marcelle Meilhac	December 24
Heller, Robert	Chen Tse-Yuen	July 9
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	August 20
	Karel Bejdo	October 1
	Marcelle Meilhac	November 12
	Chen Tse-Yuen	December 24
Hewitt, Don	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	July 16
	Karel Bejdo	August 27
	Marcelle Meilhac	October 8
	Chen Tse-Yuen	November 19
Howe, Quincy	Karel Bejdo	July 16
	Marcelle Meilhac	August 27
	Chen Tse-Yuen	October 8
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	November 19
Jefferson, John	Marcelle Meilhac	July 16
	Chen Tse-Yuen	August 27
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	October 8
	Karel Bejdo	November 19
Lesueur, Larry	Chen Tse-Yuen	July 16
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	August 27
	Karel Bejdo	October 8
	Marcelle Meilhac	November 19
Maulsby, Gerald	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	July 23
	Karel Bejdo	September 3
	Marcelle Meilhac	October 15
	Chen Tse-Yuen	November 26
Mickelson, Sig	Karel Bejdo	July 23
	Marcelle Meilhac	September 3
	Chen Tse-Yuen	October 15
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	November 26

Murrow, Edward	Marcelle Meilhac	July 23
	Chen Tse-Yuen	September 3
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	October 15
	Karel Bejdo	November 26
Ray, Robert	Chen Tse-Yuen	July 23
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	September 3
	Karel Bejdo	October 15
	Marcelle Meilhac	November 26
Robinson, Hubbell	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	July 30
	Karel Bejdo	September 10
	Marcelle Meilhac	October 22
	Chen Tse-Yuen	December 3
Sioussat, Helen	Karel Bejdo	July 30
	Marcelle Meilhac	September 10
	Chen Tse-Yuen	October 22
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	December 3
Wefing, Henry	Marcelle Meilhac	July 30
	Chen Tse-Yuen	September 10
	Konstantinos Yannopoulos	October 22
	Karel Bejdo	December 3

TO: Ed Murrow -17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

In addition to the attached letters from our Foster children, we have received the following note from Miss Constance Rykert of the Foster Parents Organization:

> "I feel so sorry for your foster children -- I know you are terribly busy, but if you could just drop them a line, it would mean so much to them!"

The following letter was received from Karel Bejdo:

My dear adopted family:

Accept my hearty regards and I thank you for the care which you give me. I apologize that I am writing my letter late for I came first the 15th from recreation camp with uncle in Beskydy mountains. In our district school begins the 1st of October so uncle and I went to Old Hamer. The weather was nice and mushrooms grew and we went daily to the woods and dried mushrooms to take home. We also went swimming, sunned and had a fine time. There we heard the sad news that our second president of the republic, Dr. E. Benes died. When we came home we had to have Reka our dog inoculated again against madness. Here they are putting in gas. In the next street they already have it. We were also three times during holidays in Fulnek for mushrooms for the first time we had a lot, the second time it was dry and for the third time there were so few and I found only three toadstools.

This year will be collective school. The public school is called national. The town and central called the 2nd degree. We shall learn differently and I am curious to know how we shall be learning. On the 25th of Sept. it will be my 12th birthday and I want a bicycle for my birthday and I wonder if I shall get one. On the 9th of Sept. it is four years since they killed my mother. We were at the crematorium and put flowers on the grave. I should be glad if you would write to me where you were for holidays and how you had it and if you are all well, etc. And in ending I send a great greeting.

Your,

KAREL BEJDO

September 13, 1948

The following letter was received from Cheng Tse-Tuen:

Dear Foster Parents:

Probably it has been two months that I have got any news from you. I am thinking of you all the time but I don't know whether it was because of the fact that you were busy. I hope that you will write to me often. You will tell me something about news in America.

In fact, there are many foster children in our school who have established very intimate relations with their foster parents. Correspondence between them comes back and forth. I wish you will write to me. Many of them had already received many gifts such as candies, clothes and harmonica.

You told me that you had sent me a harmonica, a book of songs and a pair of compasses. They have not reached me yet. I hope they will be here soon.

Still, I am always grateful to you. You support me that I can carry on with my studies. I like to have you tell about the present conditions in America.

With best wishes,

Your foster child,

CHENG TSE-TUEN

The following letter from Chen Tse-Tuen was received at the same time but written:

October 5, 1948

Dear Foster Father:

I don't know the reason you have not written me for so long. Have you forgotten me? I have been waiting and waiting for your letters but none came. Time again I told you one thing or another about myself and the surroundings. But you didn't. The result is that I almost cannot find anything else to tell you. Do write to me this time.

This term our work in school is very busy. We have physics, higher algebra, analytical chemistry, etc. Then we have an experimental production division to try to produce soap, and Chinese sauce, etc. I like chemistry so much that I got into the production of soap. We have bought the necessary butter and we shall soon start our experiment. I hope to build up a small factory in the future. Our late headmaster, Dr. Tao Heng-Chih, told us to use our hands as well as our minds. Formerly we were limited by circumstances, and could not make use of what we learned. Now the chance has come.

Goodbye and with best wishes.

CHEN TSE-TUEN

September 18, 1948

The following letter was received from Andrzej Rutkowski:

Dear Foster Parents:

My vacations are nearing their end. In a few days already I will return to Warszawa. All that remains will be memories of a pleasantly spent Summer. Several days ago, there was a big storm on the sea. A hurricane raged in town, uprooted trees which were centuries old. The sea presented a magnificent sight. The waves inundated the entire beach. Today the sea is calm again, and we will probably go bathing. I have learned to swim, and so I enjoy bathing in the sea very much. Granny promised me that, come Fall, I will study English. I had no letter from you, for so long.

I thank you for the money. It will be used for the last days of my sojourn here, and for the homestrip.

Affectionate greetings to all my dear friends and patrons.

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

The following letter from Andrzej Rutkowski was written:

October 24, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:

The holidays are over, and I go to school now. It is long since I have had a letter from you. Write me please. Thank you for the money. My grandmother bought the necessary books and copy books for me.

I send my affectionate greetings to you.

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

TO: Ed Meunier 117

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

November 18, 1948

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

September 4, 1948

My dear Foster Parent:

Like every month I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the monthly money order which I receive regularly from the Foster Parents. Since a few days I am back in Chatellerault where I continue to spend my vacations. It is a nice town, and where I am it is rather lonely, almost countryside, and the air is very pure. But I prefer Saint-Priest which is only a little community in the country, but I would like to return there. In contrast to the summer of 1947, which was very warm and dry, this summer was very rainy and not warm enough for the season. We only had all together about two weeks during which time it was very warm, and that is not enough.

I wish that the month of September would be very sunny and warm, so that we could enjoy it before going back to school. Because on the 1st of October goodbye vacations! A new year will begin with a rainy fall and a cold winter. I hate these seasons, but I love so much the mild and warm seasons. Dear Foster Parent, I send you an affectionate kiss.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

November 3, 1949 Foster Children

TO: Ed. Memorial

FROM: Roslyn B. Glass

The following letter has been received from Marcelle Meilhac:

September 1, 1949

Dear Members of Columbia:

I thank you of all my heart for the monthly allowance I receive regularly. This money will be used to buy a dress for the beginning of term. It will be in woolen and warm because it is very cold in winter. Granny want I wear warm clothes during the cold time of winter and I am in a good health with all these precautions.

Just one month of holiday and the first of October is the beginning of term.

We were happy and glad since one month is dryness, but fields are burnt by sun and cattle also, have nothing more to eat and the harvest will be not very abundant. The country men are worried. I wish the rain fall to make them able to work the ground.

The ground must be mellow to the new sowing. It is the dryness which is doing fire burning more easily in the fire trees of Ouest of France.

Will you receive my dear Foster Parents, from your God-daughter her kisses.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

September 1, 1949

Dear Mr. Edward R. Murrow:

The Paris Office just send me your kind letter of the 7th of June with its translation.

I keep your letter of the 27th of April 1948 and I shall keep your last letter. In France it is the same than in America the weather is very warm. Some day it is 96° in the shadow. We pass a time of great warmth and dryness and the country men are sorrowful about the no raining. I look at your travel on a map, about your landing on aircraft carrier it is very curious and I can't imagine it because I never ride in a plane.

As your son Casey, I had removed tonsil but it is spent very fast and the surgeon after 10 days told me I could eat stones if you want.

I like roses, blond hair and blue eyes as the doll I have when I was younger.

Me too I am on holiday since July to September. I spend my time to walk in the wood and in the fields with my little friends and to be kind with my grammy I read and I knit, but it is not very agreeable to do during holiday.

My sister Nicole is in good health. She is in holiday just like me and it is a good devil, very mischievous. We celebrated her 10 years old on the 27th of July and my 13 years old on the 25th of August.

I hope you will keep a good souvenir from France. It is better now than some years before but every things is expensive.

I am kissing you of all my heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

August 28, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

Vacations are over, and since a few days I am back in Warsaw. I was sorry to leave the country as I had a very good time there. School, will reopen on September 1st. I had a lovely surprise while being in the country, as I had 5 letters from you. They were so nice and interesting. I am glad to know that Mr. Heller's family derives from Poland, although he doesn't come from the same parts as we do, my father lived in Lonza and my Mummy on the east border - we askin to each other as he is part Polish. I think Miss Sioussat very much for her detailed description of her work, it must be a very interesting but hard and responsible occupation. I can imagine your lovely study but I would like to know what you look like and therefore, I would be very glad if you could send me your picture and the pictures of all foster parents. I received an album for my names day (birthday) and I would be very glad to have all your pictures in it.

I thank Mrs. Calmer for her letter, perhaps in his (Ned's) journeys Mr. Calmer will visit Poland and then I will be able to meet him. It would be a very great joy.

I also thank Mr. Lesueur and Mr. Barber for their letters. I learn willingly, but as willingly I rest and play and I like to read. I am interested in box and football, but as I have no ball and box gloves I can't take part in those sports.

I spend summer in the country and I liked very much to help in the farm and field works. I would like to write more but there is no space left. Many thanks for the money.

With lots of love and hearty greetings to all my foster parents. My granny sends best greetings.

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

First in my letter I greet you from my full heart and thank you many times for the money received and for the package. The sardines were very good and soap is a rare gift for us and a very precious one. We really have very few soap here.

I am very pleased from all the received letters and stamps and thank you very much for everything. I shall answer you all, my dear friends in one letter.

So here summer is already over. To say you the true, we did not have an nice summer this year. You have had terrible heats, but we on the contrary much rain. Nowe we have here lovely autumn weather. In the morning it is foggy and cold, but so round 1 o'clock the sun shines just like in summer. And so I try to be very spare minute outside, because soon winter will knock on the window and we shall live all the time in rooms. I like to be in the garden, because we have there this year plenty of fruit. Auntie preserves all the time and we help her-but only with tasting. Now I have already the second week school again. I like school very much and this year I want to study English or Esperanto in evening courses. Now in the school I do not even know which subjects we shall have the next day. Today we have had for the first time chemistry to which I have been looking forward for a long time.

I am you, my dear friends, very grateful for everything that you are doing for me. I have lost in my life my parents, but have received you and you do not know how often my friends envy me when I show them some things which I get from you and always say them that I have received it from my good friends from the Columbia Broadcast.

I thank you once more for all your kindness and I remember you very often.

With love, yours,

KAREL BEJDO

TO: Ed Morrow - 17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

January 10, 1949

The following letter was received from Chen Tse-Yuen:

November 29, 1948

Dear Foster Father:

The new year will soon be here. Today, many foster children received cash gifts from their foster parents. Our school distributed the money to all the foster children. I also got 50 dollars Gold Yuan. This is just enough for me to buy a pair of rubber shoes. I am so glad because my old shoes are practically worn out.

New Year will be a happy time for us. I remember the countless greeting cards we received last year. The Santa Claus, snow, etc. were so nice. But things are so different now and we can hardly enjoy much in the face of the ever intensifying civil war.

It has been some time that I have not received any letters from you. You must be quite busy.

With best wishes for the Christmas and the coming New Year.

Your foster son,

Chen Tse-Yuen

TO:

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

January 10, 1949

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

October 7, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:

I thank you warmly for the money order. On the 1st of October school started again, and I have to study very hard.

I am 12 years old, and my grandparents and I preferred that I re-entered the school of Saint-Priest, a town I love particularly. I have still 2 years of studies to introduce myself for the certificate of studies, because only at the age of 14 one can do that. I hope to be successful and not to repeat a class, because that would be a lost year. If I am a good student, which I hope to be, I could make my professional diploma at 17 or 18 and then go to a workshop and earn my living.

I had wished for a sunny fall, and my wishes were fulfilled.

We have beautiful weather in contrast to August and July which both were very rainy.

Hugging you very affectionately.

Marcelle Meilhac

TO:

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

January 10, 1949

The following letter was received from Karel Bejdo:

October, 1948

Dear Adopted Parents:

First in my letter I want to thank you most sincerely for your kindness and sacrifices which you show to me. Especially thanks I send for the package which I receive and which we enjoyed and for the money which we receive each month from you. I want to be worth your love so I like to learn so that you would be proud of me that you devoted such kindness to me. I know well that you are very busy and have little time and still you do not forget me. Your kind letter are for me so pleasant for I know from them that someone lives farway who likes me too and takes care of my fate.

I am living still at uncle's and I am fine, I go to central schoe. We have a lot of learning to do. I learn daily until ten in the evening. We celebrated the 28th of October here, the day of our independence. We went to see the procession. Everywhere was full of people. On All Saints Day we were to the cemetery and lit candles at the monument for the sacrifices of the last war. That was for father and mother. Now with kind steps Xmas is nearing. I wish you the best and happiest Xmas, and a rich Santa and Xmas Eve. At seven in the evening here it will be a moment of remembrances to you.

I kiss you on your hands and cheeks my dear ones. I love you all.

your Kaja

September 19, 1949

TO: Ed Munson -17

FROM: Roslyn Glass

The Christmas Holiday in China does not get much recognition except in Christian Organizations. The big time for celebration is the Chinese New Year, which is the first day of the first moon, and for this coming New Year will be February 17, 1950.

Because of the war in China, existing conditions make it impossible to know when our freight will reach that country. We are therefore, asking all of you who wish to remember their foster child in China at Christmas and Chinese New Year to send money gifts.

Our American Director in China informs us that he is able to purchase gifts in Shanghai and he will return itemized lists to the foster parents here with the children's thank you letters.

Will you therefore, if you wish to send your Chinese foster child a Christmas or Chinese New Year's gift, please send me your check marked for this purpose and I will take care of it for you? Please do it now...so there will be lots of time to take care of this.

Thank you very much.

_lowing letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

August 1949

Dear Mr. John Derr:

I read with pleasure your letter of the 29th of May. Everything regarding America is very interesting for me. My grandmother showed me a picture of Miss Hayworth's wedding with her Indian bridegroom. I heard that this lady is a film star. She is very beautiful, and I like her dress very much. If I work in the "couture" I will be able to do one beautiful like this one.

I am happy that you visited France last year. Everybody say that Deauville is a very nice place during summer, especially its beach.

I have never been to the sea side, when I am older I hope to be able to go and see it. I like to swim in the river, I would be pleased to swim in the sea. I think I would be frightened to see so much water. I imagine it must be very impressive.

As I have never seen foreign lands and just a part of France, I can not compare, but American people can be proud for their country is very pleasant, people are full of life, hard working and the earth is rich.

All my love.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

September 19, 1949

following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

Dear Mrs. Robert Hudson:

I thank you for your kind letter. Your handwriting is very good.

I am lucky! All my foster parents are writing to me.

I see that most of them have boys and it is very agreeable to know they are studying well at school. If I had a young brother like Mike, I should take care of him. Your children are just like me. I like school, but I prefer holidays. At school we must be quiet. There is a strict discipline. During holidays we are free and above all we have to do no task.

During this season there is all kind of flowers. A great deal of various roses, pinks, and tulips. I love flowers even those without perfume.

I thank you for sending me what I wish. I have to tell you I am greedy and so I like chocolate and sweets. I do not buy often them because I have just the money of your plan to by clothes. My grandmother think I wear out too much my clothes and my shoes.

In France, we find now everything and very much meat. All of this is very expensive. My grandfather tell me it is now 20 times more expensive than in 1939.

I shall be pleased that you transmitted my best love to your husband and to your children.

Affectionately yours,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

September 19, 1949

e following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

Dear Mr. Larry Lesueur:

I answer with pleasure to your letter of the 25th of April.

You have a very French name. I had just a friend girl who names as yours and my grandmother use to cook with Lesueur oil.

I understand you are very busy because the meeting to the United Nations are taking you working hardly, my grandfather explain me that.

In France during holidays Easter there were in much village a festival, with circus, games, etc.... Long time ago, before 1914, everybody told me life was much gay and festes was more importants.

At school we have the elementary studies until the first diploma called "Certificat d'Etudes". It is possible to pass through at 14 years old. Afterwards I shall go probably in a professional school where it will be possible to learn a work at the same time I shall go on with my studies.

I feel sorry to be without Dad and Mother although my grand parents do their best to give us a happy youth.

All my best love.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

September 19, 1949

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

Dear Mr. Henry Wefing:

Thank so much for your letter of the 5th of June just arriving with its french translation.

When I read your letters well translated by the foster parents plan of Paris. I imagine to seeing you and hearing you. That is a great pleasure for me.

You write to me the weather is warm in America. In France, it is less warm that usual at the same time. The sun is always away and the wind is coming from North East.

I am very pleased to know you have two boys. Most of my foster parents have boys and often two.

I like little boys and I should be happy to have to take care of them. I have just a little sister who is 3 years old younger than me.

At school I do my best to learn.

When I was a little girl I made dresses for my doll. I always like sewing so now I help my grandmother in repairing clothes, in expecting do better.

Your son must be clever to play piano you told me he learnt so easily music at school and I thought it is very difficult to play a musical instrument.

I send you my best love.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

September 19, 1949

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

Dear Mr. Lyman Bryson:

I read with a great pleasure your kind letter of the 16th of May and I answer right now. Though the spring was cooly and as I live in a little village I always have the pure air of the country.

Holidays will begin next month and I am looking forwards to spend my time agreeable. I shall walk in the country and specially in the woods. My favorite pleasure is in September to pick mushrooms in the wood around the village where I live. I use to swim when the weather is fine and as we have no beach so I am drying myself under the sun along the river.

I am getting tall. I shall have 13 years old on the next 25th of August and look like a 16 year old girl. I am big and tall and my weight is about 108 pounds. I had good appetite too, and I do physical training to be less stiff.

Affectionately yours,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

September 19, 1949

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

Dear Mr. Ned Calmer:

I always read with pleasure your letter and these of my foster parents. Of course you are an old friend.

I keep preciously the letters from America among these I found yours of the 24th of February 1948. I read again with great pleasure.

I wish a good trip for you around the world. I shall be pleased to go too. It must be wonderful to be for a while in the air just like a bird.

I am sending you my love.

I am studying at school. This last month we have to pass an examination to graduate in October.

Affectionately,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

September 19, 1949

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

Dear Members of the Columbia:

I thank you all from my heart for the allowance you send me each month and I received by the care of the Foster Parents of Paris.

Even spring was colder than is usual. I wish summer will be fine and warm and have the possibility during my holidays which are beginning on 13th of July to walk in the fields and the woods and specially to swim in the river which go through the village.

What is more agreeable than freedom. At school we must stay quiet with strict discipline. During holidays I shall wake up later. I shall help my grandmother to tide. I shall knit and in the afternoon I shall go out for a walk and profit of the country that I like very much.

The village where I shall pass my holidays is a little place. I know all the people and the most of them are my friends.

As they have gardens, they give me the permission to pick flowers and fruits I like. That is very good for my greediness.

All my love to you, all the members of Columbia and best wishes for holidays.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

September 19, 1949

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

Dear Mr. Robert Ray:

I thank you for your letter of the 3rd of May I just received with its translations.

When I had the possibility to listen to the radio I just take pleasure with music, and when there were American programs I do not forget to listen to them.

The mistress who teaches me to sing told me that I have an agreeable and good voice. I had some old french songs in my book and it is a pleasure for me to sing them often.

In France, the weather is not really fine for that springtime. Usually it was warmer and by now we are obliged to wear woolen sweaters.

Except during Easter holidays it was fine, since it is cold.

Just as in America, flowers are grown in France and the air is perfumed in the country and in the wood too.

My studies are normally getting along, and I do my best to satisfy my teachers.

I shall be pleased to see in America the sky scrapers and specially the Empire state building which is the highest sky scraper in the world. I shall be pleased to know American people which is so kind for me and which have thrown out the Germans from France.

I send you my affectionate love.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

September 19, 1949

TO:

FROM: Roslyn Glass

The following letter was received from Andrzej Rutkowski:

July 24, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

We spend the summer in the country, in our former nanny's house. She got married and has now her own farm. The place is beautiful and we have really good time here. We help the peasants in the fields and go for walks in the forest and pick wild strawberries and mushrooms. Unluckily there is no lake or river to bathe in, but our aunt, who lives at the seaside, asked us to come and stay with her for a week.

I am very glad. If only the weather will be good, we will spend all the days on the beach. I love the sea so much. The summer is not very nice this year. It is raining often. And then we must stay at home and read, because we have no proper clothes to go out during wet weather.

It is long since I had letters from you. I hope that there are many letters from you waiting for me in Warsaw. Thank you very much for the money. With many affectionate hugs and greetings to all my foster parents.

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

September 19, 1949

TO:

FROM: Roslyn Glass

The following letter was received from Andrzej Rutkowski:

June 22, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

I passed to the 7th grade. Tomorrow we are going to the seaside with my granny and my brother Krzys. My other granny - Mrs. Grabowska will join us in July. We will let a room in the fisherman's house and spend few weeks there. The doctor said that it would be very good for my health, because of my tonsils. I catch cold easily and last year's stay at the seaside did me a lot of good.

I read your letters several times. I imagine how you enjoy such beautiful journeys. I am very glad because of my journey too. On Sunday we went to the horse races. My granny has a job there as a cashier, and she brought us the tickets. We enjoyed the races very much. Do you have the races in New York?

Thank you very much for the money. Please accept my granny's kind regards. I kiss affectionately all my dear foster paretns.

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

September 19, 1949

TO:

FROM: Roslyn Glass

The following letter was received from Karel Bejdo:

My dear beloved fosters, my dear Aunt:

We all to whom you send money, packages and letters for which we thank you from our heats. I often send greetings in spirit to you and advise that I am well. This year it was very rainy but now we have heat spells. I was in June with aunt and uncle in Prague, now we were at home and on Sunday we go to Jesenika mountains. Otherwise even at home it is fine for our gra garden is really a fresh spot in these hot days. I enjoy your letters very much. I cannot imagine your office dear Miss Helen Sioussat. Why, I have never seen 18 floors and that decoration and execution must be wonderful. Each of us should like to see at least on a picture the building Empire state or other marked and beautiful buildings. I am glad that I am granted to send you warm greetings for my dear fosters in the Columbia Radio Broadcasting. I greet your nephew Michael only I could not compare with him in drawing. I have gotten someway worse. Also I thank you dear foster for her letter and hope that she is spending the summer in full measures. To you dear I greet you.

And now dear Manager Red Barber. All the pictures are very interesting and you do have it fine you know everything about sport before it is spoken of and you have the possibilities of seeing all the matches too. And that would interest me very much. I like sport very much. Do you want to know something about me? I am then a 13 year old boy, I go to the third grade in central school. I had only number ones in drawing a three, in my school report. I should like very much to write on a typewriter, ride on a motorboat and bicycle, play football but I am still young and perhaps when I am older something will be true. Now I shall go for 14 days and I shall then again go to school and studies begin. Just now while writing I received from my dear fosters Mr. Robert Ray and Mr. Doug Edwards a letter. I am so pleased over the stamps sent and thank you from my whole heart for them. It is a great sacrifice for you to think of me while collecting those stamps. You ask about my aunt. She is well again and will go in September to a bath. I was surprised that you wrote that you will have a three month vacation, we here have only two months of vacation. I spend them quite well and I look forward to school already and to studying. My dear one I thank you many times for every thing and remember and look forward to further letters from you. Even a few lines are so pleasant for me, why you have so much work and do not forget me. Give my regards to uncle and aunt whom I thank very much for all they do for me. Kisses, your,

KAREL BEJDO

September 19, 1949

TO:

FROM: Roslyn Glass

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

Dear Mr. Quincy Howe:

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd of June sent by the Plan with the French translation.

Since the 1st of July we have a terrible warmth. Spring, until the end of June was rather cold, but now there are 34° (C.) in the shade. As I am on holiday since some days I have the opportunity to walk around the country.

I do not know exactly what you can do with television but it must be very interesting. I just looked at one when I was in Paris during Easter holidays in a shop window, and I could see some pictures moving which interested me a lot.

In France every family has a wireless set, but certainly not television. Lots of people have not had the luck of seeing one.

If we had a television set at home I would be like your daughter, I couldn't work. I would be always looking at it.

All my love,

MARCELLE MEILHAC

September 19, 1949

TO:

FROM: Roslyn Glass

The following letter was received from Chen Tse-Yuen:

June 6, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

Do you congratulate us? The liberation of Shanghai brought freedom to the people of Shanghai. The greatness of the liberation of Shanghai lies in the fact that: First, it shattered the yoke of foreign imperalism in the past hundred years so the evil hands of imperalism can no more extend to Shanghai. Secondly, feudalism was uprooted. Therefore, Shanghai can go on developing systematically without such obstacles on its way. Then, it will become really the fourth greatest city in the world and first in the orient.

We are very busy recently. Our school has not resumed classes yet. We are concentrating our work in giving performances to the people, workers, etc. We are also doing publicity work to ask every one not to worry. We want the factories to resume production, shops to open business and schools to resume classes. In one word, we want to boost up production. There are two types of publicity, one with performances and the other giving speeches. We have songs, dances and short skits to explain the principles of New Democracy. We want the common people to have a clear idea about it. Then, the people will wake up and join in the construction work ahead of us. We also publish wall-papers which are pasted in the streets for every one to see. Printed and mimeographed materials are distributed. The reaction from the people is very good. The Liberation Army soldiers are well-disciplined and every one admits that they are people's army, people's own brothers and sons.

I shall write you again next time.

Your foster son,

CHEN TSE-YUEN

September 19, 1949

TO:

FROM: Roslyn Glass

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

August 1949

Dear Members of the Columbia:

Like every month I am thanking you very much for the allowance that I receive regularly from the Paris office.

My grandmother is gathering all this money to buy me a dress when the school terms start, which will be on the 1st of October, for the one I have is all worn out and too short. I am growing a lot, but I will be 13 on the 25th of this month, and at this age we are sensible, my grandmother thinks that I am not sensible yet. She say that I like laughing very much, and that I am talkative. I can not do it differently, when I want to be serious I laugh.

Now it is summer time, and the sun is very warm. The sun brights now to supply to the rainy springtime.

As I am in holidays, I have the possibility to walk in the wood and to swim in the river which cross the village. I am learning how to swim and try to do like my little friends who swim very well. After the bathe we dry ourselves under the sun to get brown just like a movie star, after we have tea, and very often the book I bring with me stays closed.

All my love.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

FROM: Roslyn Glass

The following letter was received from Karel Bejdo:

My dear adpptive parents:

Over our dear country and over the whole ocean I am sending to all my dears my very best regards. I am very happy, because I was in Prague with my aunt and there in the office they told me that you will come to see us here in Prague. I look forward to know you for all your love, care and kindness about me. At the same time I thank you many times for all the lovely things which I have received at Prague. It was a lovely sweater, pajamas, shoes and slack and still many other good things for eating. I thank you for every things very much. I like the sweater best of all. It is really lovely and pure wool. It is so warm. Over here is raining already constantly and for three weeks. The water in the rivers is someplaces 4 m higher and even some villages were overflooded. It is a terrible catastrophe. We have vacations already but we have to stay at home because of the rain. I have had quite a nice report only excellents except drawing. From drawing I had three. So next year, I must try the best I can to repair that mark too. Over here was the festival of youth. Everywhere was noise, music, singing and of course rain too. On the garden is the cherries and other fruit is ripening. I will not go anywhere for the vacations we shall stay at home and sometimes we shall go to the forest for mushrooms. You surely will have a nice time during the vacations and I wish you all a very pleasant time. And please do write me them how you have spent your vacations. I thank you many times for all your letters, money and everything that I have received from you.

All my love, yours,

KAREL BEJDO

August 3, 1949

D. O.

Roslyn B. Glass

The following letter was received from Karel Bejdo:

My dear beloved fosters and dear aunt:

First I thank you very much and from my whole heart for all the letters which I have recently received. My happiness is unexpressible. I have all 24 of you dears, and have you children whom I love to. I do not know even how to thank you for the package which I received and how we all with love saw your sacrifices and love for me.

I am well. We were with aunt, and uncle in the Tatra mountains for holidays. I spent three weeks in beautiful, happy and unforgettable wandering daily among the great mountains and often we had the impression that we are above the clouds and that I am not human at all. The weather was fine, it was beautiful. In the morning and evening it was cool and in the day hot. I did not want to go very high but aunty was untiring and through her I learned the beatties of touristing.

In school I got permission and now I must catch up on all. Uncle said that he will photograph my report and I shall send it to you. I hope it will be good. And at home here it was nice too. The trees this year have an abundance of fruit after the daily heat of 40 degrees it is good for our garden.

My aunt is really very good and I love her very much. Besides her housework she is active in public life, is a member of the national committee. Besides that she has various other functions. Mainly though she likes us and we too repay her with love, diligence and obediance. As to our Easter and other holidays I shall write you separately. I shall write what characterizes our greatest holidays. I shall send later about within 3-4 days. For the stamps and postcards received many thanks I am very glad and to date my eye has never seen anything similar. My names sake, my brother and all of you my kind and from my whole heart thanks for everything. May my greeting fly across our meadows, woods, and mountains and ocean to you and may I always remember and echo a remembrance in you, and often think of you in greatfulness and thoughts.

Your,

KAREL BEJDO

July 5, 1949

TO: Ed Brown - 17

FROM: Roslyn Glass

April 28, 1949

The following letter was received from Andrzej Rutkowski:

Dear Foster Parents:

I was so happy because of your last letters from Mr. George Crothers and Mr. George Herman. I received them just for Easter. I would like to write you so much about the machines, I am so interested with, but it is difficult to write about this. My dream is to be able to construct something, but I have no tools and no material. We don't learn yet about mechanics at school. I am so glad that Mr. Herman is going to visit Poland, perhaps I shall be lucky enough to meet you.

I am sorry that I don't learn English, but at school French is compulsory, and Granny says that it is too difficult to learn two languages at once. I will learn English later.

How old are Mr. Crother's sons? It is a pity that they cannot teach me how to play the base-ball. This game is unknown here. I am very fond of football game, but I don't play often, as I have no ball of my own. The spring is here. It is warm, the trees are green. In the afternoons we take a walk with my brother Krzys. My Granny thanks for your kindness and asks me to convey you her wishes and greetings. Thank you for the money. I kiss all my dear Foster Parents.

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

July 5, 1949

TO:

FROM: Roslyn Glass

May 28, 1949

The following letter was received from Andrzej Rutkowski:

Dear Foster Parents:

I am so happy because of your letters. I received just now four letters from you. Thank you too for the picture. My Foster sister is such a nice girl. I would like to know her name. I would be very happy if one of you came here. They have my address in the Foster Parents office in Warsaw. I was pleased with the description of the journey of Mr. Maulsby to California and Mr. Church to Florida. I would like to be able to travel too. I didn't ever fly a plane. I am sure it's wonderful. Mr. Taylor asks about our food situation. My Granny spends on food all her earnings and our allowances. You ask me too what do I need. So, if you can, please send me clothes and shoes. All my things are too small for me, as I grow up so quickly, and Granny is sorry, because she can't afford to buy new clothes for me. And please send me a map of America.

Thank you for the cards with the views of New York. I see now how beautiful city it is. I would like to live in a sky-scraper. Our flat is on the second floor. Our Warsaw is small in comparison with New York. Dear Mrs. Lee Bland and all my other foster parents, please send me your photos.

I would like to write more, but there is no more room to write so I close my letter. Please accept my affectionate greetings and kisses.

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

FROM: Roslyn Glass

June 17, 1949

Here are several letters that have just been received from Marcelle Meilhac. You will notice they cover the period from February 2, 1949 to May 1, 1949. Some of them are addressed to the group and others to individuals.

Dear Foster Parents:

I answer the letter of Mr. Samuel Abelow.

Through the Foster Parents' Plan I received your letter, and I think you very sincerely for having written me so wonderfully, it touches the heart. Each time that I receive a letter from one of my Foster Parents of the Columbia I rash to have it translated. It seems to me that I live with you and that I know you.

I thank you also for my sister Nicole and my grandparents for your New Year's wishes, I am sending you mine too hoping that 1949 will bring you the happiness you wish for, for you, and your entire family, and for the dear members of the Columbia.

I thank you for your kind words about France, my dear France. Unfortunately, I don't know my country. Except Toulouse, which I left very young, after the death of my parents, I know Paris a little, and Chatellerault where I lived for 2 years, and Saint Priest-Taurion which is a fair sized town in the Limousin where I am right now and where I study.

I would like to know the beauties of Annecy which you describe. I hope that one day when I am grown up, I shall be so happy to see that wonderful region and also others.

If one day you come to France, and I am on your way I would be so happy to meet you.

I try my best in school, because I am fully aware that as an orphan I have to be successful through my own efforts and quickly create a situation for me to earn my living. Dear Mr. Abelow, I send you and all the dear members of the Columbia affectionate kisses.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

March 1, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

I thank you heartily for the money order which I receive regularly through the Foster Parents' Plan.

My life continues peacefully between school and my home. I go to school at 8:30 until 11:30, then we have lunch. At 1:30 the lessons start again until 4:30.

Returned home I have my afternoon tea, then I do my homework and learn all my lessons. We have a lot to do, because I go to a class which prepares for the certificate of studies, elementary, I cannot get this diploma before my 14th year. With this certificate I could enter a grammar-school, or high school.

I don't think that I will have that chance, because my grandparents want me to enter a professional school to learn a trade.

My grandparents are old, and perhaps they don't live very long anymore, and in our situation as double orphans, my sister is 9 years old, we have to hurry to learn a trade which will permit us to earn a living.

What would we do without our grandparents and no trade of our own. It would mean misery for us, therefore, we cannot lose much time. I work and study a lot on Sundays and Thursdays in the evening, when we have no school. Particularly on Thursdays I am sewing a little, do some knitting, and I read books which interest me and which I borrow from the library of the school.

I go very seldom to a performance or the movies, only when an American film is playing, then I do it in souvenir of my dear Foster Parents of the Columbia whom I hug with all my heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

March 2, 1949

Dear Mr. Bratter:

Your letter which I received through the Foster Parents' Plan made me very happy. It was written with so much affection and feelings, just as if a father would have written me. I shall try to answer your questions, what I would like to do when I am older, that is very easy: finish my studies, take my certificate of studies at the age of 14 years, then enter a professional school to learn sewing and dressmaking. At 17 with a diploma of a professional school I could start in a famous dressmaking firm to perfect myself. Then I have to earn my living, because my grandparents who are old, and when they live still, what I hope so much, cannot always feed and clothe me. I am 12 and ½ years old, and I don't like toys anymore. When I have a little time off I am reading books from the library of the school, and I am working a little at home. I have no time to become bored. America must be a very strange country. The big buildings and estates where you work, higher than the Tour Eiffel, in Paris which is 300 meters high, must be very impressing, I would be afraid to climb them.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart to offer me so kindly to do something nice for me. Toys are no more for my age. I like books very much, but the library lends them to me. I would prefer a winter coat. I am freezing in the coat I am wearing now during the winter, and it is not warm and worn out. As I am tall for my age I am sending you my measurements:

Total length of the coat: 110 cm. (44 inches)
Length of the waistline: 42, (back 40 (16 inches) (42 cm or 16¢ inch)
Width of the chest: 98 cm (39 inches)
all around:
Width of the waistline: 82 cm. (33 inches)
Width of the hips: 109 cm. (43 and 3/4 inches)
Length of sleeves: 66 cm. (about 26½ inches)

Perhaps you would prefer to send me the material, 3 meters, (or 3½ yards). I would like a dark color, and I could have it made here from a dressmaker.

I thank you for your fatherly advice, I have a filial love and gratitude for my grandparents who make so many sacrifices to bring my sister Nicole and me up, particularly as they have no money, and they deprive themselves so that we have all the necessities. I study a lot in school, my teachers are satisfied with me. I know the value of work which will bring us further and will protect us in life, and particularly so, when our grandparents will no more with us to guide and help us. We were so very unfortunate to lose our parents when we were very young. From this idea we take our courage to fight in the life which awaits us.

I hug you with all my heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

March 2, 1949

Dear Mr. Crothers:

I thank you heartily for your letter from the 21st of January which I received through the Foster Parents' Plan.

I am so late in writing you, because I tried to have your letter translated, but we don't know anybody who knows English well. But now I have before me the French translation of your letter and it is such a great pleasure for me to answer you. I would be so glad to correspond with your son Michel in French. He could be my big brother, I am 12 years old and a half, and Joel is my young brother, and I also have a sister Nicole, 9½ years old.

I like people so much who have blonde hair and blue eyes. My sister and I have brown hair, dark brown, and black eyes. We resemble our parents.

My father was almost blone, and my mother had very black hair.

I study well in school, I have to if I want to be successful in life. The countryside with its pure air pleases me so much, and where I am there are trees, 2 streams and fields. I have so much pure air as I want. I don't like very much the big towns, in particular Paris where one suffocates. I heard about television, but never saw it. That must be strange to see the shows and other spectacles on a screen seated in a chair at home.

At the present time we have but a simple radio which amuses us and teaches us many things.

I hug you from the bottom of my heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

March 15, 1949

Dear Mr. Herman:

I received and read with pleasure your wonderful letter from the 28th of January. It was written in such moving words, they go immediately to your heart. I am so happy to have American Foster Parents who spoil me with their charming letters. I did not know that the Americans were so sentimental, I am glad to know them and to appreciate them. I consider you and my other Foster Parents as my real parents, they are real parents, not false ones, they have hearts and show me their affection, and they do it for a little French girl who is a double orphan whom they don't know.

My school is situated in a very picturesque little town, I am studying well, it is a very serious school. Of course it is not a college, I would not even be old enough for that, and when I shall get my certificate, at 14, my grandparents don't want me to continue my studies. I then shall enter a professional school, I have to learn a manual trade like dressmaking for example, so that I may earn a living soon.

This will be the same for my little sister Nicole who is 9½ years old. She has to do it the same way as I shall do, because if we would be so unfortunate to lose our grandparents who are old, and we two stay all alone, we have to make a living.

Through the Foster Parents' Plan my grandparents receive regularly the money you are so kind to send me. Your generosity gives me so much pleasure, it really moves me, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart, and I promise you that part of the money I shall use for some extras, as this your desire is and also mine.

I see so many beautiful things when I go to Limoges or Paris, which I cannot buy. These items make me so much pleasure, and this time I shall satisfy my desire.

My grandparents send you their best regards and thank you and all my American Foster Parents for your wonderful letters and the money. I send you with my deep gratitude affectionate kisses.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

April 1, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

Like every month it is such a great pleasure for me to write you and to thank you for the money order. It contributes to buy very much needed things. My studies continue normally.

It is a pleasure for me to take a book of my school and to read it and study it in the fields, near the little river.

We have at the present time spring weather, and the entire nature seems to celebrate, the fields are well cultivated and already the wheat and the oats are coming, the trees are budding, and a few days more of nice sunshine and we will have flowers beginning with the lilacs. I love all the flowers, therefore, I love spring.

I take a sunbath without being bothered by the sun like in summer. Three months of this spring weather and then the summer heat which we will have during the long vacations. They begin on the 12th or 13th of July until end of September. Then we take walks through the fields and meadows and woods. And we leave behind the text-books and notebooks of school.

That is the moment to be lazy, not entirely, as I read instructive books and I am also doing a little sewing and knitting.

I hug you heartily.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

April 2, 1949

Dear Mr. Gerald Maulsby:

Please excuse me for answering so late your letter from the 2nd of February, which gave me a great pleasure.

First, the letters of my American Foster Parents are sent to me through the Foster Parents' Plan in Paris, who receive them from their office in America. That takes time, and then I have to take care of their translation into French here through a person who knows English well.

That is the reason for the delay. I was so astonished to learn that there in other countries also war orphans you protect, that is very noble of your organization to help little orphans in their need, and with the idea that perhaps a little Chinese looks forward to your assistance to still his hunger, it makes me cry.

You ask me if I am satisfied with my work, because not only my grandparents and my teachers must feel that way, to tell you the truth, I am not, because I feel that I could do more. But I have little moments of lazyness, and then I open a book, not one from school but one of these I borrowed from the public library. And that is the way I learned the history about Benjamin Franklin, American Ambassador in France and inventor of the lightning-conductor. The character of this scientist, his good-naturedness makes me believe that all Americans are like that.

I thank you for the nice picture postcard of New York by night. It is wonderful, and I shall keep it in my album to admire it often.

I too like cats, and if I would live in New York what a pleasure for me your cats would be.

But one cannot trust cats, particularly not Simese, they are treacherous. I like Charlot very much who makes me laugh.

We had not much snow in France, once only, but we had a dry cold. Where I live there is a little theatre which announced an American film, I am going to see it.

Hugging you very sincerely and also your 2 cats.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

April 2, 1949

Dear Mr. Wells Church:

I thank you for your kind letter, and I learned with great pleasure that you are one of my Foster Parents.

I am studying in school with courage, having understood that my only investment when I am grown up will be my knowledge.

In France the winter was not very humid, only once we had snow, at the beginning of March. The cold was always dry. Now we have spring, and the trees begin to bud. I love to watch the opening of the leaves and the flowers, first under the caress of the sun the little buds break and then they grow and become green and when the sun becomes warmer the leaves become larger leaves, and then the flowers will show.

One sees golden yellow crocus.

And soon we shall see lilac and all kinds of wonderful flowers, with the most beautiful perfume.

Affectionate kisses.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

April 12, 1949

Dear Mr. R. P. Heller:

It is a great pleasure for me to answer your letter which I received through the Foster Parents' Plan in Paris. I thank you for your interest which you have as my other Foster Parents.

Concerning my health there is nothing to complain about, I had no cold during the whole winter and thank God I have a very good appetite. Perhaps I eat too much, but I am growing a lot, and as you say: My clothes are quickly too short and narrow.

Particularly my shoes, although I buy them real large, but very quickly they are just right and they finish by being so narrow, that they hurt the feet, and one cannot get enough use out of them. In France like in your country we enjoy the wonderful spring. The mornings and the evenings are very fresh and I await with impatience the sun to feel warm again.

Through the kindness of Mr. Maulsby I received a picture postcard showing New York at night, I admired the panorama of your city with the thousands of lights and the buildings which are so impressive. I study a lot in school, and I hope to receive my certificate of elementary studies next year. The subjects I prefer are: history, geography and particularly grammar which gives me the real opportunity to study the French language.

I am hugging you with all my heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

April 12, 1949

Dear Mr. Lee Bland:

I am happy to have so many Foster Parents, and I read their letters with great pleasure, I read yours with so much interest, I received it through the Foster Parents' Plan.

I learned with joy that several of my Foster Parents had visited France, and I am proud and happy about the flattering words which they use for my country, you will have the occasion to return to France, not only by plane but also differently, so that you can stay a long time and learn to know my country much better and appreciate it much more. I would like to learn English and translate your letters myself, then to have them translated by other people. But unfortunately, the school to which I go and where I study does not teach anything else then French. I have to finish my elementary school, because I am only 12½ years old, and if I would continue my studies in a secondary school I certainly would choose English as foreign language to study.

As you tell me about New York it is the same in Paris, when it is snowing it is quickly swept away. But at Saint-Priest where I study and which is a little town where time takes charge of melting the snow. Since the 9th of April I have my Easter vacations and I spend them in Paris with my grandparents. My stay in the capital will be only short, because on the 23rd of this month I have to be back in school.

I am hugging you very affectionately.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

April 12, 1949

Dear Davidson Taylor:

I thank you for your nice card from the 2nd of February in the back of which there was a picture of an Indian Chief.

I never saw something like it in France, and I would be afraid if ever I would meet him with his tatooed body and his cow tail and bow and arrow. This Indian reminds me of an interesting book I read and which is called "The Last of the Mohicans" by Fenimore Cooper, translated from English into French. I thought that this race of very brave red-skins had disappeared, fortunately there are still.

I would have liked to meet the little French Michel Doreau and the little girl Alisin. But that will never be possible. I thank you for your good wishes for 1949, and although late I send you mine, wishing you a Happy New Year and Merry Easter. You ask me if there is anything that would give great pleasure to me. Some kind of clothing would be so useful. My length is 1.10 meter (3'8") and the width of my back is 40 cm, (16 inches).

I thank you in advance and hug you affectionately.

Marcelle Meilhac

April 20, 1949

Dear Miss Helen J. Sioussat:

I thank you for your letter from the 18th of March, it was translated to me from the Directress of the Foster Parents' Plan in Paris. All you write me is so kind and charming, I wish I would know English to express in your language all the joy I felt about all you wrote me.

I am born on the 25th of August, but in 1936, I am 12 and ½ years old, and you were at my first birthday in France, the country of your ancestors. So we are almost compatriots, and that flatters me very much. I andalso my sister Nicole would love to see your beautiful country where there are so many buildings. Perhaps one day this wish will be fulfilled, when we are older. We are deeply grateful to your country where we have such wonderful Foster Parents who are so much interested in us. You will give me all the informations to find your home, if I should come to your country!

I would then see also the ocean which I don't know.

I also would like to see the florist in your neighborhood and his Persian cat. I like cats very much, particularly the caressing ones, but not the Siamese which are mean. If I had a cat of my own I would call it "Fluffy", that is such a nice name.

When I was a little child and lived with my parents, we had a big dog a kind of wolf, its name was Bull. It loved to bath in the canal. He threw me down when he wanted to caress me, because he was so very big.

I hug you with all my heart.

Marcelle Meilhac

May 1, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

I thank you very sincerely for the money order which I receive regularly every month through the Foster Parents' Plan.

Since the 10th of April I am on Easter vacations, and I took advantage to go to Paris to my grandparents where I saw my little sister Nicole. We looked at the charming sights of Paris and saw the film Bambi. It interested me so much, it is a kind of snow white. The life of Bambi is so touching, particularly when his mother is killed by the hunters. And also when the forest is covered again with snow and Bambi does not find any food.

What amazed me in Paris was the abundance of sweets and cakes which the bakeries exhibit in large quantities for t e holidays. I never saw so many in my life, and my mouth was watering. It seems that before the war there has been so much, but at that time I was 3 years old and don't remember that.

I am back in school until the long vacations which will begin on the 12th or 13th of July.

I am hugging you from the bottom of my heart.

Marcelle Meilhac

TO: Ed Morrison 17

FROM: Roslyn Glass

May 4, 1949

The following letter was received from Karel Bejdo:

My dear adopted parents:

First in my letter I greet you and remember you. In my last letter you wrote me that you had a lot of snow and that electric trains had to be taken out by hooks. Here we did not have any snow but it came. Drifts of seven meters deep trains also could not run. But now the snow is melting again.

The whole school was yesterday to see the champion of the world skating. On Sunday the 20th of March we shall go the whole school to Old Town for recreation. We shall stay there a week. Lodging and food is arranged. We shall ski there. Who has no skis or shoes will get them lent for a fee. Uncle and aunt shall go to the district school for a fortnight. We got a notebook for notes in school into which we can each put marks which we get for examination.

I am looking forward to spring which is coming soon for the snow is melting already.

For today I shall close and remember you and regards from your

KAREL BEJDO

TO:

FROM: Roslyn Glass

May 4, 1949

The following letter was received from Karel Bejdo:

My dear foster parents:

In the first place my best regards to you. Thank you for the letter.

I would love to be with you and look on at the electric trains when they are pulled out of the high snow storms by your sorb machines. We never see anything of the kind here. We have little snow and lot of water.

I always sit by the radio and listen to the broadcasting when ever C.S.R., hockey team plays. I am glad that we won against the Canada hockey team. I would like to see that we get the world championship or Europe championship.

At school we received our report card for the term, I would have all A if the drawing, singing and gymnastic subjects had not spoiled it. On Christmas day I received a fountain pen and the fountain pencil and the rabbit book, name Greyish. And my friend got the Straying Hollander, book and 300 kc.

I didn't write to you before because I waited for your letter to be translated. Before this letter reaches you we shall have spring, it is getting every warmer. We shall be working in the garden again soon. I have not much time because I have to write and learn my lessons, for story books I have little time, I read only in the evening in bed.

For today I must end this letter. With sincere greetings.

Yours,

KAREL BEJDO

FROM: Roslyn Glass

May 4, 1949

The following letter was received from Chen Tse-Yuan:

April 3, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

This month, I got altogether four letters from Red Barber, Joe Wershba, Priscilla Calmer, and Joan L. Hudson. So, you can imagine how happy I was. I nearly jumped up with delight. I don't know how I shall be able to thank you. When I have my self-study lesson, I read your letters like my English reader. Thank you so much indeed.

The current events during this month in China, I think you have already known from the newspapers. As China is a very large country, any change in it is bound to affect others. This is especially true in the case of America who spent so much energy in mediation. Therefore, the America press must take good notice of the developments here. So, I think it would be better for me to talk something about myself.

This term all the students are studying harder than ever. In fact, the situation is such that in the near future everything will be calm again. So, we must take the opportunity to learn as much as we can. We must not only study everything diligently in class, but also outside readers and sociology. We must have the foundations laid right now. Consequently we are busy all day long.

In the middle of last month, we held an evening meeting. I remember I told you about it last time. We are divided into small groups. I am in the science division because I am interested in this subject. Last month, we just completed wave motion in physics. The students are all interested to have some experiments. So, we prepared an evening meeting. It was meant to introduce the knowledge of wave motion to everyone in the group. It was held one Saturday evening. I was selected to explain the scientific interpretation of music because I like to sing all the while, and I read books on music. It was the first time I ever stepped on to the stage. When I spoke, I faltered. But my friends said that I did quite well.

Last week, another two students and I went to live in a straw hut at the back of the school in the farm, because our dormitory was so crowded. Behind the hut is a little stream. In front of it is a vast piece of farmland with cabbages and many other vegetables. When we walk in the fields, the sweet smell of bean flower and cabbage flower comes right into our noses. Compared to the smell of peach and plum blossoms, they have another kind of fragrance. To the left there are chickens and ducks, geese, pigs, sheep, etc. etc. Whenever we are tired, we would got to the little animals and play with them. It is very quiet here and suits my temperment very much.

(Cont'd.)

Among your letters, one of the signitures was very beautiful. But I am not used to quick writings in English. So, I cannot make out who wrote that. I know that he is the head of the Talks Department for CBS. He found time to write me a very long letter and he told me many things which I don't understand and never heard of. I am very grateful to him. At the same time he introduce me to a friend of my age, Michael. I like to befriend him. Please send him my best regards.

Dear foster mother Hudson said that she is going to send me some food. I am so glad but I think if she can send me some daily necessities or some books on science I may find better use then.

Please tell foster mother Pricilla Calmer, that I really like music very much. But I can only practice to sing or blow the harmonica or play the organ. I cannot read music ~~pmix~~ pieces. If she can copy some music in simple form I will be very much obliged to her.

With best wishes to you all.

Your foster son,

CHEN TSE-YUEN

March 21, 1949

TO: Ed. Spencer - 17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

December 3, 1948

Dear Foster Parents;

I begin thanking you from the bottom of my heart for the money order which you send me regularly every month.

At the same time for the New Year I send you my very best wishes for happiness and good health for 1949.

Since the 23rd of December I am on vacation, school begins again on the 3rd of January, so we have a vacation of 12 days. I am spending my time admiring and dreaming when I see the snow flakes. I am arranging my clothes and I am reading interesting books which I am borrowing from the Public Library. For example, Jules Verne, d'Erckemann Chatrian, a book which I read with great pleasure and which is translated from the American is "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Beecher Stowe. When I read enough I am knitting, embroidering a little or making lace. But the needlework I like best is sewing. That is what I like to do when I am grown up. I was often told that a good dress maker makes a good money. And I shall be a good seamstress. Affectionate kisses from your little French Foster Child to all of you.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

March 22, 1949

TO:

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

The following letter was received from Chen Tse-Yuen:

March 4, 1949

Dear Foster Parents:

I am so glad to receive your letter and especially Mr. Robert Heller's letter. You bring me much encouragement. I am so moved and I also feel sorry for myself. I am moved because you are just as concerned over me as in the past. I am sorry that I should not have felt bad about you. Whenever I wrote you I just scribbled a few words and that was all. I often felt very bad that you did not write to me. I was a little angry when I thought that I was writing to someone who did not care for me. So, I just wrote my letters haphazardly. But, now, I find out that I ought not to be so irritated because I am no longer a child and further you are really so busy.

Spring has come. The peachblossoms and plumblossoms are blooming and the trees are all budding. The weather is quite warm. Therefore, to answer Mr. Robert Heller's questions about winter in Shanghai at this time, it is already not suitable. But, I do not admit that there is no ~~kimxxxxxxxx~~ snow in Shanghai because every year we have snow in Shanghai, only it is a few inches thick and lasts only three or five days. And the weather in winter is quite cold. The northwest winds, and cold waves from Siberia sweep over Shanghai every year. When the wind blows hard, it is just like a cavalcade rushing by. Sometimes, the ice is three or four inches thick. We can stand on ice without fearing to fall into water. In such kind of weather I put on all my warm clothes. Even so, I still feel cold. If the weather is still colder in New York, I really don't know how you get on in winter.

There is a lull in the civil war in China. No big fighting has been reported. After the Communist victories in the past months when they took Peiping and the whole area north of the Yangtse River, it is evident that they want to digest what they had eaten. Then, they will start new offensives. At the same time, their present objectives are Nanking, Shanghai, Hankow, etc. big cities and it is not easty to take large cities. They have to prepare for quite sometime militarily and politically. They have to have enough people to run the cities after they take over. As to the Nationalists, they suffered many reverses in the battlefields. President Chiang Kai-shek resigned his post. Vice-president Li Chung-jen took over his job. President ~~Shaigx~~ Chiang hoped that the Americans will assist in fighting the Communists. I think fighting will soon break out in the Shanghai Nanking area. Around our school, many pillboxes are being built with reinforced concrete. We understand that these pillboxes can only be demolished by long-range guns or rockets. Therefore, when fighting actually comes our school will be in a very dangerous position. Now, ~~xxxxx~~ part of the students here has moved to Shanghai proper. Should the war near our place, we would move too. So, that is all. You are busy and this letter will occupy quite some time to read over. I shall tell you more next time. With best wishes.

Your foster son,

CHEN TSE-YUEN

March 8, 1949

TO: Ed Murrow - 17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

The following letter was received from Andrezj Rutkowski:

December 21, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:

I send you my best wishes for happy New Year 1949.

With the money received this month we bought the stockings and the underwear for me.

My kind regards to Mrs. Ruth, Mr. Taylor, Calmer, Abelow and all my good protectors.

ANDREZJ RUTKOWSKI

TO:

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

March 8, 1949

The following letter was received from Chen Tse-Yuen:

January 10, 1949

Dear Foster Father:

Another year is gone. It is 1949 now. In such chaotic times every year is hard on the poor people. But, some one says that this will be the year when our civil war will end. I hope it will be so. Recently, peace rumours between the communists and the nationalists are getting into shape. It is said that President Chaing will resign his post. Then, it may be possible to end the civil war this year.

Winter vacation is here but the weather is very cold. The temperature drops to 5° below zero. We are still leading a systematic life. Every morning we get up when it is not yet dawn. After our morning drill we clearn ourselves and then study English. We like this kind of life.

Last month, the music and dramatic divisions of our school went to Shanghai to give a series of performances of the play "The Little Masters". The shows were a great success. Every show was house-full. The public asked for more shows. Owing to the lack of theatre space, we had to stop after 9 days. But we shall perform again in the winter vacation. The aim of the performances was to raise some money to feed us. For, recently the war situation is very bad. We fear that Shanghai may be encircled. Therefore, we have to get some money to meet with our needs.

Christmas is over. I think you must have a nice time on that occasion. With best wishes,

Your foster son,

CHEN TSE-YUEN

TO: Ed Brunner -17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

February 4, 1949

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

December 1, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:

I receive regularly every month your money order through the intermediary of the Foster Parents' Plan, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Your wonderful generosity helps to buy my clothing, I need so many shoes, underwear, dresses, coats, etc.

I am tall and strong for my age, and clothes are so very expensive.

My studies in school are going on normally, my rating as as student in class is good, and my teachers are satisfied. The place where I live is surrounded by 2 rivers, it is rather a damp spot, and it is beginning to get very cold, one cannot take walks anymore in the country, and that I love most. During the winter I am reading a lot, sitting in the kitchen near the fire.

I close my letter now thinking of you all, my dear Foster Parents, and I send you an affectionate kiss to each one of you.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

TO: Ed Munson - 17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

February 1, 1949

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

Dear Foster Parents:

As usual your monthly money order arrived through the Foster Parents' Plan. I thank you very sincerely.

My studies continue normally in school, and my teachers and my grandparents are satisfied.

As I am in a class for older children the studies are rather difficult, and I am studying a lot to be one of the first. Where I go to school, it is a little town where they all know each other, I like it very much, particularly as my father was born there. This town is situated in the center of France in the county of "Haute Vienne", 14 km. from Limoges, 444 km. from Paris. It is a mountainous region with cultivation, during the summer it is very hot and during the winter very cold, people specialise in agriculture and cattle-raising. We have a little movie theatre, where only old films are played. But when there is an American film I always ask my grandmother to go there with me, so that I can think still a little more of my dear Foster Parents in America.

Hugging you with all my heart.

MARCELLE MEILHAC

TO:

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

February 1, 1949

This letter was sent on behalf of Karel Bejdo:

Dear Good doers:

Excuse me that I am forced to write myself for Karel, for he was taken on the 2nd of December for an operation for appendicitis to the hospital in Zamberska. He was immedistely operated on without further examination and is now getting along fine.

He boasts that tomorrow he will come home. He sends you and his kind ones many greetings and remembrances and wishes you a happy Christmas holiday and looks forward to being home again and being able to write to you more.

With hearty regards I remain.

Marie R. for KAREL BEJDO

TO:

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

February 1, 1949

The following letter was received from Andrezj Rutkowski:

November 25, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:

I lost hope that you will ever write to me. I am so sorry.

How are Mrs. Ruth, Mr. Calmer, Mr. Taylor and Mr. Abelow. Please let me know. Thank you very much for the money. I gave it to my Grannie for the household expenses.

Many kind regards, from.

ANDREZEJ RUTKOWSKI

TO: Ed Murrow - 17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

December 16, 1948

Here is the schedule of letters to be written to our foster kids during the first half of 1949.

I hope that our record will be better than it has been during '48. As you have noticed from the letters we have received from the youngsters, mail is a very important item to their morale.

Also attached -- to refresh your memories and for the benefit of the new people who are joining us in the project this year -- are descriptions of the four children. You will also note that we are pointing out again the child's number and folio number under which correspondence is to go to them.

Also note that the descriptions of the children are as they were given to us a year ago. They are now all one year older than this fact sheet indicates.

Very little has been done for our four kids as far as Christmas is concerned. Although it is late to think about it now, it is perhaps better than not thinking about it at all.

Presents for the children should be addressed:

Collection Depot - 122 East 34th Street -
New York 16, New York

As before, your letters to the children may be sent through me.

gm

LETTER WRITING SCHEDULE
1949

PARENT	CHILD'S NAME	DURING WEEK BEGINNING
Sam Abelow	Marcelle Meilhac	January 2
	Andrzej Rutkowski	February 13
	Karel Bejdo	March 27
	Chen Tse-Yuen	May 8
Ruth Ashton	Andrzej Rutkowski	January 2
	Karel Bejdo	February 13
	Chen Tse-Yuen	March 27
	Marcelle Meilhac	May 8
Red Barber	Karel Bejdo	January 2
	Chen Tse-Yuen	February 13
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 27
	Andrzej Rutkowski	May 8
Lee Bland	Chen Tse-Yuen	January 2
	Marcelle Meilhac	February 13
	Andrzej Rutkowski	March 27
	Karel Bejdo	May 8
William Bratter	Marcelle Meilhac	January 9
	Andrzej Rutkowski	February 20
	Karel Bejdo	April 3
	Chen Tse-Yuen	May 15
Lyman Bryson	Andrzej Rutkowski	January 9
	Karel Bejdo	February 20
	Chen Tse-Yuen	April 3
	Marcelle Meilhac	May 15
Ned Calmer	Karel Bejdo	January 9
	Chen Tse-Yuen	February 20
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 3
	Andrzej Rutkowski	May 15
Ted Church	Chen Tse-Yuen	January 9
	Marcelle Meilhac	February 20
	Andrzej Rutkowski	April 3
	Karel Bejdo	May 15
George Crothers	Marcelle Meilhac	January 16
	Andrzej Rutkowski	February 27
	Karel Bejdo	April 10
	Chen Tse-Yuen	May 22
John Derr	Andrzej Rutkowski	January 16
	Karel Bejdo	February 27
	Chen Tse-Yuen	April 10
	Marcelle Meilhac	May 22

Doug Edwards	Karel Bejdo	January 16
	Chen Tse-Yuen	February 27
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 10
	Andrzej Rutkowski	May 22
Bob Heller	Chen Tse-Yuen	January 16
	Marcelle Meilhac	February 27
	Andrzej Rutkowski	April 10
	Karel Bejdo	May 22
George Herman	Marcelle Meilhac	January 23
	Andrzej Rutkowski	March 6
	Karel Bejdo	April 17
	Chen Tse-Yuen	May 29
Quincy Howe	Andrzej Rutkowski	January 23
	Karel Bejdo	March 6
	Chen Tse-Yuen	April 17
	Marcelle Meilhac	May 29
Bob Hudson	Karel Bejdo	January 23
	Chen Tse-Yuen	March 6
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 17
	Andrzej Rutkowski	May 29
Larry Lesueur	Chen Tse-Yuen	January 23
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 6
	Andrzej Rutkowski	April 17
	Karel Bejdo	May 29
Jerry Maulsby	Marcelle Meilhac	January 30
	Andrzej Rutkowski	March 13
	Karel Bejdo	April 24
	Chen Tse-Yuen	June 5
Ed Murrow	Andrzej Rutkowski	January 30
	Karel Bejdo	March 13
	Chen Tse-Yuen	April 24
	Marcelle Meilhac	June 5
Bob Ray	Karel Bejdo	January 30
	Chen Tse-Yuen	March 13
	Marcelle Meilhac	April 24
	Andrzej Rutkowski	June 5
Helen Sioussat	Chen Tse-Yuen	January 30
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 13
	Andrzej Rutkowski	April 24
	Karel Bejdo	June 5
Dave Taylor	Marcelle Meilhac	February 6
	Andrzej Rutkowski	March 20
	Karel Bejdo	May 1
	Chen Tse-Yuen	June 12

Dee Tucker	Andrzej Rutkowski	February 6
	Karel Bejdo	March 20
	Chen Tse-Tuen	May 1
	Marcelle Meilhac	June 12
Henry Wefing	Karel Bejdo	February 6
	Chen Tse-Tuen	March 20
	Marcelle Meilhac	May 1
	Andrzej Rutkowski	June 12
Joe Wershba	Chen Tse-Tuen	February 6
	Marcelle Meilhac	March 20
	Andrzej Rutkowski	May 1
	Karel Bejdo	June 12

MARCELLE MEILHAC

11 years old
Born August 25, 1937
Nationality -- French

Marcelle was born in the city of Toulouse a little more than eleven years ago. The war has seared a heavy mark of tragedy across her life and that of her eight year old sister. When the Germans marched into France, M. and Mme. Meilhac refused to sit idly by and watch the Nazis trample the country into unresisting servitude. Both the mother and father joined the underground movement and sacrificed their energy, their health, their safety and eventually their very lives in striking back against the oppressor.

The gallant couple were arrested by the Gestapo for their anti-Nazi activities. The father was deported to Germany where he died just before Christmas of 1944. The mother was also deported, but to an unknown destination. Her fate remains a tragic blank.

The children are now living with their grandparents who used to have a trade but who are now unable to work because of age and feebleness. There is hardly any money left, and the upbringing of the two little girls is impossible on the tiny sum alloted by the government. Neither of the sisters has had much of a childhood. Their early years were filled not with skipping ropes, whistles, dolls, tops, and rubber balls, but with fear, violence, hatred, and hunger.

The future is a little more certain than the past has been. At least there is the prospect of peace. Marcelle does not know yet what she wants to do when she grows up, but her grandfather is anxious for her to learn some skill or profession so that she will be able to work and earn a living when she is older. Only eleven, Marcelle is already faced with the problem of making her own way in the world.

She has brown hair and black eyes, and a firm character which augurs well for her future as a self-sufficient citizen of her community. PLAN is providing the physical means of supporting her young body as it grows into adolescence, but she remains much in need of the security and reassurance that only personal interest can give.

She needs affection as much as food and clothing. She is, as someone else has said about her own childhood, "desperately anxious to please, to like and to be liked, and if possible to be loved." Your encouragement will help Marcelle weather the emotional storms of the approaching years.

Child's No. 14350
Folder No. 3659

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

10 years old
Born September 9, 1947
Nationality -- Polish

There is a world of eloquent words in the baffled look in Andrzej's eyes, in the bitter, pinched line of his mouth, and in his frail, thin, bony body. His grandmother writes this story about him from Warsaw: --

He is the son of Stanislaw and Anna Terpilowska Rutkowski. Both his parents were veterinarians. When the war broke out in 1939, the father was mobilized and sent to the front, where he was taken prisoner. Eventually he managed to return home, but his war experiences had ruined his health. The family had lost everything in the siege and bombardment of Warsaw, and there was no money left with which to obtain treatment for the ailing man. In the summer of 1944 he died of tuberculosis.

After the Warsaw Insurrection, Andrzej lived with his mother and young brother in Lublin. In the spring of 1945 they returned to Warsaw, to find their home completely destroyed. The mother obtained work, but it was difficult to earn enough to bring up her two growing boys, so she married Wladyslaw Ryszka, a secondary school teacher. Their marriage was only a few months old when Ryszka was arrested for unknown reasons. In spite of constant inquiries, there has been no news of him to this day.

Andrzej's mother had withstood disaster after disaster, but this final blow was too much for her suffering body and mind to bear. She developed a heart disease, and on June 13, 1946 her sudden death left Andrzej and his little brother orphaned.

The grandmother has taken charge of the two boys. She is the widow of a chemical engineer who was killed during the Warsaw Uprising. Employed as a clerk by the Municipal Electric Company in Warsaw, the grandmother is assisted in the task of supporting the two youngsters by her 82 year old sister, who earns her living by knitting sweaters. The two old women and the children have no other means of subsistence.

Life has been one continuing catastrophe for Andrzej. It is doubtful whether the horror of the past will ever be completely erased from his mind, which has been built and broken, shaped and mis-shaped by war and privation. And yet, with good care, it is possible that the resilience and buoyancy of youth may spring up again and enable him to salvage something like a decent future from the wreckage that has been his past. There are already hopeful signs of a budding individual personality. Andrzej has a passion for mechanics. He loves playing with mechanical tools and toys and has clever fingers for building.

The war has made him sensitive and nervous, and yet, from some inner source of courage he finds the strength to be ambitious and obstinate when the occasion demands such qualities. A lively boy, he also likes to sit quietly and read. Tall and slim, he has light blonde hair and blue eyes, and when his scrawny frame starts to fill out under the influence of a special nutritive diet, he will be an attractive boy.

Your guidance can do a great deal to help convince Andrzej that there is something else in the world besides the sorrow, the injury and the desperate need which has been his lot almost since the day he was born. You can let him know of the existence of such things as friendship and kindness.

Child's No. 10209
Folder No. 3659

CHEN TSE-YUEN

15 Years Old
Nationality —— Chinese

With conditions in China as dreadful as they are, and with the mortality rate high as it is, only children who have a chance for survival can be selected for help in the Plan. Among these is the young boy, Chen Tse-Yuen ...

"This boy is in fairly good health, and holds an excellent scholastic record. At the outbreak of the war he evacuated with his family to Chungking. His father was a graduate of the Central University, having majored in engineering. He held a job with the railways, but his salary was so low that he had to see most of his valuables to keep on living. Later, he worked in the Szechuen-Sicon Highway Administration where he died of fatigue and overwork. His wife attained a little money by selling all the family clothing and furniture, and she went with her children to Szechuen where her husband had died. With war conditions as they were, she could not make a living here, so she was forced to take the children back at the risk of their lives to their native village. She found her village occupied by the Japanese. Chen Tse-Yuen was unwilling to live under Japanese reign, so he remained in Chungking alone. It did not matter where the boy stayed really, for all areas suffered equal hunger and misery. Finally, after months of shifting on his own, the boy came to this school, the Yu Tsai, where he is now without any financial support. He has not heard further word of his family, but he knows that if they are alive still, they are barely surviving."

These histories have been translated from Chinese, and, in many cases, are pathetic in understatement. Continual malnutrition has left this boy rather undergrown for his age. He is about five feet two and weighs a hundred pounds. He is quiet and honest, and especially talented in mathematics and literature.

Child's No. C 121
Folder No. 3659

KAREL BEJDO

11 Years Old
Born September 25, 1936
Nationality —— Czech

Karel is 11 years old, but he is small for his age. The fact that he is under-size should come as no surprise in light of the food deficiencies which scourged the children of Europe all through the war years. In recent years starvation has been only partially alleviated. Karel is one of the thirty million weary, ragged, stunted boys and girls on the Continent who are dependent on outside aid for life and strength.

Karel's parents died when the child was only two and a half years old. The father was shot by the Gestapo in Praha, and the mother was executed in Berlin. During the war, the little boy learned the meaning of unrelieved hunger, gnawing cold, and constant physical exhaustion. Peace brought some relief, but the aunt who has taken care of him since his parents were killed is finding it more and more difficult to provide Karel with the care his growing body demands.

The next few years are critical ones for him, since the scars of prolonged malnutrition will either be erased now or leave an indelible mark on him. Prices are high and life is precarious. Food is scarce and will remain so for a long time, since Czechoslovakia has had no rain from May to November. The fields are picked clean and the situation is critical, with famine casting a long shadow across the land and threatening the health and well-being of all the children. With PLAN aid, however, Karel will continue to receive adequate food and clothing to give him a chance for a strong, healthy adulthood.

He is an active, helpful little boy, a good child, and a hard-working pupil in his elementary school class. He like to draw and he is also a stamp collector. At present he thinks he would like to be a clerk, and he hopes to have the opportunity to study shorthand and typing. Brown-haired, with black eyes, he is a most worthwhile child and deserves your interest and personal encouragement.

Child's No. 4794
Folder No. 3659

TO: Mr. Munson - 17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

December 13, 1948

The following letter was received from Andrzej Rutkowski:

October 26, 1948

Dear Foster Parents,

For the long time I have no news from you, and I love so much your letters!

I am well and make good progress. Thank you very much for the money. Our Grannie bought the potatoes for the winter.

I send you my heartiest greetings.

ANDRZEJ RUTKOWSKI

TO:

FROM: Gerald Mmulsby

December 13, 1948

The following letter was received from Karel Bejdo:

My dear adopted family:

First in my letter I greet you and remember you a hundred times. Here we have frosts and many flowers have frozen. Finally school has begun and the infantile paralysis has stopped up but the newspapers still write that until December there may be still some cases to count with. The trees are beginning to be without their leaves for they are drying and falling.

We can now go to movies and theatres. In school during the holidays they put loudspeakers into the grades and now each day we listen to the broadcast before starting learning. Today we listening to the building of a tunnel.

Here in Czechoslovakia we tip the football results. We last week tipped for the first time. In school we have on the wall a placard where our subjects are written for the whole month. I went to-day to gymnastics in the Sokol.

I thank you for the letter and next time I shall write what you want for I sent the letter to Prague to be translated for me. For today I shall close and send many regards and remembrances.

your,

KAREL BEJDO

TO:

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

December 13, 1948

The following letter was received from Chen Tse-yuen:

November 7, 1948

115

Dear Foster Father:

China is facing a very chaotic economic crisis. In Shanghai, hardly anything can be bought on the market, not even rice and vegetables. Therefore, our school is having a very difficult time. We can only have two meals of congee each day.

110 Po

Commodity prices soar up as though they are wild. It is not strange to find them go up doubled in one day. Day before yesterday price for rice was 500 per picul. Yesterday, it was 800, in the morning. Last night it went up to more than a thousand. And today, it is 2,300 per picul. We made a simple calculation which worked out to the fact that 1 grain of rice would cost $1,808 Old National Currency (1 New Currency being equal to 3 million Old Currency). Ordinary letters would require $15,000 Old Currency of stamps, which would be equivalent to 8 grains of rice. This is really never heard of in history.

We are lacking everything in our school (food and fuel). A few days ago all of us went to the countryside to gather straws and dried up grass to substitute for firewood.

Many rice shops were looted by hungry mobs. I wonder whether we can carry on our studies in such a chaos.

With best wishes.

Your foster child,

CHEN TSE-YUEN

To: Ed Wherrow

December 12, 1947

From: Jerry Maulsby

I am inviting members of Public Affairs to join me in the "adoption"--by this department as a group--of one or more youngsters, through the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children. If you are interested, please return this memorandum to me by Friday, December 19, after filling in the blank spaces below.

The following information regarding Foster Parents is extracted from the November-December Advertising Council Radio Bulletin:

> "The Foster Parents' Plan for War Children was founded 11 years ago with the objective of saving war-stricken children from starvation on a completely non-political and non-sectarian basis. . . It is now supporting children in England, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia and China. . . The "adoption" is restricted to financial responsibility. Each foster parent (or group) guarantees to support the child for at least one year and pays $15.00 a month. A brief case history and photograph of the child are supplied and correspondence is encouraged. . ."

Naturally the number of kids we can take care of depends on the monthly amount we subscribe. I am not so much concerned with number or amount, however, as I am with consistency. Pledges of as little as fifty cents a month will help do the job. I suggest a top limit of three dollars.

I shall undertake the bookkeeping and accounting to subscribers, and the circularization of all information regarding our "wards". Are you with me?

Jerry

1. Amount guaranteed monthly: _____

2. Choices of country:

First _____

Second _____

Third _____

3. Choices of. . .gender (?):

First _____

Second _____

_____
Signature

TO: Ed Murrow -17

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

July 23, 1948

The following letter was received from Andrzej Rutkowski:

August 4, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:--

I am gladdened, because in a few days I am leaving, with my second Grandmother and my brother, for the seashore, to go to my Auntie's who lives in Sopoty and invited us for the vacation. Granny is getting a leave in August, and comes here. We will make excursions by boat. We will visit the port of Gdynia, where I will see all kinds of cranes, machines and ships and maybe one of them will be just leaving for America.

I can hardly wait to leave. I have to think all the time of those interesting and beautiful things that I am going to see during my vacation. I got my report and graduated to the next class. I thank you very much for the money. Granny saved it for the trip to Sopoty. How will Mrs. Ruth, Mr. Calmer and Mr. Taylor spend their vacation -- and Mr. Abelow?

I wish all of them a pleasant rest, and I greet them, as well as all my Foster Parents. Your little friend from Poland.

Andrzej Rutkowski

TO:

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

July 24, 1948

The following letter was received from Andrzej Rutkowski:

August 4, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:--

I enjoyed those letters of Mr. Taylor's and Mr. Abelow's very much. I thank you for the photo. When I look at it I feel as if I knew you, and it is easier for me to write you. My Father, too, was tall and slender and handsome, if he were alive now, he would be 38 years old. I always wanted to have a little sister, to take care of her, but instead of a sister I have a brother, and we two are having lots of fun, and we play all kinds of tricks -- your little daughter is probably a very well-behaved girl.

I laughed a lot when reading of Mr. Abelow's adventures while building the theatre. I go with my school sometimes to a theatre, or a cinema, I also like to arrange performances, but my curtain is made of a blanket, and my sets are nothing to brag about, and Granny and the neighbors are my audience. But I like best to read travel books. I am dreaming of travelling a lot, some day. Maybe I will get to America, some day, and meet my Foster Parents, and get a chance to thank them for their kindness and friendship, of which I am very proud. I thank you for the money. Granny bought me some underwear with it. I greet you all very affectionately -- please don't forget me.

Andrzej

TO: [illegible]

FROM: Gerald Maulsby

The following letter was received from Haja:

August 4, 1948

MY DEAR ADOPTED PARENTS:-

Firt I must send my sincere greetings. Within a fortnight we shall be having holidays. We went with the school for an outing in Krkonisfch. We went by ttain to Janskych Laznf where we slept. The next day we went up the trolley to the Black Mountain and from there to Snow and Meadow Chalets where we spent the second night. In the morning we left for the Labskou Chalet. In the morning we went to Spindler Mill. This is a bath town too. There are nothing but baths and hotels there. From there we went by autobus to Vrchlabf. From Vrchlabi we went to Pardubic by train. In Paradubic we transferred to an express train direct to Ostrava. We returned hom at 1-15. The next day we went to see the garden and I noticed that our cherries were already red and even the strawberries. The peas were blooming and little cauliflowers were beginning too.

In school we have not much learning but are being examined for reports. So for today I shall close and send regards.

Your Haja

TO: E. Simmons -17

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

June 24, 1948

The following letter was received from Kaja Bejdo:

My dear Foster Parents:

I keep on remembering you and send you over the ocean many kind regards.

I am sorry to write you so late, but I got measles. I had fever. Well, and now, it is over and I hope to attend the school as soon as possible again.

We have had "a week of children's joy", but I was in bed and read the whole time. I have read through: Robinson Crusoe, Adventurous Island, an in unknown way read Gullivers' Travellers.

Over here everything is in full beauty. The bushes have fruit, strawberries grow, every thing blooms and it rains quite often. I would be very glad if we could have a fertile year, then we would be able to have better times.

And what are you doin, my dears? I know that your time is expensive, but I ask you to write me at least a few words.

All my best to you all.

Love yours,

Kaja

TO:

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

June 24, 1948

The following letter was received from Marcelle Meilhac:

May 3, 1948

My dear Foster Parents:

I thank you infinitely for your gift which will help my grandparents in the great expenses which my food and my clothing cause them.

I heard on the radio that some people from CBS had come to France. Is there, perhaps, among the visitors one of my foster parents? The radio is a wonderful amusement for me, as I do not go out very much. My grandmother being ill, I keep her company and try to do little things for her.

Like every spring, one sees the young communants all over France. The boys carry the arm bands on their right arm and the girls are dressed in white, like little brides. It is a lovely sight which pleases me very much.

That reminds me of my communion last year. I was ten and a half years old, my emotions at that time were very great and I regret that my dear father and my dear mother both disappeared and could not have the joy of seeing me as a communant. How happy they would have been!

I am keeping on with my studies zealously and I hope to get my diploma, which at the end of school will enable me to earn my living and no longer be under the care of my grandparents who are old.

With best love my dear Foster Parents.

Marcelle Meilhac

TO:

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

June 24, 1948

The following letter was received from Chen Tse-yuen:

"June 1st, 1948"

Dear Foster Parents:

We have not been writing each other for a long time. Hope you are all well.

When I was writing you last time, it seemed that I had endless things to tell, but this time my mind is so blank that I simply cannot think out anything to say. Maybe it is because you have not asked me any question. So, if you write me and ask me about my thought of the skyscrapers to why there is no skyscrapers in our country, and then perhaps I can tell you something with regard to the science in China, and the relation between science and politics in China, and then we can discuss the civil war in China, and way I choose natural science as my career... You see, what am I able to tell you, if you do not ask me any question?

It is May now, and May is an eventful month in China. Nearly every day is a red letter date. For instance, May 1st is a red "Labor Day", and May 4th, our "Yourth Day". (students fought for democracy and science on that day some twenty years ago). May 9th is the day on which our number one traitor - Yuen Sze-kai, sold his nation by stipulating with the Japs. On May 30th, we have the "Tsinan Incident", because many Chinese citizens were massacred by the Japanese devils on that day. Many other memorable events were noted for the striving for democracy and other anti-civil war movements. Therefore, May reminds us two things, namely the insult that the Japs gave us, and the suppression of the students' movements by the government. These are the result of the weakness of our government. But I cannot understand why our government is still so weak after so many years.

After arriving at Shanghai, our "social science section" starts at once to do some community teaching in the rural areas. First, they went directly into the homes of the people to teach them or their children. But then they found that the help to the people was not so great by merely teaching them to learn. Therefore, they organized a medical group to cure the people who are suffering from common disease such as malaria, etc. The social science section made a calling to all the schoolmates, and thus I joined the medical group.

We went to villages very far from our school. We have no medicine and we are not doctors. We work with a common knowledge of medicine only. We went there every Wednesday and Saturday. I discover that skin troubles are most prevalent in the poor districts. Almost every child has trouble, because there is only one barber in twenty villages. He is very cheap, only charge CN$20,000. -(CN$100,000. -in other towns). Therefore, everybody is his customer. The barber is unwilling to buy alcohol to clean his scissors, because alcohol is quite dear. When one person has skin disease, it is easy to infect others' heads. We cure them as well as explain to them the cause of their disease.

In the village, there are many people suffering from Tuberculoses, esp. old men. They are so ill, that makes me think they will die very soon. The Chinese farmers are really too poor. Their homes are poor cottages with no windows. In the cottage there is no sunshine day and night are the same to them. They have one room, only one for a whole family. Their places are damp with no ventilation. How can anybody prevent T.B. in such kind of places? We are helpless with T.B. sufferers. We gave them some common knowledge and asked them not to let other people infected through them.

They are too dirty. Thus their diseases are too complicated for us. I saw along a dirty-water ditch the people were washing bowls together with toilet barrel, yellow-colored urine and waste materials were poured into the dirty water (still water), a basket of broadben was dipped in the water at the same time. Just imagine, they don't care about cleanness at all. That is why the ditch water is so dirty. They dig the mud to fertilize their farms, because the dirty mud is also a kind of manure. The Chinese farmers are too poor to buy fertilizers. Can you believe these kinds of lives in the 20th Century? You will no doubt think this as existed in the 14th Century.

In our school, the Productuve Movement is rapidly developing. Cultivating land, pigeon and chicken raising, together with bee keeping. We are planning to keep more small domestic animals.

I hope to receive your letters soon.

With best regards,

Your son,

Tse-yuen

TO:

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

June 24, 1948

The following letter was received from Chen Tse-yuen:

June 5, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:

I have not been quiet in my mind from yesterday because I am too angry. In fact our whole school is angry including teachers, students and servants. Today we are even afraid of being beaten. This may seem ridiculous to you but it is true and we are even preparing to be beaten!

Had I not said something about the surroundings of our school in my first letter? I said that there is a little stream at our front and the water smells very bad. There is another one behind and there is some reeds growing; it seems a little clearer. I hadn't said that there is a big piece of open ground by our left and right. There are different seasons of vegetables growing. I thought that there was no need to relate it but the trouble just arised from there--that piece of open ground.

You know how the Chinese laopaihsing are in general, especially those old ones. They are mostly believing in buddhism therefore the numbers of the temples are extraordinary in the village. They often think of some occasions to attract these old men and women to gather together. The monks then take advantage of these occasions and ask those old men and women to contribute money and land. In the ordinary times when those come to pray they already contribute to the monks, therefore these monks are very rich. Once they are rich they rebuild the temple and build some more. Thus the temples increase and increase. The number of people worshiping increases too and the monks become more rich.

Recently there comes a monk who obviously has not long before grabed a sum of money and intends to build a new temple. We do not know why he selected the spot right at the left of our school. It is utterly not the right situation for a temple besides a temple should be surrounded by big old trees or with some ancient memorising things. Why he should choose a spot right at the side of our school nobody knows. Because the school and the temple is altogether antagonous. The students and teachers would pity those old people and we would also make fun of these wooden buddha and furthermore the monk himself would not attract more people than other place. Certainly there will be much distrubance to us. Once if festival days come we would even have no peace to study or rest.

Our school headmaster Mr. Ma consulted with the monk asking him to find some any other place. Mr. Ma also suggested that if he could find any place other than ours we would like to pay for him. He insiated but finally changed his mind. He said that the area here is twenty mow but we have to pay thirty mow for him. Oh hot he wants to grab money even from us! Why we should pay him ten mow's money? Certainly we did not agree with him. We ourselves are so poor that we have not the money to build our own houses. We can only see them to put down their temple foundations with our hearts full of anger!

Nevertheless, our laopaihsing do not agree with him to build temples here. Our laopaihsing have seen through such tricks of cheating money from them. They know that they have been cheated. Some sick people have been killed by this censor dust and unboiled water. The laopaihsing do not permit him to build but the monk is very stubborn he insists to build. The result was that there came nearly two hundred persons from five or six villages near by and destroyed the foundation and even burnt the buddha. It is a pity that the monk at that time did not repent and he went to accuse Mr. Ma saying that it was Mr. Ma's idea destroying the temple. Do you think it is furious? And we heard from some sources that he would send brutals to beat us and to disturb our school. You imagine how could we such a group of small children be the objects of a group of brutals? Therefore we, on the one hand, asked the police to protect us, on the other, prepared ourselves to be ready of such an attack.

The whole country of China is really under such a confusion. Students can not settle down to study. The students in Shanghai are all the time preparing for striking, paradingfor the struggling of the democracy and peace of China. Oh no, not students in Shanghai but in all the big cities of China. Meanwhile they are all the time being suppressed by these spies and traitors, being arrested and beaten. We are too small to strike and parade; we only wish we can study and confine ourselves in the school quietly for the future contributing. While the laopaihsing were destroying the temple we closed our school gate we dared not to go out but the disaster fell upon our heads accusing us to be the originator of this. Do you think that we should be furious?

We do not know what will happen. I hope that I can tell you in the next letter.

Mr. Douidson Toylor asked me whether I am eating very good or not. I do not. Our school really have not enough money. We even have not the money to buy soy bean cheese and the price is rising and rising. We have not tasted the meat for half a month already (teachers, headmaster are same as we are). I am suffering from "poorness of blood"; when I stand up I feel blanks in my eyes. I am growing very well, nevertheless, I eat quite a lot of rice, and I like sports too. From the photo you can see that I am quite stout. This photo was taken recently in Shanghai.

Further you asked me what do I want, I can't think of anything particular, for instance, I use pen everyday, but I have one already; Chemistry is my most favorite subject, but I have the text book already. If I haven't it still can't be helped because I can't understand English! I like sing very much; if you have any famous song books (in simple notes) I shall be very pleased to receive them. Further more we need the drawing instruments

very badly, (protractors, sets squares, etc.)

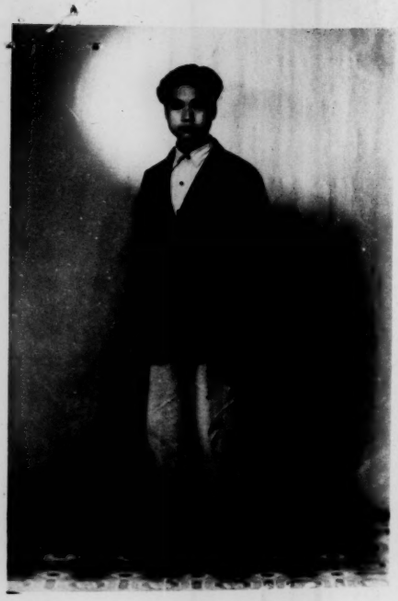
I would like to introduce something of myself. My hair, eyes, are different from yours. My height is 162 c.. My eyes are hair are black, because we are yellow. Just we keep two dogs in our school, one of them is not a native one. We have not given him a name yet.

Good bye! I don't know whethere my letter will be well understood by you or not for I used a lot of Chinese terms and our habitual system is a little too differant from yours.

Wishing you happiness!

Your loving son,

Tse Tsan



TO: Ed Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

April 26, 1948

The following letter was received from Chen Tao-Tuen:

April 12, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:

I am really thrilled with joy when I receive your three letters all at once and your photo and a picture of the skyscraper in New York. The building is too high for me, it seems that it possesses more than one hundred stories. You must have taken this picture from an airplane. The highest building in Shanghai is only one-fifth in comparison with your skyscraper, because it is twenty-two stories. Though Shanghai is one of the five biggest cities in the world, yet compared with New York, it dwindles into smallness. But I think there are several reasons for Shanghai's not possessing such a big skyscraper. Firstly, the backwardness of China's science and heavy industry prevents the country from making such a big project as to build a skyscraper. We have not engineer to design and no strong enough material to build. Secondly, I think New York must be less windy than Shanghai. Despite its solidness, if there were tremendous big wind in New York, the sky-scraper would not stand it for more than several years. It is very windy in Shanghai. Sometimes, we fly kites outside, the wind is so strong that even with three men's strength, it is very hard to draw back the flying kite. So it makes me think that even if China has scientists and good conditions, it is impossible to build a skyscraper like the one in New York.

However, the main reason is the backwardness of science in China. So far as I know there is no large-scale steel-refining work in China. The only factory which produces Ammonium Sulfate is Yun-lee Chemical Industry, which can only make some sulfate and Ammonia for the use of making fertilisers. It does not mean that the Industry is unable to produce more, the question is that no one would buy more of the materials. Some persons said that a country's strength is largely dependent on the production of Sulphuric Acid and Nitric Acid. But China lacks a large-scale Sulphuric Acid producing factory. The backwardness of China's science is hard for you to imagine, but it is a true fact. It is really very queer that our government has never paid any attention to it, but on the contrary, has devoted her entire energy to carrying on the civil war, to fight against the communists. I don't know whether communists are good or bad. But in my opinion it is too much for a government to disregard the culture and other internal affairs of the nation in order to beat down another party. It is very dangerous for a government to have the entire extermination of a party as primary importance while the welfare of the people and the culture of the nation are disreagrded. The strength of a government lies in the popularity among its people and the support it can get from them. Maybe I amwrong, what do you think?

I have gone too far. It is a fact that China's science is very backward. So I have made up my mind to devote my whole life to improving it (I am very interested in chemistry now.) But still I think the government's attitude is wrong towards scientific workers. Instead of encouraging them to devote themselves to scientific study, the government simply oppresses them. For example, when Dr. Kwei-lin Huh returned from France where he worked and achieved success, his enthusiasm and energy of working for his own country was boundless. But the government did not pay any attention to him. He even could not make a living for himself. So one day somebody discovered that he had hanged himself in a public lavatory. This is only an example. There are many similar cases that happened in China which are not well-known to the public. So my school-mates and I are very much afraid that we may have the same fate as Dr. Kwei-lin Huh.

In China, there are very few laboratories or scientific text books available. The knowledge we are trying very hard to absorb is from textbooks written in the 18th or 19th Century. Fortunately we have a good teacher here, who goes to Shanghai every week to buy some newly-published scientific magazines issued both locally and abroad to keep us informed of the new scientific developments and discoveries.

Then, who am I? You must be puzzled. I am not that girl aged thirteen. I am a boy a typical boy and am sixteen years old (Chinese age. Foreign age: 15) I don't know what happened to that little gir. Maybe she has gone to some other place. So the Foster Parents' Plan has put me into her place. If you are fond of smaller children, preferably girls, then you will be disappointed in finding me as your foster child. But I love you all very much. I would like to tell you everything I know about China and hope you will tell me what you know about America. I cannot understand the American Government very much. Why should she send munitions to these countries where war is raging. I know you all are kind and lovely friends, but your government does not seem so.

I am now studying in Yu Tsai School, the name of which is somewhat familiar to you. This school is quite different from others in its principle and its method of teaching. This school devotes its energy in cultivating and developing the special talent and interest of each child. There are six divisions, i.e., music, drama, drawing, education, natural science, journalism. I belong to natural science division.

Now we have begun senior middle school courses. Actually we don't pay much attention to the grades. The chief purpose of the school is to train every pupil to use his brain as well as histwo hands. So our school anthem begins with the following sentence: "A person's two treasures are his brain and two hands...". It is a pity that our school cannot afford to have a bigger laboratory or library. Are the experimental apparatus for lab. and carpenter's tools very expensive in America? I always hope that our school should have a more complete carpenter's room (now we have a small one) so that we can make theminiatures of the things we want. I also hope that I shall have a good knife so that I can cut bamboo and make holes.... but I don't know whether there is so perfect a knife that can have so many uses.

I am fond of reading books and many of my school-mates are too. I am most interested in reading scientific books, but I cannot understand English text-books. I have made up my mind that I must improve my English so that I can understand English magazines in one year. Now I can read short stories and I can read your letters without much difficulty. I did not find many new words in them, but some of the sentence construction puzzled me. If you have some books at home which are not very useful to you, will you contribute them to our school? Maybe I cannot read them but some of my bigger school-mates can. We have an English text of Deming's Chemistry and Smith's Chemistry for college students in our library, but I cannot understand them. So to me it is more important to have a dictionary than a book.

This letter is the longest one that I have ever written in my life. It is only because I am too excited. I want to answer your letters one by one, but I think since you are working in the same office, you must have a common interest in the things mentioned above. So I answer your letters in one. I believe, in the future, I'll write letters to each of my foster parents.

Hoping you are very happy,

Yours respectfully,

Chen Tse-Yuen

Ed Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

April 12, 1948

Following is a letter received from Andrzej Rutkowski:

"Dear Foster Parents:-

I enjoyed your letters greatly. I thank Miss Ruth for the photograph very much. I liked you very much on it. America must be really very beautiful. I would like to go there in the future. Our Poland is very beautiful, only it is destroyed. It reaches from the Karpatian Mountains to the sea of Baltic. When my Mother and Dad were still alive, I was in the mountains. It was Winter then, and lots of snow. The place in which I was was called Krynica. That is a beautiful health resort, where many people come from abroad. I don't know our Baltic yet, but I hope that I will go there for a few weeks during the Summer, because my cousins live there.

I was happy to learn that Mr. Calmer was in Warsaw, and that he liked our Capital. I don't remember pre-war Warsaw. I only know it from Granny's tales. It is now terribly destroyed but I love it very much. I wish it would be reconstructed as soon as possible.

I must buy myself a map of America, and mark the places of which Miss Ruth is writing. I looked today at a small map of America, but on it I saw New York only, where you are living now. I would also like to hear Mr. Calmer's voice some time, over the radio, but that probably won't be soon.

My little brother Krzys feels very sad, because he did not get a letter, but Granny consoles him that soon now he will get one for sure. I was happy to learn that probably the children from America will write a letter to me. I am very curious to know if they are learning at elementary school. Please ask them to write me of their school life.

We kiss you affectionately - Krzys and I.

Andrzej Rutkowski"

TO: Ed Murrow

FROM: Jerry Maulsby

April 12, 1948

Following is a letter received from Chen Tsen-Yuen:

"Dear Foster Parents:

My name is Chen Tsen-yuen. I had a very comfortable and lovely home when I was in the primary school. My father was an engineer and his income was enough to support the whole family. But he worked too hard that he spat out blood and died not long after. At that time the place he had given service was just suspended its operation, so it was entirely impossible to get much money from that organization. But my father's colleagues were kind enough to contribute us some money and at same time we sold ten trucks of clothes and other things. With the money got from here and there mother brought the rest of the family going back to our native town. I stayed in a friend's home to continue my learning. Unfortunately the friend was broke due to his failure in business, and he sent me to Yu Tsai School. So I have been grown up in Yu Tsai.

We did not know each other. You have seen my picture but I even don't know what you are like. I think we need to understand each other and know each other thoroughly. Don't you think so?

I am in Yu Tsai's natural science division I have special fondness for chemistry, because I find that chemistry is much easier than physics and mathematics and more systematic than biology. You must know how backward science is in China. In bookshops I can hardly find any copies of chemistry books, if there is any, they are old books of ten or twenty years ago. What is more most of them are translations, their meanings are very vague and very hard to catch them. So I always intend to devote my time on learning English so that I can read the original text. I am really very envious that you can read English text. I think if one wants to persuit advanced learning of science, one has to know English, otherwise it is entirely impossible.

But I am very busy with my lessons, I have no extra time to study English. I have been studying English for two or three years, yet my progress is very slow. I must consult with a dictionary whenever I read a story or a short novel. Sometimes I even cannot make a sentence without mistake. So I think if I want to learn English, only learn in class is not sufficient, I must find other ways. I always see my school-mates reading their foster parent's letters, and I often translate for them. These letters are somewhat very simple without many new words but their constructions are both beautiful and simple. So I come to conclusion that these letters will benefit me much more than my text books. Will you please write me often and tell me things about America. In return, I'll tell you something about China. Well, bye-bye! I am waiting for your letter. - Your foster child, Chen Tsen-yuen

Mr. Morrow-17

TRANSLATION (I)

Dear Foster Parents:

With great happiness I received the money order which you were so very kind to send me, thank you from the bottom of my heart. Since the death of my parents, killed by the Germans, my sister and I live with my grandparents who take excellent care of us.

I am very tall for my age, I am 11½ years old, I go to school in Chatellerault, a nice little town, known in history, because Henry IV had built there the nicest bridge in France, named after him, and on the bridge there is still a sign in his honour, the bridge is protected by 2 round towers. There is also the house of the philosopher Rene Descartes and several monuments of the XVth and XVIth century. Many beautiful monuments and interesting and beautiful towns are destroyed by the Germans.

My dear Foster Parents, thank you again sincerely for all the kindness you have for me, your Foster Child, who is hugging you affectionately and with all her heart.

Marcelle Meilhac

TRANSLATION (II)

Dear Foster Parents:

The letter from Mr. Ned Calmer from the 24th of February, which I received through the Foster Parents' Plan, Paris, gave me so very much pleasure. He speaks about my country with so much sympathy, that is a real consolation for all of us who have suffered so much from the Germans, it is wonderful to feel that the great American nation does not forget us.

The Americans are very much loved by the French, and their kindness is very much appreciated. Through the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children the Americans help so many many orphans such as I am. But to be a Foster Child of the Columbia B. C. System, I am proud and happy about, I must admit.

I am so glad that Mr. Calmer knows Toulouse, my native town. I lived there till the age of 8. Only after the deportation and the death of my parents I went to live with my grandparents. In Toulouse we lived grand Rond, near the City Park. I was baptised at the cathedral of Saint-Etienne, which is near our home. I have a little sister, Nicole, 8 years old, I love her very much. She too is so lucky to have an American Foster Parent. I attend school at the Notre Dame in Chatellearult, I am doing quite nicely in my studies, and I am the second in class. A hug for my Foster Parents with all my heart.

Marcelle Meilhac

Warszawa, IV.29th, 1948

Dear Foster Parents!

I thank you very much for the money you sent me. Granny will buy me sandals with it. In two months, I will get vacations, but I probably won't go to the seashore, because it's too far and too expensive. I will probably leave for Summer camp with my brother Krzysio. Springtime has come, and the trees are in blossom, in the gardens and in the suburbs, and today it started showing, and it's again cold. I wonder if it is warm in New York, and if pani Ruth and pan Ned will take a vacation and bathe in the ocean.

Our school sent drawings of the destroyed Warszawa to America; they are made by the children who can draw nicely. My drawing of a destroyed church was accepted as very good, and also dispatched - of which I am very content.

I send you many affectionate greetings

Andrzej Rutkowski

Warszawa, II.24th, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:-

I thank you very much for the money you sent me. I got with it slippers, socks and warm gloves. The remainding money granny used for living expenses.

I want to ask you a big favour; please, send me your photos, I will know then what you look like, and I will feel very happy.

I kiss you many times.

Andrzej Rutkowski

IV.4th, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:-

I was very glad to receive the money from you. Granny paid for the alteration of my coat - mother's old coat - and now I have something to wear to school, for walks, and so I thank you very much.

I had brief holidays, one week only, and I am back at school and working, so as to pass into 6th class. I am looking forward to a nice letter from you, and embracing you.

Andrzej Rutkowski

My Dear Adopted Parents:

First in my letter let me thank you for your help. Soon it will be the end of the school year and I am looking forward to holidays. You will spend your holidays at the seaside and I shall try to spend them in the mountains and forests. With the school we shall go to the Krkonos mountains. I should like to go to Bohemia to see grandmother too with grandfather. Mirek and his uncle have a new motocycle. I should like to be bigger and learn to ride on it. They will take me for one. Spring is beginning. Rek the dog is tied to his kennel for he would stample on the garden. Within three days I shall be examined for the 3/4 year term and at ten o'clock we shall get cakes and tea. The day-before-yesterday it started to rain and now it is neither nice or nasty outside. For today I shall close my letter and send kind regards to all.

Maja

ha

l Murrow

Jerry Maulsby March 16, 1948

The following letter was received today from Marcelle Meilhac:

"Chatellerault

Chères Mesdames, Chers Messieurs

Je viens de recevoir des Foster Parents une lettre m'annonçant le grand honneur d'être adoptée par vous tous.

J'ai 11 ans ½ et je fais mes études au pensionnat Notre Dame tenu par des religieuses. Je suis en 8ième classe et depuis la rentrée d'octobre chaque mois j'ai été classée 2e ou 1er.

Mais les études ne me plaisent pas beaucoup, je préfère le travail manuel.

J'adore la couture ou toute autre occupation à la maison. Mon grand regret est de ne pas être un garçon afin de pouvoir par n'importe quel moyen me venger de ce que ces méchants allemands ont fait du mal à mes pauvres parents.

Heureusement que le peuple Américain est venu à notre secours et nous à aidé à chasser les allemands de France.

Je remercie du fond du coeur le personnel de la Columbia et je m'efforcerai d'être digne de leur bonté.

J'envois à chacun en particulier une grosse bise.

Marcelle Josette Meilhac"

Ed Murrow

Jerry Maulsby

March 10, 1948

This memorandum tells a sad story that is probably indicative of the unrest and disorder that exists in China today.

The following letter has just been received from Hsu Chua, the little Chinese girl that we had adopted. (I have the original in Chinese if anyone wishes to see it.)

"Dear Foster Parent:

I am really very happy to get news from you, and very grateful to know that you have adopted me as your foster daughter. I am a poor girl, and I cannot prove right now how thankful I am. But you can right assure that I'll never forget what you have done for me.

Life in the Nursery is quite good. We need not worry about our daily meal, and always have clothes on the backs. For instance during the severe and cold winter we have each of us a winter cotton clothe. As regards learning, besides general courses, we have courses in handicraft.

Whenever I think of you, you appear to be nice and healthy. No doubt, you must happier than I. Can you spare some time and write letter to me often?

Hoping you are always happy,

I am,
Yours foster daughter,

Hsu Chua."

At the same time the letter was received yesterday, the Foster Parents people received the following cable from Shanghai:

"RECEIVED NOTICE FROM CHUNGSHAN NURSERY C 127 HSU CHUA ADOPTED BY CBS STAFF HAS LEFT NURSERY STOP PLEASE SELECT ANOTHER CHILD STOP SUGGEST CHILD YUTSAI BOYSTOWN FOR QUICKER SERVICE."

I asked Mrs. Blue to make an immediate substitution. We have, therefore, assumed the responsibility for a fifteen-year-old boy named Chen Tse-Yuen, whose case history is attached. In the letter writing schedule will you please substitute his name for that of Hsu Chua. Also, please make careful note of his number which is C 121.

G.F.M.

Jerry

CHEN TSE-YUEN

15 Years Old
Nationality -- Chinese

With conditions in China as dreadful as they are, and with the mortality rate high as it is, only children who have a chance for survival can be selected for help in the Plan. Among these is the young boy, Chen Tse-Yuen ...

"This boy is in fairly good health, and holds an excellent scholastic record. At the outbreak of the war he evacuated with his family to Chungking. His father was a graduate of the Central University, having majored in engineering. He held a job with the railways, but his salary was so low that he had to sell most of his valuables to keep on living. Later, he worked in the Szechuen-Sicon Highway Administration where he died of fatigue and overwork. His wife attained a little money by selling all the family clothing and furniture, and she went with her children to Szechuen where her husband had died. With war conditions as they were, she could not make a living here, so she was forced to take the children back at the risk of their lives to their native village. She found her village occupied by the Japanese. Chen Tse-Yuen was unwilling to live under Japanese reign, so he remained in Chungking alone. It did not matter where the boy stayed really, for all areas suffered equal hunger and misery. Finally, after months of shifting on his own, the boy came to this school, the Yu Tsai, where he is now without any financial support. He has not heard further word of his family, but he knows that if they are alive still, they are barely surviving."

These histories have been translated from Chinese, and, in many cases, are pathetic in understatement. Continual malnutrition has left this boy rather undergrown for his age. He is about five feet two and weighs a hundred pounds. He is quiet and honest, and especially talented in mathematics and literature.

Child's No. C 121
Folder No. 3659

to: Ed Murrow

from: Jerry Maulsby

February 25, 1948

Here are letters from Karel Bejdo (you will notice that he signs himself Kája Bejdo) and from the grandfather of Marcelle Meilhac.

"My dear friends, Feb. 11th, 1948

I am sending you my hearty greetings. I am very happy to have friends far across the Ocean. Now we are not strangers any more, because I can write to you when I wish and I am so very happy that I can.

A month ago we moved into a small house with a garden. I am looking forward to the spring -- it will be lovely in the garden. I have already started with my uncle and auntie to clean the garden and the trees in it and we are looking forward to see it green and beautiful. We have got Rek -- a dog -- who didn't wish to be friendly to me at first. But one day he was freeded from the chain and we played with each other and made verybody laugh at us two being such good pals all of a sudden. I am playing chess and collecting stamps in my spare time. In school I prefere mathematics, geography and biology to anything. I like to type on the typewriter and I hope to type correctly and quickly when I grow up a little. I would be very grateful to you, my dear friends, if you could send me your picture, so that I knew the people who are being kind to me. I thank you very much for everything in anticipation and I am with many kind regards and kisses.

Yours,

Kája Bejdo"

"Dear Ladies and Gentlemen of Columbia: Feb. 7, 1948

I am very grateful that you will be the Foster Parents of Marcelle Josette Meilhac - I am her Grandfather and guardian.

My little girl is now 11 years old and is born August 25th 1936.

She goes to school at the Notre Dame in Chatellerault Dept. Vienne. She is in the 8th class and she is working very well. She was the first in class last month.

She is a tall girl, slender and looks much older than her age.

She is of shy character and reserved this comes as she remembers the tragedy of her parents who have been victims. The father was deported to Germany of political reasons, died of hunger and bad treatments. The mother had the same fate. For this reason she and her little sister Nicole remained orphans in early age. I have taken them and adopted after father and mother have been victims of this tragedy.

Nicole is 8 years old and lives with me. She was lucky to have as Foster Parent a well known American Journalist.

The elder, Marcelle, who you have adopted lives in a Pension in the Province under the care of relatives, who live in Chatellerault.

She will write you very soon to thank you that you will be interested in her. I send you the expression of my gratitude and my best regards."

G.F.M.

To: Ed Murrow

From: Jerry Maulsby

February 18, 1948

Here is a translation of a letter received this morning from Andrzej Rutkowski. I have the original letter, written in Polish, in my office, if you would care to see it.

"Warszawa, II. 5th, 1948

Dear Foster Parents:-

I am writing this letter to you, because I want you to know something about me. I am 10 and a half years old, and I am a Pole. My Father died during the war, and Mother died suddenly, after the war, and we - myself and my little brother who is 7 - are orphans. Granny is bringing us up. Granny is very old, she works all day long in an office, and in addition on Sundays and holidays, so I and my little brother wouldn't be hungry and so we would have something to wear. Granny has also a sister, much older than she is, who lives with us, and Granny has to work for her, too. Granny is very good to us and loves us very much, but she is sick and worn, and cannot work so much. I am going to school, to 5th class. I like to learn, because I want to become an engineer. While father lived, he bought us pretty toys, but our apartment and our lovely nursery and everything was burned during the Warsaw uprising. My little brother Krzys (meaning Christopher.Lili) is very gay, and we play together. I like nice books, building, and all kinds of little motors with which one can put things in motion.

I kiss you very heartily

Andrzej Rutkowski"

7-A-15

FREEDOM HOUSE
WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING
20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N.Y.
LONGACRE 5-3344

January 29, 1965

Mrs. Edward R. Murrow
One East 66th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mrs. Murrow:

On April 13th, Viking Press will publish the story of Freedom House, told against the background of the dramatic events of the past quarter-century. The book is entitled Freedom's Advocate--A 25-Year Chronicle. The research was the work of Dr. William Agar, one of the founders of Freedom House; it was written by Professor Aaron Levenstein of the College of the City of New York.

We would be particularly delighted if Mr. Murrow, who was actively involved in many of the events covered in Freedom's Advocate, could read the galleys and give us his reaction to the book. If he is favorably impressed by the chronicle we anticipate the publisher may wish to utilize, with Mr. Murrow's permission, any statement he cares to make for the development of public interest in our book.

On the other hand we don't want even to suggest anything that might be a burden on your husband. I am writing therefore to inquire if you think Mr. Murrow would be interested in seeing the galleys--if so, we will have a set sent over by Viking right away.

Incidentally, you will note that the publication date will coincide with the Truman Award dinner. We were delighted to hear that Mr. Murrow wants to come and certainly hope that it will be possible for him to be there.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Hartley E. Howe

Hartley E. Howe
Associate Director

declined
VM
3 Feb.

ac

P. S. If Mr. Murrow would like to have a set of the galleys, should they be delivered to One East 66th Street?

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George Field
Freedom

You Are Cordially Invited to the Nineteenth Anniversary Dinner of Freedom House honoring Mr. Alan Paton distinguished South African author of "Cry, the Beloved Country" - whose words and deeds are mighty weapons in the struggle for the rights of man.

Program

Mr. Alan Paton
Guest of Honor

Mr. Archibald MacLeish
Presentation Address

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Dinner Chairman

Hon. Paul G. Hoffman
Director, U.N. Special Fund

Hon. David E. Lilienthal
Former Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission

Dr. Emory Ross
President, African-American Institute

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse
President, Freedom House

•

Miss Adele Addison, Soprano
Soloist, N. Y. Philharmonic

Wednesday, October fifth, seven o'clock

Grand Ballroom, Hotel Plaza, New York City

Dress Optional
Reservation ten dollars
(gratuity included)

393

Checks Payable to: Freedom House
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New York 18, N. Y.

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Robert M. Weitman
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Roy Wilkins

September 29, 1960.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:-

We are looking forward to seeing you and Mrs. Murrow at the reception starting at 6:30 P.M. in the Baroque Suite of the Hotel Plaza on Wednesday evening, October 5th. We are relieved to know that Alan Paton was granted a renewal of his passport and that he has now arrived in London en route to New York. There was a good deal of apprehension about his ability to get out of South Africa.

We will open our program with the National Anthem and an invocation, which will be introduced by Harry Gideonse who will make the opening talk as President of Freedom House. He will dispose of the necessary shop talk and then introduce you as Chairman for the evening.

I assume you will open with some personal remarks of your own, and if you are preparing any advance text I would like to have a copy for our publication of the evening's proceedings. Following your brief talk you will of course proceed to introduce those who will follow you, in the following order:

Dr. Emory Ross, President of the African-American Institute. (He has a long biographical sketch in Who's Who, as do the other speakers so I assume you will select what you wish to say about each of them by way of introduction.)

Paul G. Hoffman, who received the Freedom House Award in 1951 for his services as Director of E.C.A.

David E. Lilienthal was a recipient of our Award in 1949.

You will then introduce for a brief musical program Miss Adele Addison, the noted concert soprano and guest soloist with the N.Y. Philharmonic. She will be accompanied at the piano by James Payne.

After Miss Addison's two ~~solos~~ selections, you will introduce Archibald MacLeish, who will deliver the presentation address.

Mr. Paton will accept the plaque from MacLeish and will proceed directly with his address without further introduction.

Again, because the pertinent facts about the above group on our program are fully recorded in Who's Who and are known to you, I have not sought to list any of their accomplishments for your introductions.

I am enclosing a schedule for the evening's program as a control sheet for your guidance, although the times stipulated are simply my best guess. It would be nice if we managed to follow this schedule and complete our program by 10:15 P.M.

If there is any further information I can furnish, please let me know.

Many thanks.

Yours,

George

George Field
Executive Secretary.

GF:M
encl.

DR. EMORY ROSS was a missionary in Africa from 1912 to 1933, serving four years in Liberia, and about eighteen years in the Belgian Congo as missionary and secretary of the Congo Protestant Council. From 1934 to 1953, he was secretary of the Africa Committee of the Canadian and North American Mission Boards for Africa South of the Sahara. He is the author of several books, including Out of Africa (1936), African Heritage (1953), New Hearts - New Faces (1954), with Gene Phillips; Africa Disturbed (1959) with Myrta P. Ross. He is chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and chairman of the American Leprosy Missions. He has been President of the African-American Institute since 1957.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL, formerly head of the A.E.C. and T.V.A. has been chairman of Development and Resources Corporation, a private firm providing services for clients-mainly foreign-interested in the development of resources, since 1955. He was the recipient of the Freedom House Award in 1949. He is the author of several books including TVA: Democracy on the March (1944), This I Do Believe (1949), Big Business A New Era (1953).

PAUL G. HOFFMAN, a founder and the first chairman of the Committee for Economic Development (CED) was selected as administrator of the Marshall Plan in 1948. Following that assignment, he served as president of the Ford Foundation and chairman of the Fund for the Republic. He was chairman of the Studebaker-Packard Corporation from 1954 - 1956. He is now director of the United Nations

Special Fund, a major instrument for bringing economic growth to underdeveloped nations. He received the Freedom House Award in 1951 for his services as Director of E.C.A. He has written Seven Roads to Safety (1939) and Peace Can Be Won (1951).

DR. EMORY ROSS missionary in Africa 1912 to 1933, four years in Liberia, eighteen in the Belgian Congo. From 1934 to 1953 he was secretary of the Africa Committee of the Canadian and North American Mission Boards for Africa South of the Sahara. Dr. Ross is the author of several books including Out of Africa, African Heritage and Africa Disturbed. He is chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, chairman of the American Leprosy Missions and has been president of the African-American Institute since 1957.

PAUL HOFFMAN a founder and first chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, administrator of the Marshall Plan, president of the Ford Foundation, chairman of the Fund for the Republic and Studebaker-Packard now director of the United Nations Special Fund a major instrument for bringing economic growth to underdeveloped nations. Recipient of Freedom House Award in 1951.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL has spent much of his life dealing with power TVA and Atomic Energy Commission, but recognizes that power resides in ideas -

"This I do Believe", now chairman of Development and Resources Corporation, a private firm providing services for the development of resources in foreign countries. Recipient of Freedom House Award in 1949.

ADELE ADDISON, noted concert soprano and guest soloist with the N. Y. Philharmonic will be accompanied at the piano by James Payne.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, professor, poet, playwright, patriot

hpc.

August 17, 1960

Dear George:

Many thanks for your cordial letter of August 15th. I am delighted to hear that my old friend Alan Paton is to receive the Freedom Award this year, and am flattered by your invitation to serve as Chairman for this occasion on Wednesday evening, October 5th. It gives me much pleasure to accept.

I shall await further details from you.

With best regards.

As ever yours,

Mr. George Field
Executive Secretary
Freedom House
Willkie Memorial Building
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Chester S. Williams

* *Executive Committee*

August 15, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Alan Paton, distinguished author of "Cry, The Beloved Country", has accepted our invitation to come to America from his home in South Africa to receive our annual Freedom Award at the nineteenth anniversary dinner of Freedom House.

The presentation will be made on our behalf by Archibald MacLeish, in the Grand Ballroom of the Plaza Hotel on Wednesday evening, October 5th.

With Africa a focal point of international attention many Americans will wish to share this occasion with us as an opportunity to honor a citizen of South Africa whose "words and deeds are mighty weapons in the struggle for the rights of man."

We are inviting several other distinguished Americans to take part in this program and we would like very much for you to serve as Chairman for this occasion.

As it is necessary for us to complete our program arrangements at the earliest possible date I would appreciate hearing from you soon.

With kindest regards.

Cordially yours,

George

George Field
Executive Secretary

GF/br

Chet Williams told me he has mentioned this to you and that the prospects were good.

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DR. EMORY ROSS was a missionary in Africa from 1912 to 1933, serving four years in Liberia, and about eighteen years in the Belgian Congo as missionary and secretary of the Congo Protestant Council. From 1934 to 1953, he was secretary of the Africa Committee of the Canadian and North American Mission Boards for Africa South of the Sahara. He is the author of several books, including Out of Africa (1936), African Heritage (1953), New Hearts - New Faces (1954), with Gene Phillips; Africa Disturbed (1959) with Marta P. Ross. He is chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and chairman of the American Leprosy Missions. He has been President of the African-American Institute since 1957.

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George Field

October 10, 1960

Dear George:

You assembled one hell of a cast, and all I needed to do was to stay out from underfoot. Several people who were there have told me they have never before heard such a consistently high level of utterance, and I agree.

As ever yours,

Mr. George Field
Executive Secretary
Freedom House
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

ERM:gw

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* *Executive Committee*

October 6, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

It was a wonderful evening and all about me were the evidences of the deep satisfaction which our guests derived from the proceedings. Your handling of the "gavel" was perfection itself and contributed much to the tempo and the inspiration of each of the speeches as they followed one another.

We are grateful and indebted to you.

Yours,

George

George Field
Executive Secretary

GF/br

Darvall, Frank

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION OF THE
COMMONWEALTH,
DARTMOUTH HOUSE,
37, CHARLES STREET,
BERKELEY SQUARE,
LONDON, W. 1.

P R I V A T E

2nd August, 1956

Dear Mr. Field,

I must apologise for not having replied before to your letter of 6th July, which crossed one of mine, dated 13th July, to Ed Murrow.

I can fully appreciate why, having given the Freedom Award in previous years to several distinguished Generals, and General Gruenther not being likely to be in New York at the time of your anniversary presentation this autumn, another name should have been preferred to his for the 1956 Award. I nevertheless appreciate very much the courteous consideration which you and Ed have given to my very personal and private suggestion in this connection.

I do hope very much that you will be coming over this way before long and that, when you do, you will spare the time to have a meal with me here.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Frank Darvall

FRANK DARVALL,
Director-General

George Field Esq.,
Executive Secretary,
Freedom House,
Willkie Memorial Building,
20, West 40th Street,
NEW YORK 18, N.Y.

Copy to: Edward R. Murrow Esq.
485, Madison Avenue,
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

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Rex Stout
Louis Stulberg
Channing H. Tobias
J. Waties Waring
W. W. Waymack
Robert M. Weitman
Roy Wilkins

Edward Corsi
Leave of absence

July 25, 1956

MEMORANDUM TO: Walter Lippmann
Edward R. Murrow

FROM: George Field

I thought you should see the enclosed confidential memorandum which was mailed yesterday to all the officers of Freedom House constituting our Executive Committee.

The Committee has agreed that in order to honor the preference indicated in the votes cast by the previous recipients, the Freedom Award should be presented to President Magsaysay, (if Magsaysay cannot attend through Ambassador Romulo) and a special 15th Anniversary Freedom House Award presented to Governor Munos of Puerto Rico, who would be expected to attend the dinner.

We have a precedent for this decision in the arrangements which were made on the occasion of our Tenth Anniversary when Paul Hoffman received the Freedom Award and Dr. Gainza Paz a special Tenth Anniversary Freedom House Award.

There is ample time to work out the procedure for these presentations at the anniversary dinner on Sunday evening, October 7th, and if you do not object, our decision as outlined above will be announced in due course.

GF:JM

FREEDOM HOUSE

COPY TO: ED MURROW

WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING
20 WEST 40 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 5-3344

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

July 24, 1956

TO: The Officers of Freedom House

FROM: George Field

I have just received the unofficial tally from Ed Murrow's office of the votes cast for the nominees selected by the Board of Directors of Freedom House. Both Ed Murrow and Walter Lippmann are away on vacation, but in order to avoid undue delay in proceeding with arrangements for the dinner, Ed Murrow made it possible for me to check on the tally with the help of his secretary before he and Lippmann officially confirm the result.

All previous American recipients, with the exception of President Eisenhower, took part in the balloting. The President abstained from making a choice for what seems to me good and sufficient reason. In his communication he indicated that his letter to Ed Murrow was private and confidential.

All other previous American recipients have voted as follows:

President Ramon Magsaysay.....	1st choice	place
Governor Luis Munoz Marin.....	2nd choice	"
The Honorable Lester B. Pearson.....	3rd choice	"
President George Meany.....	4th choice	"
The Reverend Martin Luther King.....	5th choice	"

It has recently been reported that President Magsaysay is coming to this country at the invitation of President Eisenhower on a State visit in the early part of next year, which would make it unlikely that he would attend our dinner on October 7th. The question which must be decided therefore is whether we will again break the precedent that the recipient must be available in person for the presentation of the Freedom Award.

If we are to be guided by precedent, Governor Munoz would become the first choice, should he be available. The other alternative is to present the Award with a filmed acceptance speech by Magsaysay, and the presentation to his representative in this country, General Romulo.

Please advise what your wishes are, so that I might have guidance from all the officers; and if there is a strongly divided opinion, I assume a meeting will have to be called to arrive at a decision.

For your consideration: In terms of our annual event, the presence and participation of the recipient is a vital matter, and therefore this fact should not be overlooked.

GF:JM

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Bonn/Bad Godesberg, Germany,
July 24, 1956.

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing my ballot pursuant to your letter of July 10, 1956.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Jim

James B. Conant
American Ambassador

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

1956 FREEDOM AWARD BALLOT

The Board of Directors of Freedom House nominated five candidates for the Freedom Award to be voted upon by the previous American recipients. Please indicate your preferential choice with numerals one to five in front of each name. This ballot is confidential.

1.... THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING of Montgomery, Alabama, whose calm and effective leadership has sustained the dignity of the human being in the midst of the most pressing social, economic and political problem on the home front. He symbolizes the forward march in America toward justice and equality for all men.

2.... PRESIDENT RAMON MAGSAYSAY of the Philippines, who is teaching his people how to use their newly gained freedom to develop their greatest potentialities and who has demonstrated the advantages of the democratic way of life in an area of the world sorely beset by the forces of dictatorship.

5.... GOVERNOR LUIS MUNOS MARIN of Puerto Rico, under whose guidance the people of this Commonwealth have demonstrated the effectiveness of democracy in an under-developed country. His dynamic leadership and the creative techniques which his government has devised were in a great measure responsible for the striking progress of the Puerto Rican people toward a better life.

4.... PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY of the AFL and CIO, for his statesmanship in achieving labor unity to assure greater responsibility, for his courageous and farsighted attack on labor racketeering, a growing danger in the United States, and for vigorously opposing the external threat of Communism on the world scene.

3.... THE HONORABLE LESTER B. PEARSON, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, for effective leadership in strengthening NATO and his outstanding role in the councils of the free world.

* *

Footnote: The Board of Directors was unanimous in nominating Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold. However, because of a policy which Mr. Hammarskjold established for all U.N. personnel, he reluctantly considered himself ineligible.

INDIAN HEAD
BERNARD, MAINE

P. O. SOUTHWEST HARBOR, MAINE

PHONE: SOUTHWEST HARBOR 279

July 21

Dear Ed,

This week's issues given to hand.

I am enclosing my own ballot.

Sincerely.

W. Dingman

1956 FREEDOM AWARD BALLOT

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FREEDOM HOUSE

WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING
20 WEST 40 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 5-3344

COPY TO: ED MURROW
Att: Miss Holder

July 19, 1956

Mr. Walter Lippmann
Indian Head
P.O. Southwest Harbor, Maine

Dear Mr. Lippmann:

Thank you for your note of July 17th.

Ed Murrow will be away from the office until the end of this month, and the ballot counting should take place as early in August as possible. If you mail your ballot to his office, they will all be in one place.

In view of the fact that you will not be back in Washington until August 13th, your idea of settling the matter of the count in a telephone conversation with Ed Murrow is entirely satisfactory. We shall simply want to know how many first, second, third, fourth and fifth choices are marked besides each of the nominees.

With kindest regards,

Cordially yours,

George Field
Executive Secretary

GF:JM

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1956.

Personal and Confidential

Dear Mr. Murrow:

When I readily consented to participate with other former recipients of the Freedom Award to help select this year's winner, I did not stop to consider that people from other countries might be included on the list of nominees. It strikes me that it would be out of order for me, in view of my present position, to express any order of preference among political leaders of other countries.

Feeling this way, I have no recourse but to withdraw my prior consent to participate in the selection. I do hope that you will understand my sentiments in the matter.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

Personal and Confidential

PAUL G. HOFFMAN
4530 LOMA VISTA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 58, CALIFORNIA

July 16, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Hoffman was in California for the week-end so I had an opportunity to bring to his attention the 1956 Freedom Award Ballot which was attached to your letter of July 10th. He has marked the ballot and it is being returned herewith.

Sincerely yours,

Viola K. Pedersen

Secretary to Mr. Hoffman

vkp
enc.

Hoffman

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COMMONWEALTH HEADQUARTERS: DARTMOUTH AND CONCORD HOUSES, LONDON W.1

DARTMOUTH HOUSE 37 CHARLES STREET BERKELEY SQUARE LONDON W.1

13th July, 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Ed,

Many thanks for your letter of 29th June about the 1956 Freedom Award.

I quite understand why you should have wished to hand this letter to George Field.

As regards General Gruenther, I should perhaps add to what I said in my previous letter, word of the fact that -

(1) He has kindly agreed to make a major farewell speech on this side of the Atlantic at a public meeting which this Union, jointly with a number of other bodies here, is going to arrange in November. He has offered a choice of 12th, 13th, 14th or 15th November for this meeting, which would be followed by a small, private dinner party, and we shall, within the next few days, be choosing between these four dates.

(2) General Gruenther has also accepted the invitation which the Chairman and President of the E.S.U. of the U.S.A., Lew Douglas and Bill Griffin, respectively, have extended to him to be the guest of honour and chief speaker at the Annual Dinner of the E.S.U. of the U.S.A. at the Waldorf-Astoria on 26th November, 1956. Confidentially, I can report that Lew and Bill are very much hoping that a senior member of the U.K. Cabinet may be able to share the Waldorf-Astoria platform with General Gruenther on 26th November.

(3) I have some reason to suppose that the actual date of General Gruenther's hand-over at S.H.A.P.E. to General Norstad, and subsequent return ~~as a private citizen~~ to the U.S., will take place sometime during the week beginning Monday, 19th November, his actual final retirement from U.S. Army falling about 31st Dec. 1956.

My personal and private suggestion as regards General Gruenther and your Freedom Award has, of course, no direct connection at all with these afore-mentioned engagements of General Gruenther to speak for us in London and New York. The suggestion is motivated simply by the fact -

(a) That I had ~~hoped~~ hoped to receive an invitation to put forward a nomination for your Freedom Award; and

/Cont'd ...

(b) That I have the most tremendous admiration for General Gruenther, which is, I know, merely a reflection of the immense regard there is for him in every N.A.T.O. country on this side of the Atlantic and by people of all Parties and of many levels, from the highest downwards.

As Chief of Staff to Generals Eisenhower and Ridgeway at S.H.A.P.E., and subsequently as himself Supreme Allied Commander (Europe), he has been acclaimed by everyone who knows his work and who has heard him speak, as having done an absolutely superb job. If the progress of the Atlantic Alliance from the moment that S.H.A.P.E. was established early in 1951 to now, has contributed anything to the defence of freedom in the world (and I personally think it has contributed), a great deal of the credit is due to General Gruenther, who, along with Field Marshal Montgomery, has been unique in being at the centre of things in S.H.A.P.E. from its establishment until now.

Exceedingly sorry that you are not likely to be over here this summer, but realise that matters keep you busy over there during an Election Year. Let us hope that we see you after the Elections are out of the way.

Dorothy much appreciates your good wishes and we both reciprocate them to Janet and you, and Casey.

Yours ever,

FRANK DARVALL

Edward R. Murrow Esq.,
485, Madison Avenue,
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
U. S. A.

SUMNER WELLES

Bar Harbor, Maine

July 12, 1956

My dear Mr. Murrow:

Thank you for your letter of July 9.

I am returning herewith the ballot you have sent me and I have indicated upon it the order of preference of the nominees for whom I have voted.

President Magsaysay of the Philippines was my own choice for the Freedom Award this year. In my judgment not only is the Award fully justified in itself in his case, but I also think that his selection would have a far-reaching and desirable effect throughout Southern Asia.

I think that Governor Muñoz Marín would also be a thoroughly desirable choice, but in my opinion Magsaysay is preferable.

There is, of course, no question about the suitability of Lester Pearson, but I would rank the other two higher.

I can express no opinion with regard to the Reverend Martin Luther King since I know nothing about him except what I have read in recent months in the newspapers.

It does not seem to me that George Meany should be ranked with the others listed, notwithstanding his achievements to which reference is made in the ballot.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Sumner Welles

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

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2. ..X. GOVERNOR LUIS MUNOS MARIN of Puerto Rico, under whose guidance the people of this Commonwealth have demonstrated the effectiveness of democracy in an under-developed country. His dynamic leadership and the creative techniques which his government has devised were in a great measure responsible for the striking progress of the Puerto Rican people toward a better life.

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3. ..X. THE HONORABLE LESTER B. PEARSON, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, for effective leadership in strengthening NATO and his outstanding role in the councils of the free world.

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MELLON INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

CHAIRMAN
BOARD OF TRUSTEES

July 12, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I return the duly executed nominee list, as requested.

With high respect and warm best wishes,

Sincerely,

M. B. Ridgway

Enclosure

1956 FREEDOM AWARD BALLOT

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LUCIUS D. CLAY
General, Retired
U. S. Army

July 11, 1956

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I enclose my ballot herewith. It is a splendid group of nominees and, hence, there is little variation really in my preferential markings.

Sincerely yours,

Lucius Clay

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

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FREEDOM HOUSE

WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING
20 WEST 40 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 5-3344

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Rex Stout
Louis Stulberg
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J. Waties Waring
W. W. Waymack
Robert M. Weitman
Roy Wilkins

Edward Corsi
Leave of absence

July 10, 1956

Office of
Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. Attention: Miss Holder

Dear Miss Holder:

We have mailed the letters signed by Mr. Murrow to all the previous American recipients, together with the enclosed ballot.

As Mr. Murrow is entitled to his vote, I assume he will indicate his preference on this ballot, when he returns to the office. By that time, the others will have mailed you their ballots and I will telephone in due time to discover whether the returns are coming in.

I mailed a ballot to Walter Lippmann with the suggestion that he and Mr. Murrow might get together the first week in August to give us the result of the tally. I suggested that if such a meeting is inconvenient, I would arrange for the ballots to be brought to Washington by a confidential messenger for Mr. Lippmann's check on them. This may be necessary to expedite matters, as I must lose no time in ascertaining whether the winner is available to receive the Award at our dinner on October 7th, and also to order the bronze plaque.

Thank you for looking after this for us.

Cordially yours,

George Field

George Field
Executive Secretary

GF:JM
enc.

393

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E. R. Murrow

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FREEDOM HOUSE

WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING
20 WEST 40 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 5-3344

COPY TO:
EDWARD R. MURROW

PRIVATE

July 6, 1956

Dr. Frank Darvall, Director-General
The English-Speaking Union
37 Charles St., Berkeley Square
London W. 1, England

Dear Dr. Darvall:

I have been shown the contents of your confidential letter to Ed Murrow, who has asked me to review your suggestion in the light of our plans and commitments.

Following the mailing of the brochure regarding the 1956 Freedom Award, we allowed a lapse of three weeks to receive the maximum possible returns before calling a meeting of our Board. The Freedom House Directors met last week and agreed upon five nominees to be presented to the previous recipients of our Award for the final selection of the 1956 winner.

The name you propose was given friendly consideration by the members of our Board. I cannot with any degree of certainty tell you why he was not among those named, but I imagine among the reasons was the fact that he would not be in this country at the time of our anniversary presentation.

I imagine too that the rather heavy concentration of Awards to generals in former years has caused some of our members to want to balance the picture by favoring civilians this year, although that certainly was not a binding condition.

I very much appreciate your interest and thoughtful suggestion.

Sincerely yours,

George Field
Executive Secretary

GF:JM

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

June 29, 1956

Dear Frank:

Thanks very much for your private and confidential letter about the 1956 Freedom Award. You raise a number of points which I simply cannot answer, so I have violated your injunction to the extent of handing your letter on to George Field, who is the only one conversant to all the facts. As you know, he is a man of great discretion and no reference to your private letter will be made.

I fear that there is no chance of my getting to London this summer, but in this business one never knows. Please give my love to your wife.

As ever yours,

Frank Darvall, C.B.E., M.A., PH.D.
Director-General
The English-Speaking Union
Dartmouth House
37 Charles Street
Berkeley Square
London W.1
England

rh
cc: Mr. Field

Chairman
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K.B.E., C.M.G.

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Professor Winifred C. Cullis,
C.B.E., M.A., D.SC., LL.D.

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DARTMOUTH HOUSE 37 CHARLES STREET BERKELEY SQUARE LONDON W.1

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Ed,

1956 FREEDOM AWARD

I found on my desk today a copy of the brochure of Freedom House about the 1956 Freedom Award, with attached a blank nominating petition. It would, I think, probably not be appropriate for me, as an Englishman, and in view of my positions as Director-General of this Union, and Chairman of the Board of the Congress of European American Associations, to submit a formal nomination. I would, however, personally and privately, wish to express the very strong hope that the claims in this connection of the retiring Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General Alfred M. Gruenther, will not be overlooked by you and your colleagues with whom the final choice will rest.

As Chief of Staff at SHAPE to General Eisenhower and then to General Ridgway, and more recently as himself Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General Gruenther is, I am convinced more entitled than any other single individual, not even excluding the first Supreme Allied Commander Europe, to the credit for not merely the success of SHAPE as a Staff and Command organisation, and for such military build-up under SHAPE as has taken place from 1951-56, but also for the tremendous contribution to Governmental, Parliamentary, Press and public understanding of what NATO is really trying to do.

We have been privileged on several occasions to provide important platforms in the United Kingdom for General Gruenther, and I can say with absolute certainty that no speaker who has ever appeared on our platforms has ever been more effective both at putting his points across in a major address, but also at handling questions (even hostile ones), and at charming all who come in contact with him, or who hear him personally or over the radio.

Since the date and place for the actual presentation of your 1956 Freedom Award have already been fixed for early October, which is I believe before the date when General Gruenther will be returning to the United States, following his hand-over to General Norstad, it is I imagine very doubtful whether General Gruenther could be personally present at your 1956 Dinner. I would hope, however, that this would not be an insuperable barrier to making him the recipient of your 1956 Freedom Award.

In connection with General Gruenther's autumn engagements I should, perhaps, let you know in strict confidence:

1) That the ESU here, acting jointly with the Atlantic Treaty Association, British Atlantic Committee, the European Atlantic Group, the

/contd..

Friends of Atlantic Union and the Secretariat of the Conference of NATO Members of Parliament, is very hopeful of being able to persuade General Gruenther, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, and Mr. Hugh Gaitskell to speak on a public platform in London this autumn, when General Gruenther comes here to pay his farewell call as Supreme Allied Commander Europe to H.M. Government, at which a major UK tribute can be paid to General Gruenther for his quite exceedingly outstanding achievements at SHAPE;

2) That Lew Douglas and Bill Griffin have invited General Gruenther to be the chief American speaker at the Annual Dinner of the ESU of the USA, which is I believe scheduled for 26th November at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York. I gather that it is Lew's and Bill's hope that if General Gruenther is able to accept this invitation, that the Minister of Defence, Sir Walter Monckton, might be able to go over to America to be the British speaker at this Dinner.

General Gruenther cannot definitely say until about mid-July whether he could accept either invitation, but I have some reason to suppose that he would like to be able to do so. In this connection, I just wonder, should you in the end decide to give your 1956 Award to General Gruenther, whether it would be at all possible for the presentation to be made to him, assuming that he could not be in New York on 7th October, either at the function we hope to arrange for him here in London before he vacates the post of Supreme Allied Commander Europe or at the function which the American ESU hopes to arrange for him, immediately following his hand-over to General Norstad and his return as a private citizen to the USA.

I am sure that if the former alternative commended itself to you, those who collaborated with the ESU in arranging the London occasion would be very glad to provide a place on the programme for you or Walter Lippmann, if you could then be in London, to make the presentation. Whilst, of course, I cannot speak for the American ESU I would think that possible Lew Douglas and Bill Griffin would be prepared to act similarly as regards their dinner in New York, If this seemed to you a possible and preferable alternative. I should add that being anxious that the two functions with which the ESUs would be primarily concerned respectively in London and New York, should to the maximum extent possible attract public interest on the two sides of the Atlantic, and provide settings in which General Gruenther could deliver two speeches, the first addressed primarily to the European members of NATO, and the second primarily to the North American members of NATO, which might rank in NATO history on a par with the ranking of George Washington's farewell address in American history, ~~and~~ I would like to see the presentation of the 1956 Freedom Award to General Gruenther, should he be the recipient, fitted into the functions the ESU is planning in London and New York, rather than be a quite distinct occasion. I should, however, emphasize that this letter is purely private and personal and for such action, if any, as you as an old friend, should feel to be appropriate.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,

Frank Darvall

FRANK DARVALL
Director-General

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
Madison Avenue, New York.

FREEDOM HOUSE

WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING
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Louis Stulberg
Channing H. Tobias
J. Waties Waring
W. W. Waymack
Robert M. Weitman
Roy Wilkins

Edward Corsi
Leave of absence

July 5, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I have arranged for the typing of letters to the previous recipients, and I hope they will be signed while you are still around.

As I told Miss Holder, these letters should be returned to us for mailing after you have signed them. It is necessary to hold up this mailing for several days while I check with the officers and directors of Freedom House as to whether they would be willing to include an additional nominee proposed in confidence by Walter Lippmann. This should be determined early next week, and I will then prepare the ballot which we will send with each letter.

Early in August, I hope you and Walter Lippmann will find an opportunity to check the returned ballots and let me have the tally of the first, second, third, etc. choices, so that we might complete the program arrangements and lose no time in ordering the bronze plaque.

I will consult Miss Holder about the return of these letters to us next Monday.

Many thanks and regards.

Cordially yours,

George

George Field

GF:JM

Returned 7/10

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Roy Wilkins

Edward Corsi
Leave of absence

June 25, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing a suggested follow-up mailing to the previous recipients of our Freedom Award which should be the last to complete the polling for the 1956 winner.

Some days ago, I wrote to you and to Walter Lippmann submitting the list of five nominations made by our Board of Directors, only four of whom are eligible for the Award. That list will constitute the ballot which will accompany your letter.

In the third paragraph of the proposed draft, I have included a sentence about the mailing of the ballot to your home address to avoid the possibility of public disclosure. If you do not feel that is necessary, we can eliminate that sentence. Aside from the caution involved, it might be useful to follow the proposed procedure in order to impress upon the previous recipients that we mean to keep their votes confidential. I will be guided by your wish.

At the appropriate time, I will mail a copy of the ballot to you, as well as to Walter Lippmann, as your own votes are to be included in the tally.

When all the ballots have been returned to you, I assume that you and Walter Lippmann will find the occasion to check each ballot and let us have the summary of the votes for the first choice, second, third, etc.

As soon as you have approved of the enclosed draft, with any corrections you care to make, I will arrange to have the individual letters typewritten for your signature.

Again thanks for helping us carry out our fifteenth anniversary plans.

With kindest regards,

Cordially yours,

George Field

GF:JM

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EDWARD R. MURROW
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

July 2, 1956

Dear

Thank you for indicating you would join with the other previous American recipients of the Freedom Award to examine the nominees proposed by the Board of Directors of Freedom House and help make the selection of this year's winner.

Before arriving at the enclosed ballot, Freedom House circulated nominating petitions to 25,000 representative Americans throughout the country. The resulting recommendations were reviewed by the Board of Directors at two meetings. Five nominees were selected by the Board for your consideration.

Each vote cast will be received by us in confidence, and the final tally will be made known to the Board of Directors by Walter Lippmann and me. To avoid the possibility of public disclosure, the ballot is to be mailed to my home address in the enclosed envelope.

It is suggested that each ballot be marked on a preferential basis to minimize the possibility of a tie vote. Please note that four of the candidates are eligible, and therefore your preference would be clearly indicated by the use of numerals 1 to 4 beside each name. If in your opinion a nominee does not merit consideration, or there is inadequate basis for judgment, his name should be omitted in the preferential voting.

We hope to complete the balloting by the end of this month.

Sincerely yours,

Freedom House

June 29, 1956

Dear George Field:

Here is a long letter and a copy of my reply. Perhaps you would be good enough to send a note directly to Darvall.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. George Field
Freedom House
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

rh
Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow

June 29, 1956

Dear Frank:

Thanks very much for your private and confidential letter about the 1956 Freedom Award. You raise a number of points which I simply cannot answer, so I have violated your injunction to the extent of handing your letter on to George Field, who is the only one conversant to all the facts. As you know, he is a man of great discretion and no reference to your private letter will be made.

I fear that there is no chance of my getting to London this summer, but in this business one never knows. Please give my love to your wife.

As ever yours,

Frank Darvall, C.B.E., M.A., PH.D.
Director-General
The English-Speaking Union
Dartmouth House
37 Charles Street
Berkeley Square
London W.1
England

rh
cc: Mr. Field

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Robert M. Weitman
Roy Wilkins

Edward Corsi
Leave of absence

June 20, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing for your private information a summary of the nominations for the annual Freedom Award, agreed upon by our Board of Directors at a meeting held on June 13th.

Ralph Bunche, a member of our Board, had indicated that his information caused him to doubt whether Mr. Hammarskjold could be considered for this Award. We therefore made further inquiry in a meeting with Mr. Hammarskjold and discovered that Mr. Bunche's doubts were justified. This is indicated in the footnote on the enclosed listing.

We also believe it necessary to ascertain whether President Magsaysay would be available to receive our Award if he is selected, and a private inquiry is being made by one of our officers.

It is our assumption that the others nominated for the Award would be available if selected.

If you have any personal reactions before we proceed to poll the previous recipients, I will appreciate hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

George

George Field

GF:JM
enc.

June 20, 1956

The following nominated by the Board of Directors of Freedom House are to be voted upon by the previous American recipients of the Freedom Award, on a confidential preferential basis, to determine the 1956 winner:

1. Governor Luis Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico, under whose guidance the people of this Commonwealth have demonstrated the effectiveness of democracy in an under-developed country. His dynamic leadership and the creative techniques which his government has devised were in a great measure responsible for the striking progress of the Puerto Rican people toward a better life.

2. The Reverend Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Alabama, whose calm and effective leadership has sustained the dignity of the human being in the midst of the most pressing social, economic and political problem on the home front. He symbolizes the forward march in America toward justice and equality for all men.

3. President Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines, who is teaching his people how to use their newly gained freedom to develop their greatest potentialities and who has demonstrated the advantages of the democratic way of life in an area of the world sorely beset by the forces of dictatorship and by the pressures of emotional nationalism and myopic neutralism.

4. George Meany, president of the AFL and CIO, for his statesmanship in achieving labor unity to assure greater responsibility, for his courageous and farsighted attack on labor racketeering, a major and growing danger in the United States, and for vigorously opposing the external threat of Communism on the world scene.

Footnote: The Board of Directors was unanimous in nominating Dag Hammarskjold for his achievements and statesmanship as Secretary-General of the United Nations. However, because of a policy which Mr. Hammarskjold established for all U.N. personnel, he reluctantly considered himself ineligible and therefore his name is not being submitted as a nominee for this Award.

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Meany	1	22	33

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	444	5555
33	44	5

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Roy Wilkins
Edward Corsi
Leave of absence

April 13, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing a new draft of a letter for your signature and the signature of Walter Lippmann to be sent to the previous recipients of our Award, revised in accordance with suggestions made by our Board.

I believe that an important factor in the decision of the previous recipients to participate will be the assurance to them that their votes will be held in confidence by yourself and Mr. Lippmann, and will not even be revealed to the members of our Board, who will simply receive the final tally. For this reason, obtaining personal stationery from you and Mr. Lippmann for the mailing of the letters to the previous recipients will be most helpful.

Sincerely yours,

George Field

OK

GF:JM
enc.

Returned By Messenger
4/17

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April 1956

Dear General Clay:

Each year, Freedom House names the American or other world-citizen who has made an outstanding contribution to the cause of Freedom during that year. The annual Freedom Award enjoys today world-wide prestige and is recognized as a symbol of America's dedication to the substance of Freedom.

On this 15th Anniversary of Freedom House, we are asking the previous recipients to participate ~~by voting~~ in the selection of the man to whom the 1956 Award will be made. Walter Lippmann, who was presented the annual Award in 1943, and I, who received it in 1954, have agreed to act as Co-Chairmen of the 1956 Award Presentation at the annual dinner in the Grand Ballroom of the Sheraton-Astor on Sunday evening, October seventh.

Aside from yourself, the Americans who have received the Freedom Award and who have been asked to cooperate in the 1956 Presentation include Sumner Welles, 1944; President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1945; Bernard M. Baruch, 1946; General George C. Marshall, 1947; (Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, 1948, deceased); David E. Lilienthal, 1949; Dean Acheson, 1950; Paul G. Hoffman, 1951; Dr. James B. Conant and General Matthew B. Ridgway, 1952. The Presentation was made to Dag Hammarskjold in 1953 for the U. N. Soldiers in Korea, and to Sir Winston Churchill in 1955.

A Nominating Committee composed of the Board of Directors of Freedom House, under the Presidency of Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, will designate a small number of possible recipients, carefully selected to reflect the non-partisan nature of the sponsoring organization. The final selection of the winner will be left to yourself and the other previous recipients of the Freedom Award.

Both Mr. Lippmann and I will receive your selection in the strictest confidence, and we will simply report the final result to the members of the Board of Freedom House. We believe that your participation in this manner, together with other Americans named above, would greatly dignify the occasion. I would appreciate it if you would join us in assuming this responsibility in celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of Freedom House.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Murrow

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Roy Wilkins

Edward Corsi
Leave of absence

April 11, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Void

Dear Ed:

We are now prepared to proceed with plans outlined to you by Harry Gideonse for the celebration of the 15th anniversary of Freedom House.

As co-chairman with Walter Lippmann of the anniversary program, you can aid us now by communicating with each of the other past recipients of our Freedom Award to inform them of our plans for the selection of the winner of the 1956 Award. We will prepare the letters for your signature after you have corrected and approved the enclosed draft.

In midsummer, when nominations for the recipient of this Award have been made by our Board of Directors, the names will be submitted to all the previous recipients for their selection of the winner, with the understanding that their votes will be mailed directly to the co-chairmen in confidence, and our Board will accept your report as to the verdict without question.

When the above procedure is completed, we will look to you to serve as chairman at the dinner in the Grand Ballroom of the Sheraton-Astor on Sunday evening, October 7th.

It is our belief that a better result will be obtained if each of the co-chairmen indicates to me which of the previous recipients is a personal friend, to whom a more intimate salutation is desirable. With this in view, I am enclosing a list of our previous recipients and I would appreciate it if you would return this list with the corrected draft, stipulating how each of them should be addressed. It would be well to have a dozen sheets of your personal stationery for this letter.*

Thanks for your prompt response.

Cordially yours,

George

George Field
Executive Secretary

GF:JM

P. S. We will withhold the letter to President Eisenhower, recipient in 1945, until the nominees have been named by our Board.

*Personal stationery will help to assure those invited that information received directly by you will be confidential.

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Draft of letter to attached list

April , 1956

General Lucius D. Clay
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Dear General Clay:

Each year, Freedom House names the American or other world-citizen who has made an outstanding contribution to the cause of Freedom during that year. The annual Freedom Award enjoys today world-wide prestige and is recognized as a symbol of America's dedication to the substance of Freedom.

On this 15th Anniversary of Freedom House, I hope you will agree to serve with the other distinguished Americans who have been recipients since 1943 of the annual Freedom Award. Walter Lippmann, who was presented the annual Award in 1943, and I, who received it in 1954, have agreed to act as Co-Chairmen of the 1956 Award Presentation at the annual dinner in the Grand Ballroom of the Sheraton-Astor on Sunday evening, October seventh.

Aside from yourself, the Americans who have received the Freedom Award and who have been asked to cooperate in the 1956 Presentation include Sumner Welles, 1944; President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1945; Bernard M. Baruch, 1946; General George C. Marshall, 1947; (Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, 1948, deceased); David E. Lilienthal, 1949; Dean Acheson, 1950; Paul G. Hoffman, 1951; Dr. James B. Conant and General Matthew B. Ridgway, 1952. The Presentation was made to Dag Hammarskjold in 1953 for the U. N. Soldiers in Korea, and to Sir Winston Churchill in 1955.

We are asking each of the previous American recipients to join as the final Selections Committee in designating the man to whom the 1956 Award will be made. A Nominating Committee composed of the Board of Directors of Freedom House, under the Presidency of Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, will designate a small number of possible recipients carefully selected to reflect the non-partisan nature of the sponsoring organization. The final selection of the winner will be left to yourself and the other previous recipients of the Freedom Award.

Both Mr. Lippmann and I will receive your selection in the strictest confidence, and we will simply report the final result to the members of the Board of Freedom House. We believe that your participation in this manner, together with other Americans named above, would greatly dignify the occasion. I would appreciate it if you would join us in assuming this responsibility in celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of Freedom House.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Murrow

1956 FREEDOM AWARD BALLOT

The Board of Directors of Freedom House nominated five candidates for the Freedom Award to be voted upon by the previous American recipients. Please indicate your preferential choice with numerals one to five in front of each name. This ballot is confidential.

2... THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING of Montgomery, Alabama, whose calm and effective leadership has sustained the dignity of the human being in the midst of the most pressing social, economic and political problem on the home front. He symbolizes the forward march in America toward justice and equality for all men.

5.... PRESIDENT RAMON MAGSAYSAY of the Philippines, who is teaching his people how to use their newly gained freedom to develop their greatest potentialities and who has demonstrated the advantages of the democratic way of life in an area of the world sorely beset by the forces of dictatorship.

1.... GOVERNOR LUIS MUNOS MARIN of Puerto Rico, under whose guidance the people of this Commonwealth have demonstrated the effectiveness of democracy in an under-developed country. His dynamic leadership and the creative techniques which his government has devised were in a great measure responsible for the striking progress of the Puerto Rican people toward a better life.

3.... PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY of the AFL and CIO, for his statesmanship in achieving labor unity to assure greater responsibility, for his courageous and farsighted attack on labor racketeering, a growing danger in the United States, and for vigorously opposing the external threat of Communism on the world scene.

4.. THE HONORABLE LESTER B. PEARSON, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, for effective leadership in strengthening NATO and his outstanding role in the councils of the free world.

* *

Footnote: The Board of Directors was unanimous in nominating Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold. However, because of a policy which Mr. Hammarskjold established for all U.N. personnel, he reluctantly considered himself ineligible.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

1956 FREEDOM AWARD BALLOT

The Board of Directors of Freedom House nominated five candidates for the Freedom Award to be voted upon by the previous American recipients. Please indicate your preferential choice with numerals one to five in front of each name. This ballot is confidential.

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3 .... THE HONORABLE LESTER B. PEARSON, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, for effective leadership in strengthening NATO and his outstanding role in the councils of the free world.

* *

Footnote: The Board of Directors was unanimous in nominating Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold. However, because of a policy which Mr. Hammarskjold established for all U.N. personnel, he reluctantly considered himself ineligible.

Helen Gibson

1956 FREEDOM AWARD BALLOT

The Board of Directors of Freedom House nominated five candidates for the Freedom Award to be voted upon by the previous American recipients. Please indicate your preferential choice with numerals one to five in front of each name. This ballot is confidential.

.... THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING of Montgomery, Alabama, whose calm and effective leadership has sustained the dignity of the human being in the midst of the most pressing social, economic and political problem on the home front. He symbolizes the forward march in America toward justice and equality for all men.

1 .... PRESIDENT RAMON MAGSAYSAY of the Philippines, who is teaching his people how to use their newly gained freedom to develop their greatest potentialities and who has demonstrated the advantages of the democratic way of life in an area of the world sorely beset by the forces of dictatorship.

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Surprised did not see either Eisenhower, the Pope or the American soldier holding the fort around the world

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7-A-15

Special Pro.
Year End
for Freedom House

FREEDOM HOUSE

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20 WEST 40 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 5-3344

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Robert M. Weitman
Roy Wilkins

Edward Corsi
Leave of absence

November 28, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C B S
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

If the Freedom House year-end review had received no other public notice than was given to it on your radio program the other day, it would have been worth while. We had a number of telephone calls as the result of your broadcast.

Many thanks.

Cordially yours,

George

George Field

GF:ws

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FREEDOM HOUSE
WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING
20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N.Y.
LONGACRE 5-3344

July 14, 1964

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

The enclosed report speaks for itself. I simply wish to add the assurance that a cross-section of national leadership was involved in each of the three stages of our survey on the problem areas affecting freedom.

This study was initiated early in January and is the first element in a three-part program which will mark our 25th anniversary year. Two book-length studies have also been commissioned by Freedom House to be published by Viking Press in 1965.

I hope this report will have your attention. Reactions and comments are invited. With kindest regards

Cordially yours,

George

George Field
Executive Director

GF:tm
enc:

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Freedom House

PERSPECTIVES ON FREEDOM: 1964

A Survey on the Problem Areas Affecting Freedom

FREEDOM HOUSE

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y.

25th Anniversary Program

This survey is the initial project in a three-part program to mark the 25th year since the founders of Freedom House first met. In addition to the publication of this report, Freedom House has commissioned two book-length studies which will be published by Viking Press.

Scheduled for publication in the spring of 1965, "Freedom's Advocate—a 25 Year Chronicle" will tell the Freedom House story against the background of the major events of the period. It will be the work of Professor Aaron Levenstein of the College of the City of New York in collaboration with Dr. William Agar, formerly a member of the United Nations staff.

Freedom House has also commissioned a major study devoted to an analysis of the new concepts of freedom that have emerged during the past quarter century. This book, tentatively titled "New Freedoms," is scheduled for publication in the fall of 1965. It will be written by Dr. Milton Konvitz, Professor of Industrial and Labor Relations and Professor of Law at Cornell University.

This program is sponsored by the Board of Trustees of Freedom House in memory of their late colleague, Mrs. Elsie B. Gale, whose devotion to the organization spanned almost the entire period under review.

PERSPECTIVES ON FREEDOM: 1964

Introduction

Freedom House is an organization of private citizens concerned with the whole state of man's freedom, everywhere, in every aspect of society. As an expression of this concern, Freedom House addresses itself to democracy's responsibilities, shortcomings, and opportunities, as they arise.

Freedom House was founded in the days when the very concept of human liberty faced destruction at the hands of Nazi tyranny. Although old threats have vanished, new tyrannies have appeared and we have become more aware of the limitations on freedom that history built into our own society.

The flow of history calls for a continuing reassessment of national programs and personal attitudes. Like other assessments carried out by Freedom House from time to time, this review has a double purpose. We have sought out the wisdom and knowledge of some of the people who have made these problems their special concern, providing opportunities for the development of new insights through a free exchange of views. At the same time, we aim to focus public attention on the relation of these problems to the development of a free society.

The information and comments contained in this report come from three sources. One was a survey of informed views, based on a questionnaire directed to two nationwide groups — opinion leaders and Freedom House contributing members. The second was a series of interviews in depth with twenty-five distinguished Americans. These elaborated the substance of the survey. And finally, thirty scholars and organization leaders gathered in a Freedom House conference to discuss the survey findings and related problems of freedom. Meeting at the Greyston Conference Center of Teachers College, Columbia University, this distinguished group developed a consensus on the present situation and guidelines for the future.

In the first section of this report, these three elements have been blended into a unified discussion of the two major problems confronting freedom today — Communist totalitarianism abroad and racial discrimination at home. However, the sixteen questions of the survey covered a number of other problems, and the statistical findings are therefore reproduced in full in the second section of this publication.

To ensure a free and uninhibited flow of opinion, all persons taking part were pledged complete anonymity. The views here contained are those of men who have pondered deeply on the problems of man's freedom, who have in their own careers shown intellectual distinction, and who, in a number of cases, have been active leaders in dealing with the problems they discuss.

Part I—Summary of Interviews and Conference Proceedings

In 1964, as in 1939, the fight for freedom is the fight for human rights, the fight against totalitarianism. But in this twenty-fifth year since the founders of Freedom House first met, these battles are being waged in forms and places different from those of a quarter-century ago. Two general issues—one domestic, one international—dominate the scene.

Here in the United States, the most pressing domestic concern is the continuing fight for equal rights for Negroes, highlighted by the debate over the civil rights bill (adopted by a 73 to 27 vote in the Senate following cloture) and by the new techniques of protest that Negro leaders are using.

The major foreign policy issue involves America's commitment to the struggle against Communist totalitarianism. The immediate focus for this issue has been the "great debate" on U.S. policy abroad, stimulated by the remarks this spring of Senator J. W. Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In calling for a review of basic American foreign policy in light of the far-reaching consequences of the nuclear stalemate between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., Senator Fulbright declared that "we are confronted with a complex and fluid world situation and we are not adapting ourselves to it. We are clinging to old myths in the face of new realities." As "myths", the Senator cited elements of our foreign policy as they relate to the Communist bloc generally, Communist China, Castro Cuba, and our attitudes toward Panama.

1) The Continuing Fight for Civil Rights

Two issues raised in the survey questionnaire are at the core of the civil rights problem in the United States today: "Do you think militant but peaceful direct-action techniques . . . have done more good than harm or more harm than good to the cause of Negro rights?" and "Do you think that preference should be given to Negro job applicants when they are equally qualified with white applicants . . . or should employment policy be strictly 'color blind'?"

a) Direct-Action Techniques

Seventy-one percent of the opinion leaders surveyed by questionnaire agreed that demonstrations in behalf of equal rights—militant but peaceful—had thus far done more good than harm.

Participants in both interviews and conference agreed with this finding. But these commentators shared apprehension that future demonstrations, unless properly targeted and disciplined, and acted out with sound moral judgment, could do damage and dissipate the good results that flowed from last year's March on Washington.

This apprehension clearly reflected the fact that any acceptance of the idea of civil disobedience had definite limits. There was criticism of such tactics as stall-ins and the plan to disturb New York City's water supply. "A demonstration must have a clear and specific objective," was one observation. "It is in order when it is directed to people who have power. But when there is no pressure on the specific power

structure that limits freedom a demonstration has no real justification. And criminal disobedience is wrong entirely. The process cannot be disassociated from the results."

One participant asked, "Doesn't violence that goes beyond the fabric of the law, even though it antagonizes, set up a bargaining structure so that some gains are made?" Most participants felt emphatically, however, that the struggle for civil rights must be carried on by persuasion. "When we get out of that framework," it was said, "we are in great danger of retarding the very struggle in which we are all invited to be a part."

The March on Washington of August 28, 1963, was cited as an ideal type of demonstration, one that made its point eloquently. It was disciplined, it was directed to conscience and understanding, it suggested the power and virtue of the ideal of equality—and it was biracial. This last point was made repeatedly. No matter how they feel about whites and the contribution of "white liberals," Negroes and their leadership simply cannot write off white support as being non-essential, participants said. "This is an American problem, a problem of democracy, a white problem as well as a Negro one, and Negroes cannot possibly solve it by themselves," said one conferee. There was criticism of Negro leaders who sought to instil contempt or hostility toward "white liberals" and white leadership in civil rights efforts, and several said that such attitudes were a disservice to the Negro cause.

In turn, those whites who felt that they had, in the past, made substantial contributions to the cause of racial equality were told not to feel let down when no particular credit was given. "We shouldn't expect to be lionized or appreciated for what we *think* we've done for Negroes in the past. None of us has done enough, really. We should get on with the job, in partnership with Negroes, just because we know it's right."

What Can the Southern Moderate Do?

One question raised at the Conference was what—if anything—the Southern moderate could do in the present situation. A Negro participant said it would be helpful for moderates to speak up, but a large number would have to speak together. "Usually, if one speaks up, he is crucified; and they know that." Another participant emphasized "the fear of speaking up when one should" and he later commented: "As long as fear is prevalent in the area, something has to be done to break the reasons for the fear. The law won't do it. The roots are so deep, chances are it is going to take another hundred years unless we have a new orientation on the part of the people whose silence countenances this thing."

A representative of a Negro human rights agency, discussing Negro attitudes, said at the conference that masses of Negroes feel that there will be no equal rights in their lifetime unless something "very much like a revolution" takes place. Because this man is daily involved in the civil rights fight, his words were, to some, a stark confrontation with reality. He said that Negroes feel that racism is a form of fascism, that even conservative Negro leaders feel that Malcolm X's appraisal of the Negro plight in the United States is an accurate one—"even though his conclusions and solutions are wrong."

Another Negro leader, in an inter-

view, agreed with this view and spoke of the sense of impatience that goads Negroes today. "The only evaluation of a tactic or operation, we believe, is the degree of its effectiveness—not its degree of militancy. We know we must count on the support of white allies, at least those who are sophisticated enough to go along with us. Liberals must recognize that the demonstrations are bound to continue, that Negroes will be ever more determined.

"Many Negroes are now expressing their disillusion and bitterness more openly, and some of the demonstrations have become tinged with a retaliatory aspect. Don't expect Negroes to be supermen. How can all Negroes have the discipline to be non-violent and love whites in the face of everything that has happened to them? And who can blame Negroes if they're skeptical about America and its promises, and uncertain about their loyalties?"

Wanted: Communication

Several speakers emphasized the need for communication between white and Negro groups, and a Negro participant in the Conference pointed out that one obstacle to such communication was the multiplicity of Negro "paper organizations" as distinguished from the established responsible groups. He laid much of the blame for this upon the competition between newspapers and television for exciting events to portray. "We get caught in the warfare between media," he declared, "each trying to report the Number One story with dramatic overtones. If the story isn't dramatic enough they will help make it a little more dramatic by suggesting directions in which movements ought to go." And he emphasized that this puts "responsible groups at a disadvantage because they have to answer or match."

Later, this observer restated the differences among the various civil rights organizations and the pressures within the movement. "Most persons tend to lump all civil rights groups under one tent. And the one that makes the most noise and irritates the most is the cross we have to bear."

Many participants made known their deep concern about the nature and effectiveness of demonstrations in the near future. "No minority has a right, by a sort of general indiscriminate sabotage, to imperil the necessary workings of society. It should also be borne in mind that some forms of demonstrations, by the very fact of repetition, lose their effectiveness," said a political philosopher.

However, the participants noted that this is a revolution unique in history, conducted not for supremacy of one group over another but simply for equality,—a revolution not to overthrow a society but to win an equal place in it. And concern was expressed that courts and police, North and South, were often punitive and vindictive in coping with even the mildest type of civil disobedience. "We should remember," declared one participant, "that by denying Negroes equal rights assured by the U.S. Constitution, it is whites—not Negro demonstrators—who are breaking the law." One commentator went further: "There is a higher law—the law of conscience. Negroes, and whites who agree with them, certainly have the right to demonstrate against the oppression and cruelties imposed upon them for so long, oppression which has curtailed the rights of all."

Whites and liberals, one conference participant declared, "must bring mas-

sive pressure to bear upon the power structure to permit the great moderate leadership of the Negroes to achieve substantially, if not totally, the results of a rather remarkable fundamentally peaceful revolution."

b) "Preferential Treatment"

Only 20 percent of the opinion leaders surveyed expressed approval of "preferential treatment" for Negroes. About three-quarters felt that employment policy should be strictly color blind. The persons interviewed and conference participants tended to agree.

The polar views on the subject were expressed by an educator and a Negro leader.

"I don't believe in preferential treatment being granted to Negroes as a group," the educator said. "Civil rights inhere in the individual; only the individual, not a group, has rights. You can't give preferential treatment to a man just because of the group he belongs to."

A Negro official disagreed with this view. "There is a long tradition in American history of extending help and preferential treatment to groups that have been disabled through no fault of their own. This includes, starting from the Revolutionary War, war veterans and the physically handicapped. Why not Negroes too?"

What Makes the Negro Minority Different?

One academic member of the Conference brought up the point that there have been many minority groups in the United States and "many of them—if perhaps not in the same degree as the Negroes—have suffered the same rejections as the Negro community." These minorities, he implied, had won their rights without either using violence or withdrawing from the society that refused to accept them.

In answer, a Negro member of the Conference pointed out: "You forget one important factor in your example of other minorities—skin color." Other groups, he declared, were able to operate within the society and obtain their rights—in fact, in some places first and second generation minorities in the North were supporters of segregationist leaders. On the other hand, he declared, "The Negro is easily identified. All over the country this badge is not a very healthy one to wear in terms of obtaining the rights that other minorities ultimately obtained."

In general, the advocates of job preference for Negroes were in the minority. There was some conviction that preferential treatment—the term itself was considered unfortunate—was unfair to a white job applicant even if both white and Negro were "equally qualified." This term, it was felt, was an absolute one that was meaningless in practice. Both the persons interviewed and the Conference participants agreed that there were two more suitable methods of assisting Negroes to get better jobs and economic opportunity.

The short-range method:

If you have any doubt about a Negro applicant's suitability for a job—give him the benefit of the doubt. Don't try to establish a formal policy that may, in itself, be discriminatory. Look harder however, for qualified Negro personnel and canvass the field more intensively, in areas you may not have looked into before. And get rid of arbitrary and pointless standards of employment—such as asking that all salesgirls be college graduates.

The longer-range method:

Go to the trouble of giving two-months training, instead of two weeks training, if that will help Negroes qualify for new jobs. Above all, accept the idea that there must be greater planning and expenditure for education—including all types of vocational training—to help Negroes overcome the gap that now so sorely disadvantages them. The broadening of training, through the whole spectrum of the educational processes, was accepted as the one meaningful way of solving the problem of the Negroes' handicaps in employment—and in American life generally.

The relation between the civil rights campaign and the American labor movement provoked discussion at the Conference. On the one hand, a Negro participant complained that when unions were attacked for discrimination even liberal labor leaders were silent or defended the unions. Politicians faced with a choice between backing labor or the Negro community, he asserted, always supported the labor unions. On the other hand, another Conference member declared that "when it comes to basic economic and political power, the Negro gets more mileage out of the labor movement than any other single group. Let's not dismiss it so lightly." And he pointed out that seniority rights hard-won in labor struggles would eventually be of value to Negroes.

2) Meeting the Challenge of Communism

The primary enemy abroad when Freedom House was founded was fascism. However, since the end of World War II the primary challenge to freedom on the world scene has stemmed from aggressive communism. In 1964, its challenge appears complicated and many-sided.

In speeches that gained national attention, Senator Fulbright attempted to dissipate what he called four "myths" in our foreign relations: (1) that the "Communist bloc is a monolith," (2) that "the Peking attitude of implacable hostility is permanent," (3) that "Castro is a grave threat to the United States and cannot be gotten rid of except by means that are wholly disproportionate to the objective," and (4) that "the issue with Panama is a test of our courage and resolve." He also said that Americans should be prepared to "think the unthinkable" about foreign policy.

Senator Fulbright's first three points were explored in some detail in the interviews and, by implication at least, in the course of the Freedom House conference.

Most persons agreed on the need for reappraisal of foreign policy in many areas. But several objected to Senator Fulbright's use of the word "myths" and said that it had the effect of weakening our resolve to fight communism.

"They're not myths at all but legitimate areas for discussion, with many pros and cons," said a specialist on Southeast Asia. "I suspect that many persons are just tired of the cold war and want a degree of 'normalcy' at any price. And we've become complacent both because of Sino-Soviet differences and what appears to be a detente between Russia and the Western powers."

A journalist had a strongly different view. "I think we're living in the aftermath of the threat of nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the United States," he said. "That threat has for some time been dissipated as a result of the fact that the United States

achieved superiority in nuclear weapons (but not omnipotence). We're in no danger of an attack by the Soviet Union but we're in no position to order the Soviet Union around. This stalemate was demonstrated in the Cuban crisis and enshrined in the test-ban treaty."

He added that this is no longer a "bi-polar world" and that the traditional military alliances and arrangements are coming apart.

"When you had the terribly dangerous confrontation of the two nuclear powers, everybody was so frightened that they crowded into one corner or another. When that fear has been lifted, they tend to their own ambitions and troubles. And that is why the world is much more disorderly, but also much less dangerous today."

A political scientist had a contrasting opinion. He welcomed the fact that Senator Fulbright had spoken out in criticism of foreign policy but disagreed with his central assumption. "Might it not be that our unwillingness to face up to Soviet challenges has made a direct military confrontation unnecessary for the Soviet Union?" he asked. "There is deep-seated unwillingness to face this simple and central fact: the Soviet Union has achieved what it set out to achieve in the summer of 1962 and what we declared to be intolerable, the transformation of Cuba into a political and military base for the Communization of Latin America under Soviet auspices."

He also felt that the Soviet Union has been willing to take greater risks than we have and consequently, has been successful at promoting its interests. A pattern of our foreign policy is our "inability to act decisively in anticipation of crisis rather than in response to it," he said, adding the warning that "one man's reality is likely to be another man's myth, old or new."

But Fulbright's position was endorsed by others. "This type of evaluation is long overdue," said a writer who specializes in Communist affairs. "Why, for example, do we regard Communist China as being so evil today? There is no direct conspiracy against us on her part. China is warlike in words but not in her actions. Poverty is still the Chinese problem and her verbal aggressiveness today is a consequence of failure to solve it. Of course we must not betray the people of Formosa, or any other people we are committed to in one way or another. But the long-range solution for our problems in Asia must be, eventually, some kind of settlement with Communist China."

This was the broad range of general views in response to Senator Fulbright's premises. Some specific areas of crucial importance were covered in the survey and were examined in some detail both in the interviews and at the Conference.

a) The Soviet Union and Detente

Attitudes toward an American-Soviet detente were reflected in the answers to a survey question asking for opinions on an American policy of negotiating political agreements and expanding trade and cultural relations with the Communist world. About half of the leaders of public opinion replying favored more emphasis on such a policy, with the balance evenly divided between those who considered the present American policy satisfactory and those who felt that we should be more cautious. A tiny minority—about one respondent in twenty—was flatly op-

posed to such a policy.

In the Conference, the question of a detente was taken up in more detail. A veteran specialist on the Soviet world expressed the belief that the detente could be real and long-lasting. "We must re-examine the basis of the Cold War today," he said. "Hot wars change the balance of power but a hot war is impossible between the two major nuclear powers. Wars, in the past, have been fought for gain; now in the nuclear age nothing can compensate for the losses of war."

He differed with the idea that the Soviet Union had been willing to take great risks in its foreign policy—at least not when nuclear war threatened. "In Iran after World War II, when Tito defected, at the time of the Berlin blockade, during the Korea war, during the Cuban missiles crisis—at all these times Russia refused to gamble and stopped short when going ahead would have meant nuclear war." He said that analysis of every crisis since World War II would meet this formula.

The Conference members argued vigorously over whether the Sino-Soviet split was a hopeful sign for the West. One participant declared it might mean that Russia would now be more willing to play conventional power politics, rather than promote World Communism. Another asserted, however, that it was the dynamics of the Soviet-Chinese dispute that led Russia to line up with China over the neutralization of Laos.

The crucial question, another noted was how to exploit the rift. We should keep strong "in the areas where strength is necessary but pursue accommodations in areas that don't uncover our flank," such as cultural exchange and trade, although not with long-term credits.

Other participants agreed that the threat of war with the Soviet Union now appeared less likely than at any time of the Cold War period but there were sharp differences about the reality of the detente. "For five decades, we've been talking and hoping for the end of Soviet aggressiveness but it has never come to pass," said one foreign affairs analyst. "To this day, all the dramatic initiatives—and aggression—in the world come from Russia, not China or anyone else. Remember, the missiles being delivered to Cuba were Russian missiles, not Chinese ones."

One participating member warned against allowing "euphoria to dominate our defense policies," lest we enable Khrushchev to dictate a political settlement or even put us out of business. This expert was willing, however, to support negotiations that might help to make clear whether the Russians have had a change of heart and also give us "some possibility of knowing what is going on in a military race," by such means as inspection clauses in arms control agreements. In the meantime we should remain strong.

It was suggested that we stiffen our defense while extending our cultural and trade programs with Russia. But several participants felt that cultural exchange failed in its primary purpose of opening windows because the Russians send us disciplined Communists only, incapable of responding to our culture and ways, while on our part there is little or no screening for political dogma or "reliability." One participant suggested a cautious policy of trade, with the extension of five-year credits. Another urged practically unlimited trade and credit under certain conditions: "More than ever before we

can exercise political leverage by using our export capability, our ability to grant credit, to extract political considerations from them." But others felt that trade was permissible only without credit, for credit represents a form of subsidy. And several felt that there should be no trade whatever, that "the wheat deal with the Soviet Union gave Britain its excuse to sell buses to Cuba," and that the psychology of trade with Russia was, therefore, detrimental. (At this point several participants strongly criticized trade policies of America's allies, but it was pointed out that there wasn't much we could do about them.)

But there was a pervasive feeling of hope engendered by the apparent detente. "We must act as though it were a reasonable world," summed up one participant. "We must continue to hope that Russia and the United States will come to an agreement to keep the peace. We know that Stalin was not a rational man but we must assume that Khrushchev is—despite his dedication to a system that we consider irrational."

"We ought to create our own agenda for peace," another declared, "and present it, exhibit it, dramatize it, and make it a part of Western diplomatic negotiations with the Soviet Union. It ought to be concrete and ought to deal with the *causes* of the Cold War—not only with the dangerous objective of merely reducing the tensions of the Cold War while leaving the Cold War in being as before."

b) "Two-China Policy?"

More than 46 percent of the opinion leaders and 50 percent of Freedom House members, in response to the survey questionnaire, said that the United States should extend recognition to Communist China while retaining recognition of the Nationalist regime. This view was strongly challenged, however, by many of the persons interviewed and by Conference participants.

There was some understanding that Communist China would eventually have to be recognized by the United States and permitted entry into the United Nations, although some participants argued strongly for a bitter-end battle against U.N. admission, even if it should appear doomed to defeat. "I would like to see the United States reaping the political and moral benefits of a principled position," one Conference member declared. However, all participants stressed our responsibility to Formosa although not to the Chiang government. "We must see to it that the nine million people of Taiwan stay outside of the Bamboo Curtain," was the theme. "We have a moral, emotional, and strategic commitment to them. If we do not honor that commitment, our signature will be discredited throughout the world, and we will be paving the way for Communist success throughout all of Asia."

One Conference member argued that the basic question was whether freedom would be promoted or retarded by the admission of Communist China into the United Nations and its recognition by the United States. In any event, however, there was general belief that a two-China policy was not realistic at this point. "Communist China has made clear that it does not want recognition if the Chiang government is also recognized," one observer noted. "With recognition, it also wants a free hunting license for Formosa."

We may eventually have to recognize Communist China but we will also have to recognize Taiwan as Taiwan,

an independent nation, not as the second of two Chinas, the Conference participants concluded. But then there was little inclination expressed at the conference for the United States to join in hastening the day when Communist China would be accepted by the United Nations or recognized by the United States.

c) South Vietnam

The extent of our dilemma about Vietnam was strikingly revealed in the survey: more than a third of opinion leaders declared that they had not reached a conclusion about what to do in South Vietnam. Almost one-fourth of the opinion leaders said that military forces should be increased, while 19 percent said that our forces should be gradually withdrawn. The rest — less than 15 percent — felt they should remain at the present level.

Conference discussion on Vietnam revealed a wide range of views. At one extreme, regret was expressed about our presence there at all on the ground that it was a blind alley operation in which we were doomed to defeat or indefinite warfare that might escalate into a world war. Support for general negotiations was coupled with a warning that the Vietnam fighting, even though now supported by Americans, would eventually foster great bitterness in this country. At the other extreme, our role in South Vietnam was described as one of the finest examples of American constancy and commitment to freedom at great sacrifice.

In the interviews, too, the range was wide. "I'm in favor of increased military aid now so that we'll have a stronger basis for negotiation," an editorial writer said. "It would be a terrible collapse if we were to leave now but it would be bad, too, if we were still there ten years from now." Others agreed that getting out of Vietnam now "would represent a serious defeat and a failure of responsibility." A magazine editor recently returned from the area said that "we desperately need a rounded program in Vietnam. A political and psychological base is lacking and the makers of our military program cannot supply it."

Despite the wide range of opinion, virtually all who were interviewed or who attended the conference agreed that, no matter how discouraging the prospects appear to be, we must continue to stay in South Vietnam in order to maintain our credibility as a nation and to avoid a Communist takeover of all of Southeast Asia.

d) Cuba and Latin America

About half of the survey respondents said that U.S. political and economic pressures on Cuba should be increased. A much smaller group supported increased military pressure, while about two-fifths of those replying favored continuing present policies or working toward establishment of normal diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Conference participants generally questioned whether any additional pressure was possible at the present time. As for military pressure, one participant thought it might become possible later, but another felt that the situation in Cuba was beyond the military power of any one government and declared that the real struggle was for men's minds. One conferee asserted that U.S. government agencies had different attitudes toward economic pressure on Castro and declared that they should get together on a uniform policy. It was emphasized at the Confer-

ence that a major concern should be Latin America, its well-being and its democratic processes—not merely the island of Cuba, no matter how distressing the fact of Communist Cuba is.

A Latin America specialist said that he was opposed to any arrangement at all with Castro for "he is temperamentally like Hitler—he can't abide by any agreement but must go on and on.

"Castro has no ideology; he is interested only in Castro," he said. "As long as he is in Cuba he will make trouble for us and his own people." This expert added that Castro's influence on Latin America appears to have declined since he came to power, a decline accelerated by his mass executions which had horrified many Latin Americans.

Some of the people interviewed cited Russia and its goals as the primary source of our problems in Cuba, a position repeated during the conference. One such person was particularly critical of the United States role at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion attempt. He had been in Latin America at the time: "No one I spoke to then questioned the morality of U.S. support of an invasion of Cuba," he said. "The only question was: will it succeed or not? If it had succeeded, the *fait accompli* presented to the world would have produced very little reaction of outraged morality. It was our own ambivalence—and a naive concern over world reaction—that prevented us from doing what was necessary in Cuba."

A related view was expressed during the conference. "Half a million Cubans are now outside of Cuba, they want to go home desperately, and the United States should help them achieve their hope," a participant said. But others strongly disapproved the idea of the U.S. engaging actively in subversion of the government of another country, however unfriendly. One man sought to answer this: "There is a major difference between a totalitarian effort to subvert freedom and freedom's effort to get rid of totalitarianism," he said.

There was considerable discussion at the Conference over whether if Castro disappeared from the scene he would be followed by a Soviet-linked regime or an anti-Castro military junta. The latter view was supported by one expert who declared that in Latin America "the military are the only people that have a national organization, a national structure, a national power."

There was some consensus that U.S. foreign policy in Latin America was far more successful than is generally understood. In April 1964, Brazil had acted to rid herself of both corruption and Communist infiltration in a rebellion that has been hailed as a major defeat for Communism. And Latin America, over all, has far from fallen to Communism, as many feared it would.

In fact, this view was applied to many areas of the world. In summing up one session, its chairman noted that some of our disgruntlement about foreign policy is a mixture of disappointment at not having gained the peace we sought after World War II and an inability to appreciate that some of the uncertainties we now face are due to our successes, not our failures.

"A couple of years ago we had a picture of Africa being lost to freedom. Now this picture is considerably modified," he said. "The European Common Market, with its attraction for Africa, really implies the success of our Marshall Plan policy, a policy which the Soviet Union did everything possible to defeat. There is also the gravitational

pull of the Common Market on Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania, indicating how hard it is for the Soviet Union to keep the Communist bloc countries in line. These countries are constantly taking the initiative to tie themselves in with Common Market objectives. And there are even official Soviet feelers.

"All this is, in its way, a tribute to the success of a basic long-run policy that the United States has consistently supported," he concluded.

General Conclusions

The Conference discussions, the interviews and the survey responses, can be summed up in some general conclusions on the two principal topics, civil rights and the possibility of a Russian-American detente.

Civil Rights: The fact that 71 percent of the respondents considered that direct-action protests did more good than harm is revealing. It probably represents a considerable transformation of opinion since the time, less than a year ago, when there was much apprehension about the March on Washington and its chances for success. Instead, the March turned out to be a considerable boon to the cause of Negro rights.

The survey responses on related issues also indicated that a substantial majority were in favor of greater federal participation in the achievement of various social and economic objectives. But the transcendent job is still the business of achieving equal rights, equal opportunity, and equal treatment for all citizens.

Beyond that, it appears that the Negro's insistence on an equal place in society will grow harsher and more demanding. The Negro community will not be satisfied with just an equal rights bill; it will be satisfied only with equal rights. This will require not only full protection under the law but radical changes in the mores of American society. Thus the fight is not the Negro's alone; it is the fight of all Americans. This means that the leaders of the white community must identify themselves wholeheartedly with the current social revolution so that, among other things, Negro organizations do not run the risk of being captured by their own extremists.

The revolution can only be won by persuading the white majority to accept it, the participants agreed. And while this revolution specifically concerns the redress of wrongs committed against Negroes, the largest beneficiary, in a multitude of ways, will be the United States itself.

There will continue to be a steady, determined, and relentless demand to press forward to the fullest achievement of the civil rights revolution. It will be brought to fruition by persuasion if possible, by pain if necessary.

The Detente: The survey indicated that opinion was decisively on the side of exploring more fully the possibilities of mutually advantageous political agreements with the Soviet Union. The conference and the interviews, however — without any show of strident or self-serving anti-Communism — made clear that Americans must appraise more realistically the dangers of a false detente. The Sino-Soviet split, the needs of the Soviet economy, the failure of Communist theory in practice, all provide opportunities to confront Moscow with an agenda for peace which will serve the cause of freedom and national independence, without denying to the Soviet state its own legitimate requirements for security.

While keeping its military strength in balance, the United States should engage in careful, alert, and clear-headed testing of the willingness of the Soviet Union to create a genuine detente and to begin to resolve, on both sides, some of the causes of the Cold War.

One comment made at the final session of the Conference is, perhaps, of special pertinence. The survey had revealed, one observer declared, two different views of the way history unfolds. "There are those who, without articulating it, evince a belief that the pattern of history is dynamic, that nothing is static, and that given the passage of time, conditions change. And there are those who tend, more and more, to think in terms of factors remaining static: that the Soviet Union is today what it will be tomorrow; that Communist China is today what China will be tomorrow." The facts of history, however, are balanced somewhere between these points of view.

Major Threats to Freedom — A Summary

In every phase of the preparation of this report, there were views expressed as to what constitute the principle threats to freedom in today's America. Some of these views are additional interpretations of the major issues under discussion. A number—inevitably—are contradictory. All, it is felt, are interesting because of the informed sources from which they come. For this reason, a summary is included here.

Among contemporary developments mentioned as major threats to freedom are:

—"The threat of violence and 'backlash' reaction as Negroes continue their quest for equal rights."

—"The lack of national outrage and expressions of conscience over the treatment extended to Negroes to date and the apparent inability of whites generally to understand the Negroes' urgent need for freedom."

—"The invasion of privacy, the expansion of police powers, and a general whittling away of our civil liberties."

—"The imposition of conformity, caused by bigness and dynamics of mass culture."

—"An inability to understand that the Cold War must still be fought with all our strength and national purpose because there has been no fundamental change in the goals of world communism."

—"An inability to face up to 'new realities' in foreign policy."

—"The failure to increase welfare provisions for our aged, sick, and needy generally."

—"Inadequate educational facilities and drop-outs and under-employment among youth."

—"The fact that we are not planning properly to handle problems arising from automation and other technological advances."

—"The fact that we are not planning to cope with the conversion of major portions of our industry from military to civilian production."

—"Our failure to respond adequately, despite our affluence, to the needs of lesser-developed nations."

One of the questions asked in interviews was: "Is the individual more or less free today than he was twenty-five years ago?" The question was asked in view of the tendency by many to say that conformity and bigness of all kinds — in government, business, and unions — are stifling freedom.

However, almost every person who

answered this question made a contrary point: that the individual now has more freedom in basic areas, such as greater freedom of choice and opportunity in employment, in education, in access to information, and in overcoming the psychological hazards of predjudice. In short, they concluded that the state of individual freedom in the United States has probably never been better. And the revolution for equality for Negroes, no matter how painful, is also to be regarded as testament to the vitality and quality of democracy.

Neither the domestic extreme right or extreme left were considered major threats to our security. One person said that the influence of the Birch Society would continue to be felt for a long while in a marginal way but that while such movements seem to "have become institutions in American life they are more nuisance than menace."

Religious prejudice was considered to be on the wane. The election of John F. Kennedy as President — and his subsequent career — were cited as proof of the relative decline of bias against Catholics. The name of Pope John XXIII cropped up as having made a substantial contribution to profound interreligious understanding in our time. Anti-Semitism was mentioned as being "persistent and pervasive but not a factor that seriously disables American Jews in the fields of education, employment or even in housing."

In fact, the development of a greater degree of interreligious understanding — and an end to the more overt and organized bigotry of 25 years ago—was cited as one of the healthier phenomena of our time. This was attributed to many things, including the lessons of Hitlerism, new church emphasis on interfaith activities, the burgeoning of the intercultural movement and its influence on modern education, and simply the fact that "Americans are learning to accept and get along with neighbors of different religions."

Part II—The Opinion Survey—Statistical Findings and Qualifying Remarks

A number of the findings of the opinion survey, the first step in gathering information for this report, have been summarized at appropriate points in Part I. The survey was, however, much broader in scope than the matters taken up in the first section, and the statistical data are here reproduced in full.

Prepared with the help of the staff of Elmo Roper, it included sixteen questions—eight on domestic affairs, eight on foreign policy. On March 2, 1964, these questions were mailed to leaders of American thought throughout the country and to Freedom House contributing members. Men and women of outstanding achievement in such areas as government, law, education, research, the mass media, social science, business, and the trade union movement, the opinion leaders represent a broad spectrum of political thought. However, an effort was made to avoid soliciting the views of those known to represent either the extreme Right or the extreme Left of political opinion.

The response to the questionnaire was prompt and heavy. Within a few weeks of the mailing of 1,098 questionnaires to opinion leaders, 368 or thirty-four percent were returned completed in whole or part. Of 2,842 sent to Freedom House members and contributors, 735 or twenty-six percent were returned. All the responses tabulated in this report were received by April 29, 1964.

It was understood at the outset that there are no easy answers to the questions asked in the survey. In fact there are no easy formulations of the questions — a fact made clear by those who differed with some of the formulations we evolved or who felt that the multiple-choice answer technique was too limiting. In anticipation of these objections, the questionnaire included the following prefatory note:

> We realize that the full complexity of individual opinion can never be expressed in a choice among limited objectives. Will you, however, check those propositions that come closest to expressing your personal views?

In this report the questions are given together with the responses from both the opinion leaders (OL) and Freedom House members (FH). The figures given are percentages; when they do not total 100 percent it is because every respondent did not answer every question.

Many of those replying felt a need to offer qualifying remarks; examples are given after each set of answers.

Questionnaire

Domestic Policy

1. Do you think that militant but peaceful direct-action techniques, such as sit-ins, freedom rides, non-violent marches and demonstrations have done more good than harm or that they have done more harm than good to the cause of Negro rights?

	OL	*FH*
More good than harm	71%	67%
More harm than good	21	23
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	7	9

More than ten percent of those who replied added qualifying comment. Most of these agreed that the demonstrations had done "more good than harm" to date but half felt that direct-action techniques had now reached a point where the good might no longer exceed the harm. Some of the comments along these lines included:

—"The demonstrations help to secure immediate legal action but tend to drive the races further apart."

—"More good than harm to date. But as they increasingly focus on schools in the North, I think they will do more harm."

—"I believe there should be a moratorium on such demonstrations as long as the Civil Rights bill is before the Senate. After that, they should be resumed in the South only if and when implementation of the bill is obstructed or delayed."

—"More good than harm, but this can evaporate if overdone, continue too long, or occur too frequently, particularly if no present point is served by a specific demonstration."

Demonstrations also had their strong supporters:

—"Clearly as a practical matter there is no progress without them," said one educator. A psychologist noted that "reason and ethical appeals did not work for a hundred years or more."

2. In your opinion, should there be substantial participation by the Federal Government in programs designed to create: (ANSWER FOR EACH)

	Yes		*No*		*Not Sure*	
	OL	*FH*	*OL*	*FH*	*OL*	*FH*
Integrated housing for Negroes	66%	59%	22%	25%	10%	11%
Integrated public schooling for Negroes	71	66	18	20	8	9
Equal job opportunities for Negroes	86	81	10	8	3	6

Seven percent qualified their answers to these questions. Comments included such views as: children should not be transported long distances to achieve racial balance in the schools; equal job opportunities are the concern of the federal government only as far as its own employees or those of industries working on government contracts are concerned; there should be "no arbitrary percentages" regarding integration in job opportunities, schooling and housing; there should be Federal participation in programs designed to create integrated housing only in public projects.

Many persons said that the key to the question is a definition of what "substantial participation" means; without it they were uncertain how to answer.

3. Do you think that preference should be given to Negro job applicants when they are equally qualified with white applicants, in order to offset the results of the discriminatory hiring patterns of the past, or should employment policy be strictly "color blind"?

	OL	*FH*
Preference should be given to Negro job applicants	21%	11%
Employment policy should be strictly color blind	71	81
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	5	4

Of the seven percent who explained their answers, almost all took a position in favor of preference for Negro job applicants; a fifth of these said that compensation was necessary for the long-standing injustices perpetrated against Negroes; two-fifths felt that such preference should have a time limit.

Comments from those favoring preferential treatment included:

—"Should be similar to that given veterans in Federal employment, not absolute preference."

—"Should be done carefully. For example, in the Foreign Service we badly need more Negroes."

—"Preference should be given to Negroes in some pace-setting situations, but not as a general policy."

—"Preference should be given mainly in the form of special patience and assistance."

—"Policy cannot be dogmatic. Earnest search for employables should be emphasized and concessions in quality kept within limits."

4. In your opinion, do the concentrations of power represented by modern corporations, modern trade unions, and/or modern government constitute a serious threat to individual freedoms or would you say that such concentrations of power do *not* constitute a serious threat to individual freedoms? (ANSWER FOR EACH)

	Corporations		Unions		Government	
	OL	*FH*	*OL*	*FH*	*OL*	*FH*
A serious threat to individual freedoms	36%	41%	49%	60%	34%	37%
Not a serious threat to individual freedoms	52	38	31	21	47	40
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	7	16	7	12	8	12

Only five percent of the answers included comments. Half of these questioned the phrase "serious threat" in the question. Other comments included:

—"An actual threat in some cases and always a potential threat."

—"Not a serious threat to individual freedoms if the power is equally balanced."

—"Any inordinate concentration of power, even in the saintliest conceivable hands, is a threat to individual freedom."

—"Concentration of power can liberate as well as confine. I think that workers have in fact more freedom under big unionism than they had in the days of weak unionism. Big business fills economic needs that, if unfulfilled, would in all probability cause a loss of liberty. Bigness can, however, lead to oppressiveness."

5. In recent years, some critics have suggested the existence of a social imbalance in American life, in that the production of goods for private consumption outweighs the production of services for the public benefit (such as schools, parks, hospitals, adequate housing, education). In your opinion, should more of the national income go to what has been called "the public sector," or should less of the national income go to "the public sector," or do you think the balance between the public and private sector should not be disturbed?

	OL	*FH*
More of the national income should go to the public sector	58%	60%
Less of the national income should go to the public sector	11	7
Balance between public and private sector should not be disturbed	20	22
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	7	10

Only a small percentage (three percent) commented on this question. Among the remarks:

—"More of the national income should go to the public sector as, hopefully, we find it possible to divert emphasis from defense activities."

—"Paradoxically, we require more national income in the private sector so that more of it may go into the public sector. We need an increase and more effective utilization of the national income."

—"This is a choice for local communities and government and people.

Needs are not universal, desires are not paralleled, abilities to buy are unequal, and deservingness is widely varied."

—"The method of determining and of allocating what funds from the national income should go where, would be a major factor in answering such a question. Overplanning can lead to inflexibility."

6. Would you *favor* or *oppose* substantial participation by the Federal Government in programs designed to solve (a) the problems arising from automation and (b) the problems of poverty in the United States? (ANSWER FOR EACH)

	Poverty		*Automation*	
	OL	*FH*	*OL*	*FH*
Favor substantial Federal participation	77%	76%	71%	66%
Oppose substantial Federal participation	16	14	22	22
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	2	6	4	6

Six percent of the answers were qualified. The comments evenly scattered throughout the various parts of the question, covered a diversity of ideas. Among them were:

—"Solve the problem created by automation and you will automatically abolish the worst type of poverty."

—"I oppose substantial Federal participation except through the medium of solving unemployment."

—"Favor substantial Federal participation only when it is clear that local agencies are unable to cope, and national interest calls for help."

—"The Federal Government could contribute particularly by sponsoring studies and pilot tests. Poverty is a symptom, the result of many complex factors. The question oversimplifies the issue: the question is not only how much participation but how, when, where?"

7. In your opinion, will the solution of this nation's social and economic problems require long-range government planning or do you feel that long-range government planning will not be required?

	OL	*FH*
Long-range government planning will be required	82%	79%
Long-range government planning will not be required	11	13
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	3	6

Almost five percent of the answers were accompanied by comments. There was no significant grouping of ideas expressed:

—"Long range government planning will be required. But it should be supplemented and balanced by non-governmental agencies."

—"I doubt the practical effectiveness of government planning but approve of it theoretically."

—"Long range government planning will be required but what do you

mean by 'long'? I distrust planning too far ahead because things change so rapidly."

—"Planning in itself can be very good or very bad. It all depends."

—"Too long range planning could be dangerous, for it can become inflexible and not responsive to changes."

8. Looking to the future development of the nation's colleges and universities, do you feel the major emphasis should be on expansion of the physical plant and staff to meet the greatly expanded influx to the colleges, or should the major emphasis be on improving the quality of the education received, or should sufficient funds be made available so that equal emphasis can be placed on both alternatives?

	OL	*FH*
Major emphasis should be on expansion of physical plant and staff	2%	3%
Major emphasis should be on improving the quality of education received	37	33
Sufficient funds be made available so that equal emphasis can be placed on both	59	61
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	2	1

Under two percent of the answers were qualified. These were among the comments:

—"Instead of expansion, there should be a decrease in the size of our physical plants and an increase in the number."

—"The sheer pressure of numbers makes me pessimistic about upgrading; I would settle for holding our own on quality while we cope with quantity."

—"The great expansion, both quantitatively and qualitatively, should be at the lowest kinds of higher education. The year immediately after high school."

—"I am concerned with quality of education before college, particularly elementary education. It is here the foundations and attitudes are established."

Foreign Policy

9. In regard to a general policy of negotiating political agreements and expanding trade and cultural relations with the Communist world, do you think the United States should place more emphasis on pursuing such a policy, or do you think the present policy is satisfactory, or do you think the United States should be more cautious in pursuing such a policy, or are you opposed to such a policy?

	OL	*FH*
More emphasis on pursuing such a policy	48%	45%
Present policy satisfactory	22	19
More cautious in pursuing such a policy	22	25
Opposed to such a policy	5	8
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	2	6

Nine percent of those replying qualified their answer. Somewhat less than half of these had chosen "more emphasis on pursuing such a policy." The rest were distributed evenly. Among the comments:

—"There should be more emphasis on pursuing political agreement."

—"Chasing after the Russians is a mistake. So are marathon talks, as at Geneva. The USSR will move only when 'objective realities' as they see them make agreement desirable."

—"The present policy is satisfactory. Generally I have a somewhat different point of view about the cultural field than I do of the trade field."

—"I am for continued efforts to negotiate but I am not optimistic about success."

—"We have waited 47 years for Communism to destroy itself and it hasn't. Time has come to explore every possibility of getting some good out of it."

—"Opposed to such a policy. Co-existence can only be achieved by U.S. capitulation or by U.S. abandonment of sound policy and practices."

10. In view of the changes in the make-up of UN membership in recent years, do you feel that we should place greater emphasis on the United Nations as a means of keeping world peace, or that we should place less emphasis on the UN and turn increasingly to other means of keeping world peace, or do you think we should continue to place about the same emphasis on the UN as we do at present?

	OL	*FH*
Greater emphasis on the UN	28%	44%
Less emphasis on the UN	21	19
About the same emphasis on the UN as now	44	33
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	5	4

Five percent of these answers included comment, half of them calling for less emphasis on the UN. These suggested that the UN had failed as a peace-keeping force and that we should seek other ways of maintaining peace and order in the world. Here are further noteworthy comments:

—"Less emphasis on the UN. Use it where it can be useful, not for ideological purposes."

—"About the same emphasis on the UN as now, but greater emphasis on reorganizing and strengthening the alliance of the Free World."

—"About the same emphasis on the UN as now, largely because the new nations who have become members have upset the power balance."

—"We need to explore other mechanisms, especially regional ones."

—"Greater emphasis on the UN and make attempts to improve its functioning, particularly its voting system and the composition of the Security Council."

—"Greater emphasis but perhaps some structural changes may be needed before we can put much more emphasis on it."

11. In your opinion, is this country's present foreign aid program satisfactory, or if not, would you favor its expansion or its reduction, and/or would you favor changes in the way it it carried out?

	OL	*FH*
Present foreign aid program is satisfactory	8%	8%
Favor its expansion	21	14
Favor its reduction	22	22
Favor changes in the way it is carried out	75	74
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	1	5

A relatively high percentage, 13 percent, felt this question needed further comment. Half of these were made by those who chose "favor changes in the way it is carried out." Among the chief ideas expressed were that foreign aid should show "more selectivity," that administrative changes were needed, that there should be less stress on military aid, and that there should be more loans and less grants. Among significant comments were the following:

—"Favor changes in the way it is carried out, with more emphasis on private investment and know-how."

—"Favor its reduction because aid goes to many who will never stand up and be counted when we are in trouble, much less fight shoulder to shoulder with us."

—"Favor its expansion but would like to see it more consistent with our avowed intensions."

—"The total of funds involved is not the real issue. Aid should be more selective and effective. Military aid has been given unwisely to many countries."

—"Present foreign aid program is satisfactory in gross, but could be improved in detail."

—"We must continue present level of expenditure but program techniques need overhaul."

A noted historian said that "the alternatives offered here are not satisfactory. I would like to see abandonment of military aid and expansion of foreign aid with cooperation of other Western nations and through the UN." A political scientist echoed this view: "Less military aid and more multilateral programs including West Germany, Japan, etc." An educator had this bleak view: "There is no thought-through long-range foreign aid program. There is little indication that we have any real understanding of what we are trying to accomplish through foreign aid anywhere. I have been involved in various programs and am discouraged and disillusioned by the almost total lack of evident long-range direction in any interest — U.S., military, economic or political."

12. In general, do you think this country should extend foreign aid to: (ANSWER FOR EACH)

	Yes		*No*		*Not Sure*	
	OL	*FH*	*OL*	*FH*	*OL*	*FH*
Neutralist nations	71%	64%	10%	14%	11%	13%
Pro-communist nations	14	13	52	56	19	22
Authoritarian countries friendly to the West	54	51	12	17	21	24
Independent communist countries	38	33	30	37	18	20
Countries that nationalize U.S. investments without compensation	8	6	66	73	12	13

Almost 12 percent of the answers to this question included comments. Most were addressed to the issue of extending aid to pro-communist or communist countries and to authoritarian countries friendly to the West. The most prevalent idea expressed was that each case must be decided on its own merits and on specific circumstances.

A Congressman represented one point of view: "We are engaged in a war. Key requirement is to be able to distinguish friends from enemies." A journalist had an opposing concept: "Ideology is irrelevant. The question is: will aid in any specific case tend to promote peace?" Other views included:

—"Authoritarian countries friendly to the West should receive aid if they show promise of being viable and not simply because they are friendly."

—"Foreign aid should not be based on short-range political considerations but extended mainly on the basis of our long-term interest in sound and healthy economic development. It should not be refused to governments we like or withheld from governments we dislike unless their activities render the projects economically unsound."

—"Our stakes are in human development. We should seek it everywhere we can."

13. In your opinion, should the United States try to work toward increasingly close relations with the whole of Western Europe, or do you think we should concentrate on developing close relationships with particular European countries rather than the whole of Europe, or do you think we should pursue an increasingly independent course in world affairs?

	OL	*FH*
Close relations with the whole of Western Europe	78%	66%
Close relationships with particular European countries	12	14
Increasingly independent course in world affairs	14	13
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	2	4

Only about three percent offered comments on this question. A veteran

diplomat noted that "the maintenance of close relations with Western Europe is not incompatible with our following an independent course; Western Europe is following an increasingly independent course." An educator asked: "How can we concentrate on cooperation with the 'Divine Charles' and serve our own interests, or the world's?" An historian stated that "we have little to say about it for the nature of the relationship is changing from U.S. predominance after World War II to a more equal relationship resulting from European recovery."

14. In regard to our policy toward Cuba, do you think we should increase our political, economic and/or military pressures on the Castro regime, or do you think we should continue our present policies, or do you think we should decrease our pressure on the Castro regime and work toward establishment of normal diplomatic relations? (CHECK ONE OR MORE)

	OL	*FH*
Increase political pressures	48%	48%
Increase economic pressures	42	51
Increase military pressures	23	41
Continue our present policies	17	12
Decrease our pressure on the Castro regime and work toward establishment of normal diplomatic relations	23	20
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	9	8

Slightly under five percent commented on this question. But these remarks ran a full gamut. A news analyst said that "we should increase our military pressure or be fully prepared to do so if necessary or desirable." A retired general said that we should "increase military pressures only if and when the executive and legislative branches of government are in agreement." A business executive said that he does not "like the idea of economic pressures on our allies who sell to Cuba and Russia and China." A congressman: "Maintain our positions of pressure, but do not be coercive to other countries."

Other comments:

—"Increase political and economic pressures, but work through far-sighted Cuban opposition groups. Internal opposition, with our wise aid, could restore democracy and overthrow Castro. Our present policy is so inconsistent as to be self-defeating."

—"What we should try to destroy is not Castro but Cuban approval of Castro, and this is not to be accomplished by pressure."

—"We cannot lessen our pressures on Castro's Cuba until the whole Soviet military complex has been removed and until Castro stops organizing subversion in Latin America."

—"The alternatives you offer are too general and sweeping. We might, under certain conditions – say a falling out between Cuba and Russia – need to work toward better relations."

15. In your opinion, should American military forces in South Viet Nam be increased, or should American forces remain at the present level, or should American military forces gradually be withdrawn from South Viet Nam?

	OL	*FH*
Should be increased	25%	32%
Should remain at present level	14	11
Should be gradually withdrawn	19	17
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	34	37

Ten percent offered qualifying remarks. Half of these were persons who had noted "I have not reached a conclusion on this question" and stated, in various ways, that available information was insufficient, that "the real facts have not been disclosed," or that "I must go along with my government on this." But others suggested that the government had no clearly defined plan or strategy for the area.

Among the comments:

—"Military aid is meaningless unless there is a movement within the country toward a better situation for the Vietnamese (just as the military shield we maintain in Korea is meaningless unless a viable Korea is an attainable objective.)"

—"Our military forces should be gradually withdrawn and the withdrawal should be facilitated by negotiations through the UN and, possibly, other mediating agencies."

—"Our forces should be increased if – simultaneously – socio-economic and political reforms are pushed."

—"Our present difficulties are a consequence of mistakes made in neutralizing Laos."

—"The size of the military force must be determined by those with the necessary facts in hand. However, we must help South Vietnam remain free. Perhaps the UN should be involved here for freedom is – or should be – every nation's business."

16. In your opinion, what should U. S. policy toward Communist China be?

	OL	*FH*
Extend diplomatic recognition to Communist China and withdraw recognition of the Chinese Nationalist regime	4%	4%
Extend recognition to Communist China but retain recognition of the Nationalists	46	50
Refuse to recognize Communist China and continue to recognize the Nationalist regime as the legitimate Chinese government	34	34
I have not reached a conclusion on this question	9	10

Seven percent of the persons answering this question added comments. Three-fourths of them chose the so-called "Two China policy" but usually limiting the degree of recognition extended to either Communist or Nationalist China. A playwright suggested that "we can no longer ignore three-quarters of a billion people. I would prefer to allow UN membership to Communist China and see if we can establish a profitable dialogue." An historian said that we should recognize both because "there is no sense in denying that Red China exists but there is no sense either in giving it Formosa." A philosopher: "Refuse at present to recognize Communist China and continue to recognize the Nationalist regime as the legitimate government and wait for a favorable quid pro quo."

Diplomats who added comment generally disagreed with the formulation of the question on the grounds that "it treats diplomatic techniques as policy – which they are not." Others made the point that the quality and degree of recognition make all the difference and, unless clearly defined, the question could not be suitably answered.

Concluding Comments

We have here dealt with man's freedom in very concrete terms as a series of specific problems – political, economic, social – faced by our government and our society.

In this twenty-fifth anniversary year, we are both reviewing the past and peering into the future, and it is interesting to note how few of the questions concerning international relations could have been foreseen when Freedom House was born. At that time, for example, the whole question of relations with Russia hinged upon the USSR's ambivalent attitude toward Nazi Germany. In other cases, such as Communist China, Cuba, peacetime aid to overseas areas, relations with the U.N., we can see with the aid of hindsight that in 1939 the seeds of these problems had already been sown in fertile ground – but they were certainly hidden from the eyes of the best informed of contemporary observers.

When we turn to domestic matters, however, the situation is somewhat different. If not the specific questions, at least the general areas dealt with here were already matters of public concern and controversy twenty-five years ago. The question of whether unions, corporations or government are a threat to freedom has troubled us throughout the 20th century. It will most likely continue to trouble the nation in the future. The extent to which the Federal government should intervene in dealing with social and economic problems was certainly a 1939 issue. Here perhaps a consensus is

gradually forming that may in time remove the issue from the mainstream of controversy. The questions relating to the position of the Negro minority in American society, only recently come to a boil, were certainly looming ahead a quarter century ago. With the passage of the Civil Rights Bill this year and the nationwide awareness of the nature of the problem, we have reached a point from which there can be no retreat.

If your thinking has been stimulated about the problems we face in the quest for an expanding measure of freedom and you have gained some new insights into the nature of these problems, this report has fulfilled its purpose.

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for television programs dealing effectively with freedom and justice

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ROBERT E. SHERWOOD, a director of The Fund for the Republic at the time of his death, will be remembered for his contribution to the entertainment arts. He will be remembered just as long for his dedication to liberty and his service to freedom.

To honor the ideas for which he lived, The Fund for the Republic in 1955 established the Robert E. Sherwood Awards.

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Dear Ed:
Worth glancing at. Best
Bill

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Newspapers
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Report Urges 11 Changes
In U.S. Political System

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Nine reforms in the U.S. political system, including two Constitutional amendments, are proposed in a report released today by the Fund for the Republic.

The report, entitled The Condition of Our National Political Parties, is by Stephen K. Bailey, Osborn Professor of Public Affairs at Princeton. Mr. Bailey's political experience includes service as former chairman of the Democratic State Platform Committee in Connecticut, as administrative assistant to former U.S. Senator William Benton of Connecticut, and as a former Mayor of Middletown, Connecticut. His books include the prize-winning Congress Makes a Law, as well as Congress At Work and Government in America.

(MORE)

The Fund for the Republic is publishing the report as one of a series arising from its continuing study of free institutions in a democratic society.

(Contributors to publications issued under the auspices of the Fund are responsible for their statements of fact and expressions of opinions. The Fund is responsible only for determining that the material should be presented to the public as a contribution to the discussion of the Free Society).

Mr. Bailey writes that American government is suffering from serious weaknesses, most of them resulting from "structual limitations" of our political parties. These limitations "virtually insure a government by fits and starts", and one which is not accountable to a national popular majority.

Three main weaknesses of the national government cited by Mr. Bailey are: (a.) its difficulty in generating sustained political power;(b.) its difficulty in developing a flow of imaginative, informed, consistent and power-related responses to pressing national and world issues; (c.) its difficulty in making policy truly accountable to a national popular majority.

To help correct these defects, Mr. Bailey suggests the following changes, some of which "are already under way":

1. Creation of "mass-based, long range and (in part) tax-supported national party financing."

The Report: "If there are no direct countervailing pressures or

inducements from the national party, it should not be surprising that the Congressman fails to give due weight to the national interest... If the national party were able to help finance even a small proportion of a Congressman's campaign, and thus reduce his dependency on local money, he might feel freer to weigh short-term local against long-term national interests or, more accurately, to weigh the special interests against the common interests within his own constituency... To insure an increasingly responsible role for the national committees over national party finances, the Hatch Act provisions dealing with spending limitations for national campaigns should be repealed or realistically adjusted to meet the realities of political life. Furthermore, federal income-tax credits or exemptions should be allowed for individual contributions to the national organizations or candidates up to a certain amount."

2. Expansion of two-party competition into all Congressional districts and states.

The Report: "One of the most compelling reasons for the national committees to have more money is that greater riches may encourage more vigorous competition between the parties in all states and congressional districts in the country. Everything we know about one-party areas indicates that they tend to reflect minority interests and, through unopposed re-elections, produce Members of Congress who are pushed purely by seniority into

(MORE)

positions of high and unrepresentative power...

The more quickly the national party organizations succeed in stimulating opposition in districts and states where there is none, or in narrowing the margin of the dominant party's victory, the better chance there is of relating the Congress more closely to the interests of the national majority."

3. Establishment, by "formal action of the two national party conventions, of permanent advisory councils and staffs to both national committees."

The Report: "For both the out-party and the in-party an advisory council, unhampered by day-to-day governing, should be able to anticipate at least some of the kaleidoscopic problems that arise almost daily in political affairs and provide more careful analyses of them than the over-burdened government official has time to do. Both parties could certainly use continuing intellectual labor directed towards the drafting of platforms for the conventions. Both parties could profit from systematically tapping the minds and talents of their most intelligent members outside the governmental bureaucracy."

4. Establishment of social and office facilities for each national party in Washington, D.C. "to serve as symbolic and practical links between the executive and legislative branches of government, as well as between the party and its membership across the country."

The Report: "Actually, ad hoc party clubs presently exist in

(MORE)

Washington -- but only for social purposes. If these clubs were given greater dignity and larger facilities for housing disparate party staffs, they would unquestionably promote more coordinated and efficient party efforts...

The clubs would stand as reminders that important as it is to preserve open channels for third-party movements in America a sense of national community and forceful and responsible national action are functions of a competitive two-party system."

5. Amendment of the Constitution to provide for "simultaneous election every four years of the President, the House of Representatives and half the membership of the U.S. Senate -- all Senators to serve for eight years."

The Report: "A four-year term for the House, if it coincides with the presidential term, should have a number of important effects. Under normal conditions, it would insure the same political complexion for the House as the President's. It would reduce the continuous campaign and constituency pressures which a two-year term almost inevitably fosters. It would give Congressmen sufficient time to learn their trade and to make a substantial contribution to public life. ..

Also, if an eight-year term were provided for members of the Senate (half of them coming up for election every four years at the same time as the Presidency), the likelihood that the President would have a working majority in both Houses would be overwhelming. At the same time, the conservative utility of overlapping terms

(MORE)

would be maintained with only a slight modification in the constitutional wish for continuity...

Enhancing the possibility of one-party control of the government would enhance the possibility of substantial governmental power and would unmistakably fix responsibility for governmental policy."

6. Establishment and strengthening of party policy committees in the House and Senate to "guide Congressional business, hold reasonably frequent party caucuses, nominate members for Committee assignments, who would then be elected in the caucuses, and receive, hold joint hearings and report on all general Presidential messages."

The Report: "Adequately staffed party policy committees should be elected in both Houses by caucus. In the House of Representatives, the Speaker should chair his party's committee; the minority leader should chair the minority party's committee. The majority policy committee should assume the functions of the House Rules Committee. Both policy committees should act as the committee on committees for their party, and should perform policy and steering functions presently scattered or moribund...

In order to bring greater cohesion to the handling of major presidential recommendations, the four policy committees should meet jointly for two weeks in late January and early February each year to conduct general hearings on the President's State of the Union message. The hearings should be widely covered by press, radio, and television; the leaders in the administration and in the

(MORE)

out-party should be heard; and majority and minority reports should be issued for the general guidance of legislators and of the general public. These reports would demonstrate the differences in program between the parties and also the areas of national agreement...

These changes in the basic units of party power in the Congress are designed to make power more visible and more responsive to party majorities in each House than now obtains. But if they are to be effective they must be accompanied by the following reform."

7. Devising of a mathematical formula for "computing Congressional seniority which would give added weight to legislators who come from competitive two-party districts and states."

The Report: "There seems to be no reason why a simple mathematical formula cannot be devised to give added seniority credit to legislators who come from competitive two-party districts and states. For example, a Member might receive two points for every general election in which his opponent received more than 20 per cent of the vote. Seniority would still rule, automatically, but power would tend to shift toward those Congressmen who come from districts in which vigorous two-party competition searches out the majority interest."

8. Repeal of the 22nd Amendment, which limits the President to two elected terms in office.

(MORE)

The Report: "At a time when foreign policy and national defense hold apocalyptic potentialities, it is madness to retain in our Constitution an Amendment which guarantees fitful national power."

9. Development of machinery for keeping an "active roster of talented people for the important executive posts in the national government."

The Report: "The strength and responsiveness of the national government depend upon many factors, but one of the most basic requirements is a core of able political executives to direct the the sprawling departments and agencies of the government. Present recruiting for these men is a hit-or-miss affair carried on at the departmental, presidential, congressional, and national party level...

No greater service could be performed by the national party committees, especially by their regional representatives, than to compile a continuing roster of good people in and out of the party organization for these strategic jobs. Selecting the right men, of course, would have to be done ultimately by the President in a full understanding of state and congressional party interests... But the job is too important not to be undertaken systematically, and the national committees are the ones to do it."

Single copies of The Condition of Our National Political Parties are available free from the Fund for the Republic, 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17. Prices of additional copies are available on request.

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THE CONDITION OF OUR NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES

STEPHEN K. BAILEY

AN OCCASIONAL PAPER ON THE ROLE OF
THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN THE FREE SOCIETY
PUBLISHED BY THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

THIS IS ONE IN A SERIES of Occasional Papers issued in connection with the Fund for the Republic's study of the basic issues underlying a free society. This study is directed at clarifying fundamental questions concerning freedom and justice, especially those constitutional questions raised by the emerging power of twentieth-century institutions.

The task of clarification is being undertaken by a group of distinguished Americans acting as Consultants on the Basic Issues to the Fund. One of the subjects they are studying is the role of the political process in relation to individual freedom. In connection with this work Stephen K. Bailey has surveyed the present condition of our two major political parties and suggests some reforms which he believes would strengthen America's capacity to govern effectively and responsibly.

Stephen Bailey is William Church Osborn Professor of Public Affairs at Princeton University. In addition to an academic career, Professor Bailey has had wide experience in practical politics. He has been Chairman of the Democratic State Platform Committee in Connecticut; Administrative Assistant to Senator William Benton; Mayor of Middletown, Connecticut; and a Consultant to the Research Division of the Democratic National Committee. He was educated at Hiram College, Oxford University (Rhodes Scholar), and Harvard. He has taught at Wesleyan, Oxford, and Harvard. His books include the prize-winning "Congress Makes a Law," as well as "Congress at Work" and "Government in America."

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FOREWORD

This essay attempts to defend three propositions:

One: Our system of national political parties is intimately related to the difficulties, dangers, and opportunities that now face the United States as a political community and a world power.

Two: A series of reasonably modest changes in the national party system would greatly strengthen America's capacity to govern responsibly and effectively.

Three: These changes are now possible as a result of great secular shifts in our social and economic life which are undermining traditional citadels of political power.

If I did not believe in the truth of the third proposition, this paper would not have been written. I make no claims to political prophecy. As a student of politics, and as an occasional broker between ideas and action, my horizons tend to be limited to situations in which bargains can be struck between the present and the future. But evidence leads me to believe that the old party system is disintegrating. Whether something better will take its place depends, first, upon the capacity of creative minds to suggest revisions suited to a new political era; second, upon the capacity of political leadership to build consent for translating the proposals into reality.

This paper is intended to contribute to a discussion that started years ago as an academic colloquy but may now be central to America's capacity to build appropriate and effective machinery for governing in a time of unending crisis.

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THE PARTIES AND RESPONSIBLE POWER

The American government today suffers from three weaknesses:

1. its difficulty in generating sustained political power;

2. its difficulty in developing a flow of imaginative, informed, consistent, and power-related responses to pressing national and world issues;

3. its difficulty in making policy truly accountable to a national popular majority.

These are serious defects, not only because they interfere with wise and coherent governing in these dangerous days, but because they undermine the faith of the citizen in the reality or even the possibility of responsible representative government.

The temptation to blame all this on the President, the 22nd Amendment, the split election of 1956, or the present Democratic majorities in Congress is easy — and perhaps partly justified. But the defects are not new. Occasionally, in the past, they have been masked by brilliant presidential leadership in times of crisis or by the virtuosity of congressional leaders in times of presidential ineptitude. But the underlying defects have not disappeared. Nor, in spite of the hopes of a few recent writers, are they going to be overcome by countervailing pressure groups[1] or by the expertness, decency, and continuity in office of civilian and military career officials,[2] important as these factors are in the conduct of free and effective government.

V. O. Key sounds not a hopeful but an ominous note when he writes:[3] "Representative bodies, the institutional embodiment of democratic ideology, have by the compelling force of events lost both power and prestige. Their role in the initiation of public policy has been diminished by losses to pressure groups and administrative agencies; their authority to decide many issues has, of necessity, been delegated to the administrative services. They have been driven towards a role of futile and uninformed criticism, at its worst motivated either by partisan or picayune considerations."

Even if we assume that the work of modern government is so technical and complex that enormous discretion must be lodged in the hands of experts, their capacity to act steadily in the public interest depends upon the effectiveness of the very institutions whose influence is threatened by the expert mind. This dilemma will continue until we recognize that our representative institutions invite disuse and denigration because their structure is inadequate to perform the functions required of them. It is increasingly obvious that there are innovative, integrative, and perhaps sacrificial tasks ahead for which our government is not institutionally equipped.

Is Leadership the Basic Issue?

To say that we need a new kind of political leadership may be true, but it begs the question. Where and how does political leadership arise in the United States? Who selects presidential and congressional candidates? How can the process of selection be improved? How can leadership be sustained? How can first-class political executives be found to run our great public departments? Why is their present tenure so ephemeral? By what means can presidential and congressional purposes be brought into a working relationship? And why cannot leadership be held more fully accountable to the desires of popular majorities?

All of these questions are related to the structural handicaps under which the American government now

[1] *See footnotes on pages 22, 23.*

operates. At first glance, the problem seems to be constitutional — and in part it is. But the only two structural faults of the Constitution which really get in the way of responsible power in the national government are the 22nd Amendment, which limits the President to two terms, and the provisions for staggered elections. The only two constitutional reforms that this paper will suggest are the repeal of the 22nd Amendment and changes in the term of Members of the House from two to four years and of United States Senators from six to eight years (half the Senate coming up every four years at the same time as the presidential elections). The real problem is *political*. If our *political* institutions can be modernized by certain changes in statutory law and in political party rules, the old problems associated with separation of powers, checks and balances, and federalism would, it seems probable, largely disappear.

The root of the weakness is that while the two national parties for years have genuinely competed for the Presidency they have not made a similar effort in the election of United States Senators and Members of the House of Representatives. Nor have they been of sufficient help to the President and the Congress in providing candidates of high quality for the grand patronage of departmental and agency direction. So long as we lack strong national parties operating as catalysts in the Congress, the executive branch, and the national government as a whole, and between the national government and state and local governments, power will continue to be dangerously diffused or, perhaps what is worse, will whip-saw between diffusion and presidential dictatorship.

The Natural Party Distinctions

Contrary to the view of many writers,[4] the parties do not need to be strongly ideological or even strongly programmatic — that is, beholden to comprehensive and distinct sets of policies — in order to accomplish the kind of re-alignment of the party system that would stabilize the national power and help to make it responsible. There are vast areas of overlap in the rather vague programmatic shadows that our two great parties cast over the nation — and this is as it should be if consensus is to continue in the making of public policy and in the administration of foreign policy.

But the centers of gravity of the two parties are quite distinct.[5] The Democratic party basically is a party of innovation, with a "pro-government" bias. The Republican party is an essentially "consolidating" party with a limited-government bias. The distinction has become blurred in the last two generations, largely because of the extreme economic and social conservatism of one-party areas in the South — a conservatism which has been reflected in the Congress through its seniority rules and some other carefully contrived rules and myths. But now, the peculiar condition which has smudged party images for so long is on its way out. The economic base of the solid South has shifted monumentally in the past fifteen years; one-party areas across the land are on the wane; the northern migration of the Negro is having vast political consequences.

Political reform does not include making the parties any more ideological than they are now. It does include making them competitive across the nation, allowing them to appeal to the natural ideological divisions within the population and within us as individuals. The stumbling block in this task is that neither party has a sufficiently unified structure to enable it to dramatize its program around its ideology; neither has the power, even if it had the right structure, to carry out the program; neither has sufficiently clear and unambiguous lines of political accountability running to the voters.

The Results of Party Diffusion

The structural limitations of the parties have grave consequences. First, they virtually insure a government by fits-and-starts. Some historians claim that the United States was wise in having rejected the League of Nations; but few would claim that the *process* by which the League was rejected was a rational way of arriving at a major foreign policy decision. In more recent times presidential requests for an adequate United States Information Agency budget have been listened to one year and ignored the next by the House Appropriations Committee. As a result, cultural officers abroad have had to spend much of their time hiring and firing — inflating and deflating programs like an accordion. This has made us look ridiculous as a nation, and has also made it extremely difficult for a coherent information program to develop as a vital element in our foreign policy. The same has been true of foreign economic aid.

Spasms in domestic policy have been equally obvious and equally unsettling. The executive department and the Congress have been unable to agree on any coordinated methods of applying the kind of devices needed to stabilize the economy and promote the goals of the

Employment Act of 1946. Similar fits and starts have been noticeable in defense policy, atomic energy policy, welfare policy, and conservation policy. They have been quite as apparent when the Presidency and both Houses of Congress have been in one party as when the control of the government has been divided.

The second consequence of the structural limitations of the parties has been the lack of rationality and consistency in the substance of much public policy. In Paul Appleby's phrase, in this day and age someone or something has to "make a mesh of things." In a world in which, for example, the indiscriminate dumping of rice on the world market in order to ease a temporary glut in Louisiana could cost us the friendship of Burma, there are huge dangers in having unlinked centers of power making their own policy for the nation. And yet, parochial groups in the Congress (often in league with sections of the executive branch and with outside pressure groups) still carry an inordinate amount of power.

The third consequence of the absence of coherent party machinery truly responsive to popular majorities is that congressional compromise tends to fall with considerable regularity on the side of minority rather than majority interests. Committee chairmen from "safe," and often sparsely populated, one-party states and districts; the minority-weighted bipartisan rules committee; and the myths, rules, and influence structure which enable congressional leaders to ignore demands for greater majority representation in policy decisions — all these combine to inflate the power of minority interests at the expense of the national popular majority. The pages of the *Congressional Record* or the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* in any year since the war offer substantiating evidence. The bills and policies introduced or supported by Senators and Congressmen from the areas of greatest popular concentration in America have almost without exception been substantially watered down according to the predilections and petitions of powerful minority interests in and out of the Congress.

This is government by tollgate. It leads directly to consequence four: the increasing danger of public cynicism and apathy toward the Congress, partly because its power is too diffuse or too subtle to comprehend; partly because when the power *is* clearly identifiable it seems to work more consistently for minorities than for the majority.

The last and by no means the least important consequence stemming from the absence of a unified party structure is that desperately needed criticism of both domestic and foreign policy is dissipated and discouraged. There is no effective vehicle for responsible opposition criticism of programs; there is no machinery for anticipating the implications of social changes and their effects on policy. With the help of a huge and in part brilliant staff, Members of Congress may fill the air and the *Congressional Record* with daring solutions to our dilemmas. But without some sort of party sanction, these ideas are worth little more than an inch or two in *The New York Times.*

In sum, the absence of effective party machinery in each House, and in the government generally, means that policy is frequently developed by an infinitely intricate system of barter and legerdemain.

Some defenders of America's traditional disorder have discounted the dangers to policy-making of these intermittencies and irresponsibilities.[6] They argue that our survival suggests that presidential leadership and a congressional desire to cooperate during periods of crisis can save us in the future as they have in the past; that the thermidor between crises allows the divergences in our society to have their day without being subject to the tyranny of a transient numerical majority; and that the accepted American tradition of government by extraordinary or "concurrent" majorities has not stopped innovation or social criticism, it has only slowed change, and in the process has insured a healthy unity behind public policy.

In relation to the past, these may be strong arguments. But are they addressed to a world of big bureaucracies, sustained cold wars, and chronic international and domestic crises? Are there any longer identifiable periods between crises? As long as the frontier was open and the spirit of laissez faire encouraged political parties to be barriers against government action, anarchy in program and uncontrolled shifts in power within the national government were of little consequence. For many years the parties were anti-governmental vehicles, so to speak, minimizing public policy and fencing off large sections of the population and of the domain for private exploitation and private dreams. But we are now in a very different world. As E. E. Schattschneider has pointed out:[7]

"The revolution in communications, the dissolution of nationality blocs, the impact of the labor movement, urbanization, the revolution in public policy, the expansion of the practising electorate in recent years, and the new world position of the United States are only a few of the influences likely to give impetus to political reorganization in the present generation. It is

obvious that the *purposes* of political organization are not what they once were. There was a time when it might have been said that the purpose of the party system, or large parts of it, was *obstruction*. In an era of perpetual crisis, political organization is reasonably certain to reflect the anxieties that now dominate all public life."

The Prophets

For three quarters of a century America has heard warnings from a variety of distinguished political prophets about its governmental weaknesses. Whether their solution has been constitutional revision or political revision, they have all agreed about the limitations of our governing instruments. Starting with Woodrow Wilson, Henry Jones Ford, and A. Lawrence Lowell, and continuing through William MacDonald, William Y. Elliott, E. E. Schattschneider, Henry Hazlitt, Thomas K. Finletter, James M. Burns, and Paul T. David, criticism has been directed at a single issue: the difficulties of achieving sustained and responsible political power adequate to contemporary necessities.[8]

All seem to accept one proposition: such power can be achieved through a greater synthesis of presidential and congressional purposes. Some say the synthesis is impossible without broad constitutional revisions along the lines of the British parliamentary system, including provision for the executive dissolution of the legislature in case of loggerheads and provision for concurrent terms for President and Congress. Others believe that the catalytic effect of a reformed party system, together with certain changes in congressional organization and procedure, will make drastic constitutional reform as unnecessary as they believe it to be improbable.

Two statements — one from Woodrow Wilson and one from Thomas K. Finletter — sum up seventy-five years of prophetic writing on this subject. In the 1880's, Wilson wrote:[9]

The Constitution is not honored by blind worship. The more open-eyed we become, as a nation, to its defects, and the prompter we grow in applying with the unhesitating courage of conviction all thoroughly-tested or well-considered expedients necessary to make self-government among us a straight-forward thing of simple method, single, unstinted power, and clear responsibility, the nearer will we approach to the sound sense and practical genius of the great and honorable statesmen of 1787.

Two generations later, Thomas Finletter wrote:[10]

The question thus is whether means, that is the procedures of our government, are adequate in relation to its objectives, or its ends. The usual pattern has been long periods of negative government interlarded with short periods of strong action . . . The irregular flow of power endangers representative government in the United States . . . You cannot have a government capable of handling the most difficult problems that peacetime democracy has ever faced with the two main parts of it at each other's throats . . . A government of fits and starts is no longer good enough for our purposes.

In 1950, a Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association brought out a report which was in the direct line of this earlier prophetic writing. Called "Towards a More Responsible Two-Party System,"[11] the APSA report discounted the possibility of drastic constitutional change, but put forward a series of suggestions for political reform designed to create a party system capable of enabling the national government to cope effectively and responsibly with the great national and international issues of the twentieth century.

Nearly a decade has elapsed since the publication of the Committee's report. Nothing has happened in that time to suggest that the basic issues raised have dwindled in significance. The report itself has been subject to academic debate. Some of its recommendations have been misunderstood or misinterpreted by its critics; other recommendations and assumptions have been justly criticized.

What is increasingly apparent is that the authors of the report were closer than its critics to the spirit and necessities of the age. And inexorable forces, only dimly observable when the report was being written, are now clearly at work preparing the soil for a crop of politics far different from what we have known in the past century.

It is time for a stringent look at the national politics we have had, the kind of national politics we want, and the reasons for believing that our traditional party system, like a vast glacier, may now have reached the edge of the sea.

THE PARTIES TODAY: A MYSTIC MAZE

The closer one gets to our two great national parties, the more difficult it is to find them. If you contend that they exist in their quadrennial national conventions, you must be prepared to answer where they are between conventions. If you identify them with the national committee offices in Washington, or one of them with the White House, you will hear immediate disclaimers from the party leaders on Capitol Hill. If a temporary marriage should be negotiated between the party in Congress and the party's executive wing, the great cellular blocks of the party at the state and local levels might well ask embarrassing questions about the true locus of party power.

Perhaps the shortest route through the maze of national party structure begins with the presidential nominating conventions. These are the formal governing bodies of the parties, the selectors of national candidates and issues for the quadrennial elections. They are composed of delegates chosen in a variety of ways and responsible to a wide variety of power groups within the states and beyond the states; Governors, machine leaders, Senators, Members of Congress, pressure groups, individual presidential candidates and their followers, the incumbent President, and so on.

But national conventions generally last less than a week. In order to provide continuity and necessary machinery in the long years between conventions, both parties elect national committees to serve for four years from the adjournment of the conventions. Actually, each state delegation proposes the two national committeemen (one is a woman) who are "elected" by the convention.[12]

The long history of the parties shows that it would be a mistake to suggest that the national committees have been at the power apex of their parties. "Although the party organization can be regarded as . . . capped by the national committee, it may be more accurately described as a system of layers of organization. Each successive layer — county or city, state, national — has an independent concern about elections in its geographical jurisdiction. Yet each higher level of organization, to accomplish its ends, must obtain the collaboration of the lower layer or layers of organization. That collaboration comes about, to the extent that it does come about, through a sense of common cause rather than the exercise of command."[13]

But even this does not tell the whole story. In the case of election campaigns for the Senate and the House, for example, there is no one layer of the party organization clearly responsible for these campaigns.[14] The groups that come closest are the respective party campaign committees in each House, but their power lies merely in the intermittent services and limited financial help they are able to offer; there is no hierarchical power or consistent influence here.

The formal organization of the parties can be described, if at all, then, as a series of pyramids with a common base in the shifting sands of active party membership, and generally with no clear locus of power in or out of the government.

As Professor Key has pointed out, there are a number of reasons why the party system has had more *pluribus* than *unum*.[15] "Both unity and disunity within the national organization have their roots in the diverse social, economic, and political interests in the party following. Yet another foundation of deconcentration of party leadership is the federal form of government. State and local party organizations are built up around the patronage of state and local government; and these organizations, particularly in cities and

states dominated by one party, have a continuous life regardless of whether the party is in or out of power nationally. State and local patronage makes the local machine financially independent of the national headquarters and contributes to a spirit of independence. Federalism in our formal governmental machinery includes a national element independent of the states, but in our party organization the independent national element is missing. Party structure is more confederative than federal in nature. The state and local machines, built on state patronage, are allied with or paralleled by machines built around the patronage controlled by Senators and Representatives; and owing to the method of dispensation of this patronage, the resultant machines are almost as independent of central control as are the purely local organizations. Federalism in government tends to encourage confederation in the party's government."

This state of affairs might excite no special interest if it were not that confederation in the government of the parties has had a substantial effect on the conduct of the federal government. This effect can best be highlighted, perhaps, by trying to answer a deceptively simple question: On matters of national policy, what individual or group speaks with authority for each of the national parties?

Who Speaks for the Party?

Obviously, this question cannot be handled without first asking such prior questions as "where" and "when." When we speak of the national party, are we speaking of the in-party?* The out-party?* The party in the Senate? The party in the House? The party as represented by its national committee? The party in quadrennial convention? All of these? Only some of these? And at what point in time?

Let us start with a presidential election year and a national convention. "Conventions," as Richard Rovere has written, ". . . are exercises in definition." The choice for the Presidency personifies the majority decision of the national convention, and in this respect the winning nominee speaks with special authority as a symbol of what the party stands for at that moment. The image may be particularly clear when an incumbent is renominated, since he usually has had a commanding influence over the drafting of the party platform. In any case, what the candidate decides to emphasize from (or outside of) the platform creates a more powerful image of party policy than the platform itself. From the moment of nomination until election, the presidential candidate is usually the undisputed voice of the party. This does not mean that the voice will necessarily be clear, but no other is likely to be clearer.

There is a circumstance, however, in which even this last generalization needs qualification. Special problems arise when an incumbent President and a new presidential nominee are of the same party. In 1952, for example, with Adlai Stevenson as the Democratic nominee but with Harry S. Truman still in the White House, a series of delicate issues developed over campaign strategy, organization, and policy. President Truman wanted Stevenson to retain Frank McKinney as chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Stevenson, however, exercised his influence to see to it that the Committee selected Stephen Mitchell. Once appointed, Mitchell set up office, as expected, in the Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington. But Stevenson was still Governor of Illinois. His personal campaign had to be run from Springfield, Illinois. The question immediately arose, was Wilson Wyatt, as Stevenson's personal campaign manager, to give orders to Stephen Mitchell, the chairman of the National Committee? Chaos could have resulted if the answer to this had been no. Then, because of deteriorating relations between Springfield and the White House, Stephen Mitchell took pains to stress that President Truman was still the head of the party, that the Springfield headquarters was to be considered the Springfield office of the Democratic National Committee, and that one of the Committee's channels of authority would still run to the White House.

This resolution of a complex issue was verbal and political, but hardly organizational — and the National Committee found itself the center of a tug of war between the White House and Springfield. It was not until after the election that President Truman called Adlai Stevenson "the head of the nation's Democrats."

The President as Party Spokesman

Apart from the kind of conventions and campaigns that may create unusual ambiguities of the sort just mentioned, the recognized spokesman for a national

* "In-party" will be used to refer to the party which controls the Presidency regardless of whether it controls the Congress or either House thereof. "Out-party" is used throughout to refer to the party that does not control the White House, whether or not it controls either House or both Houses of Congress.

party controlling the Presidency (the in-party) is the President himself. Not only does the magnificent singularity of the office give the incumbent an unparalleled vehicle for the construction of party programs and philosophy; he is also the accepted party leader.

"The President," as Clinton Rossiter has written, "dictates the selection of the national chairman and other top party officials, reminds his partisans in Congress that their legislative record must be bright if victory is to crown their joint efforts, delivers 'fight talks' to the endless procession of professionals who call upon him, and, through the careful distribution of the loaves and fishes of federal patronage, keeps the party a going concern. The loaves and fishes are not so plentiful as they were in the days of Jackson and Lincoln, but he is still a wholesale distributor of 'jobs for the boys.' "[16]

The extent to which a President can create the image of a reasonably united party, depends, of course, on his capacity to make his own policy pronouncements dominant in the party. This is not always automatic, especially if the President is successfully blocked by powerful leaders of his own party in the Congress or is running out the last two years of his last term. But, even then, the power of his voice generally reduces the voices of self- or group-appointed party spokesmen to a subordinate level.

The Problem of the "Out-Party"

If the in-party has problems in creating a clear party image, the task is many times more difficult for the out-party. No real answer has yet been found to the question of who speaks for the party when it does not control the White House, or when no presidential campaign is in progress. Over the years, some of the major contenders for the job of out-party spokesman have been congressional leaders, national committee chairmen, national committee executive committees, ex-Presidents, defeated presidential candidates, *ad hoc* groups established by the national committees, congressional policy committees, congressional campaign committees, and, most recently, a permanent advisory council to a national committee.

The contention that the leaders of the out-party in Congress have the responsibility and the right to speak for their party has been staunchly defended by those leaders. But, in the years since World War II, intramural struggles between national committee chairmen and spokesmen on the one hand, and congressional leaders and staff on the other, have been staples in out-party politics, regardless of which party was "out." And even when the congressional leaders have reluctantly shared with national committees the job of constructing party policies for campaign purposes, there has been a tendency to insist, as Senate Republican leaders did in 1950, that the products should be limited to "a restatement of the aims and purposes of the Republican members of Congress." As *The New York Times* commented on this occasion, Republican Senate leaders "do not feel that the National Committee properly is a policy-making body, and, in off-year non-presidential elections, the party members in Congress have to make their own issues without outside interference."[17]

Obvious problems arise in having the congressional leaders speak for the out-party. Congress itself is bifurcated, and its power, as we have said, tends to gravitate into the hands of men who are not necessarily responsive to the party majorities. On occasion, the minority or majority leader in the Senate, or the Speaker or minority leader of the House, may claim to speak for his own party. But whether anybody inside or outside the Congress believes that the voice of the party has been heard in the land depends either upon coincidence with already accepted party formulations or upon the personal prestige and political virtuosity of these congressional spokesmen. Congress is not over being what Woodrow Wilson once called a "disintegrate ministry"; but even when the ministry is not disintegrate, it is rarely representative of either party's national popular majority. Even party leaders in the Congress chosen in caucuses of their own party are captives, willing or unwilling, of the feudal barons who immediately surround them. There are no party policy or steering committees in the House worthy of the name, and those in the Senate lack power and representativeness.[18]

The result is that there are a large number of Democratic and Republican party members who may have no effective voice in the Congress (to say nothing of the White House) but who still feel that they should have a hand in determining their party's national policies. The national committee tends to represent the interests of members of the out-party who feel un- or under-represented in the Congress. In addition, it may be said that the out-party's national committee is the official representative of the party's *executive wing*.

The internal squabbles in both parties frequently look like constitutional fireworks — sparks set off by

"separation of powers" and "checks and balances." But without further explanation, these principles are shallow and misleading. The real issue is that the government, in a generation of prolific services and equally prolific regulation, has become a vast arena in which group interests and personalities struggle for power without sufficient reference to questions of the long-range public interest. These groups and personalities use the pressure points and divergent party roles and constituencies of the President, the bureaucracy, the national committees, and the two Houses of Congress as instruments of access and finagle. This produces a politics of "boodle" and accommodation, but not a politics of responsible power and clear national purpose.

The Democratic Advisory Council

The absence of any fully accepted out-party national spokesman has led each party sporadically over the years to try to fill the vacuum. More than a generation ago, the Republicans established an Advisory Committee on Policies and Platform to help focus ideas and power prior to the 1920 convention. The Committee performed its function and died. Similar groups have been formed from time to time.

Perhaps the most noteworthy out-party voice in recent years has been the Democratic Advisory Council of the Democratic National Committee. Established by a resolution of the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee on November 27, 1956, the Council exists to provide "a collective voice for the Democratic Party, representing on a year-round basis the millions of Democrats who may or may not be represented in either House of the Congress."[19] The official congressional leaders of the party have refused membership on the Council, but many of the party's national figures (e.g., Adlai Stevenson, Harry Truman, Herbert Lehman, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Governor G. Mennen Williams) belong, as do the members of the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee. The Council is helped in its deliberations by advisory committees of distinguished party intellectuals on such matters as foreign policy, domestic economic policy, labor policy, urban problems, science and technology, and party organization.

With their help, the Council has issued a series of statements on major issues facing the nation and the Congress. These pronouncements have not been accepted as party doctrine by the Democratic leaders in the Congress, but they have hardly been in a position to ignore them, if for no other reason than that each statement has had front-page treatment and editorial comment from leading newspapers.

The Democratic Advisory Council is a significant development, to which we shall return. At the moment, it is sufficient to note that although it has given the out-party a firmer voice and a clearer public philosophy than was available before, it has no effective power base in the party, it is not the only voice and image the out-party has, and the party portrait it paints can easily be distorted or obscured by the record of the party in the Congress.

Party Finance and Party Coherence

The problem of the out-party in developing a recognizable philosophy and coherent political program is further complicated by the disorganized state of its finances. Actually, the in-party is also haunted by the same spectre. Money-raising for national and congressional campaigns is such a jungle, and so choked with the vines of subterfuge to get around the Hatch Act and other unrealistic laws, that efforts to develop coherent national party organizations are seriously impeded.[20]

It is an axiom of congressional campaigning, for example, that little direct financial help can be expected either from Washington (campaign committees on Capitol Hill or the national committees) or from state committees. There are, of course, exceptions, but these are sufficiently rare to prove the rule. Since the party as party (no matter how defined) has not been a sure source of financial help to the man campaigning for a seat in the Senate or House, what obligation does he owe to it, or to programs endorsed by it?

And there is a further complication. Some support for congressional candidates may come in the form of what Senator Benton used to call "emotional money" — money given by friends and admirers, with no strings attached. But much of it comes from constituent interests, or powerful national interests, expecting, if not favors, at least sympathetic understanding and ready access. It makes little difference if the President or an advisory council to a national committee comes out with a strong plea for more liberal foreign economic policies in the interests of national security and world economic development so long as powerfully placed Representatives or Senators are beholden financially to narrow anti-foreign aid and trade interests in their constituencies.

Attempts by the national committees to raise money

for "the party" have gone largely into the staggering costs of presidential campaigns, past or present. And even when, as in the case of the Republican National Finance Committee, a consolidated drive has been carried out for the benefit of the campaign committees of Congress as well as for the national committee, no attempt has been made to develop any national party criteria for allocating the funds. Actually, none of the four congressional campaign committees purports to take any interest whatsoever in a congressional candidate's policy stand or his identification with a party majority. They are interested in electing "Republicans" period, or "Democrats" period.

It is true that both national committees have given increasingly large campaign contributions to congressional candidates in the form of services and advice. But these services have frequently caused frictions and jealousies between the national committees and the campaign committees of the Congress. As one careful student of the "Hill" campaign committees has noted,[21] "In a large measure, the continued existence and importance of the senatorial and congressional campaign committees symbolize the desire of congressional leaders to protect their interests when they believe these interests to be counter to the ambitions of the national party organization." The linear mile that separates Capitol Hill from the White House also separates the campaign committees of Congress from the national committees of the two parties.

It is probable that the first national committee to develop a mass financial base sufficient to allow a spillover from presidential to legislative campaigns will have made the most important political break-through of the century. But this is still in the future, and will involve legal revision as well as monetary success.

These, then, are our national parties: unified for presidential contests, otherwise divided in power and lacking in definition; sporadically financed through various channels, subterfuges, and individual candidacies; peculiarly confused as out-parties; weak vehicles for executive-legislative cooperation as in-parties. They have performed valued services of reconciliation and compromise in our history — services which should not be underestimated. But the problem today is how to transcend these services in order to provide the government with sustained and responsible national power. How should our national party system be modified in order to make the parties effective instruments of our national purposes and needs?

NINE POLITICAL REFORMS

One reason why it is safe to suggest that the national party system must be strengthened in order to bring sustained power in our government is that the safeguards of the Constitution will continue to discourage any force that becomes so unified as to threaten our freedom. The American people hold firm to the sanctity of the Constitution. It is inconceivable that they would countenance a wholesale revision of the Constitution in the foreseeable future. No model of a new or improved party system that rests on substantial constitutional change is realistic.

In suggesting new directions for our national party system, therefore, the British parliamentary model is ruled out. But it is not ruled out simply because its wholesale adoption here is unthinkable. It is ruled out because it has shortcomings which do not warrant emulation. The relative independence of the legislature in the American system of government is, within limits, a powerful asset. At its best, it assures continuing social criticism and review of the bureaucracy without which big government might easily become lethargic and unresponsive or officious and dangerous.

What we are after is a national two-party system that will continue to have room for diversity and compromise but will nevertheless bring about more coherent and responsible programming by the executive and legislative branches and more coherent and responsible criticism of policy and administration. We are after a system that will make parties compete vigorously to find the right answers; that will organize political power at the national level so that it is adequate to carry out those answers; and that will make this power ultimately accountable to popular majorities.

This neither presumes nor suggests ideological or highly disciplined parties, although it does presume differences in the ideological propensities of each party and also presumes that party members who vote consistently against their own party's majority will not be favored with positions of party power inside or outside the Congress.[22]

Various changes in state primary laws, in methods of choosing national convention delegates and national committee members, and in grass-roots political organization could have a profound influence on national party behavior. But, in my opinion, changes of this sort will come about rapidly only if prior attention is given to the following political reforms (some of which are already under way):

One: To create mass-based, long-range, and (in part) tax-supported national party financing — not only to underwrite and extend present functions but to increase national committee services and financial aid to congressional campaign committees and to individual candidates running in primary as well as general elections;

Two: To expand two-party competition into all congressional districts and states;

Three: To create, by formal action of the two national conventions, permanent advisory councils and staffs to both national committees;

Four: To provide social and office facilities for each national party along the Mall, between the White House and Capitol Hill, to serve as symbolic and practical links between the executive and legislative branches of government, as well as between the party and its membership across the country;

Five: To provide, by constitutional amendment, for the simultaneous election every four years of the President, the House of Representatives, and half the mem-

bers of the United States Senate — all Senators to serve for eight years.

Six: To establish or strengthen party policy committees in the House and Senate to guide congressional business; hold reasonably frequent party caucuses; nominate members for committee assignments, who would then be elected in the caucuses; and receive, hold joint hearings, and report on all general presidential messages;

Seven: To find a mathematical formula for computing congressional seniority which will give added weight to those legislators who come from competitive two-party districts and states;

Eight: To repeal the 22nd Amendment;

Nine: To develop machinery for keeping an active roster of talented people for the important executive posts in the national government.

1. Broadly-Based Financing

Nothing comes closer to the heart of party reform than financial reorganization. As already noted, candidates for Congress, incumbent or new, receive little or no financial aid either from their national committees or from their campaign committees on Capitol Hill. If the normal concerns of a Congressman with his constituency are reenforced by heavy campaign contributions from local interests, and if there are no direct countervailing pressures or inducements from the national party, it should not be surprising that the Congressman fails to give due weight to the national interest. On the other hand, if the national party were able to help finance even a small proportion of a Congressman's campaign, and thus reduce his dependency on local money, he might feel freer to weigh short-term local against long-term national interests or, more accurately, to weigh the special interests against the common interests within his own constituency.

Important as it is to continue the Advertising Council-American Heritage Foundation campaign for mass financial support of our major parties,[23] the experience of the 1958 campaign indicates that the state and local party organizations benefited from the national advertising far more than the national committees. The money that was collected locally rarely found its way to Washington.

The Democratic National Committee, however, has had significant success with direct-mail solicitation and with the selling of party membership cards and a monthly magazine, the *Democratic Digest*. The success of this direct-mail solicitation suggests that at least for sustaining operations the parties should depend heavily upon small gifts solicited by mail or by nationally sponsored party dinners.

To insure an increasingly responsible role for the national committees over national party finances, the Hatch Act provisions dealing with spending limitations for national campaigns should be repealed or realistically adjusted to meet the realities of political life.[24] Furthermore, federal income-tax credits or exemptions should be allowed for individual contributions to the *national* organizations or candidates up to a certain amount.[25]

The postage franking privilege and a block of network television time, radio time, and newspaper advertising space should be given to each national committee before each national election, to be financed by congressional appropriations and rigidly audited by the General Accounting Office.

2. Two-Party Competition

One of the most compelling reasons for the national committees to have more money is that greater riches may encourage more vigorous competition between the parties in all states and congressional districts in the country. Everything we know about one-party areas indicates that they tend to reflect minority interests and, through unopposed re-elections, produce Members of Congress who are pushed purely by seniority into positions of high and unrepresentative power.

"The variations in the degree to which the parties are competitive within their respective states condition in a major way the policy inclinations of Senators," V. O. Key writes.[26] "Those from one-party states may be untouched by the great tides of national politics. On the other hand, Senators from close states may live under the strongest compulsion to collaborate among themselves in the promotion of the cause of their party nationally."

The more quickly the national party organizations succeed in stimulating opposition in districts and states where there is none, or in narrowing the margin of the dominant party's victory, the better chance there is of relating the Congress more closely to the interests of the national majority. The interests of a majority in one part of the nation are now more and more similar to the interests of majorities in all other parts of the na-

tion, and the stimulation of political competition in all sections cannot help increasing the power of the national majority in the government as a whole. Furthermore, real party rivalries should tend to increase informed social criticism and encourage greater citizen interest and participation, including financial participation.

The process can be speeded if the national committees are enabled to work with the congressional campaign committees on the Hill in supplementing the services of the state and local organizations to congressional campaigns and in providing regional representatives to help unify the several campaigns in a multistate region like New England or the Middle West. There are extremely delicate problems involved in having representatives of the national committees insinuate themselves in this way into matters traditionally considered to be the prerogatives of the local organizations. But local party leaders are often unequipped to recruit and develop the type of people needed to understand and execute national programs. The help of national party representatives in this area could be of enormous long-range significance. And if the state committees can be encouraged to establish full-time party staffs in their state capitals, the job of the national committees and their regional representatives would be correspondingly easier.[27]

As the national committees become stronger financially and organizationally, their prestige will also grow to the point where they could have a much more positive influence on the choice of congressional nominees. Until that time, their interests, and those of the country, would seem to be best served by a thoroughgoing drive to strengthen two-party competition in all parts of the country. It is obvious that the most intractable one-party areas are in the South.[28] The voting rights of Negroes and low-income whites should increase as a result of the Civil Rights Bill of 1957. But the solution to the most obvious indignities undergone by the disenfranchised is to speed the extension of two-party competition. This can be done not only by active organizing on the part of the Republican Party but by extending the influence of the *national* Democratic Party in registration and voting drives below the Mason-Dixon line.

3. Advisory Councils

At its best, an advisory council to an out-party's national committee can be a loyal opposition in the manner of the British shadow cabinet. The council obviously has less meaning for the in-party; although, even here, it is possible that a small group of discerning party members detached from direct governmental operations might bring fresh insights to the President. On the organizational level the in-party would profit by some such device to link the professional politician, as represented by the executive committee of the national committeee, more closely to the policy functions of the President and the party in the Congress.

For both the out-party and the in-party an advisory council, unhampered by day-to-day governing, should be able to anticipate at least some of the kaleidoscopic problems that arise almost daily in political affairs and provide more careful analyses of them than the overburdened government official has time to do. Both parties could certainly use continuing intellectual labor directed towards the drafting of platforms for the conventions. Both parties could profit from systematically tapping the minds and talents of their most intelligent members outside the governmental bureaucracy.

Although the advisory councils should explicitly represent the executive wing of their parties, they should include in their membership, at least as non-voting observers, the congressional party leaders or their designates.

The Democratic Advisory Council has already shown what can be done to give greater substance to the Democratic image. It has not yet demonstrated its full power to stimulate robust social criticism and widespread public debate on issues of national consequence. But there is no reason why it or its Republican counterpart, if formed, cannot eventually accomplish these ends. If this should come about in tandem with the development of more responsible party power in the Congress, we will have taken giant strides towards a desired goal: harnessing creative thinking to judicious action.

The two national conventions, as the ultimate governing bodies of the national parties, should formally sanction the establishment of advisory councils as permanent policy arms of the two national committees.

4. Party Clubs

The idea of having a "Democratic Club" and a "Republican Club" in Washington to house the national committees and congressional campaign staffs and to serve as a social headquarters for the parties has been considered off and on for many years by both parties. Actually, *ad hoc* party clubs presently exist in Wash-

ington — but only for social purposes. If these clubs were given greater dignity and larger facilities for housing disparate party staffs, they would unquestionably promote more coordinated and efficient party efforts, not by hierarchy but by propinquity. Membership might be based on campaign contribution and include social and dining privileges for visiting party members as well as for Members of Congress and executive department officials. Dues would help to finance general party activities. The clubs would stand as reminders that important as it is to preserve open channels for third-party movements in America a sense of national community and forceful and responsible national action are functions of a competitive *two*-party system.

5. Congressional Terms

The constitutional provisions for staggered elections are a significant cause of the pullings and haulings in our national government. It is equally clear that a two-year term for the House is too short to turn a freshman member into an effective legislator or to avoid the harassing and expensive responsibilities of perpetual campaigning. The last election and the next election are often an indistinguishable blur. Furthermore, if a truly competitive two-party system should develop across the nation, there will be more frequent alternation of victorious candidates between the parties, thus shortening the tenure of any one Congressman.

A four-year term for the House, if it coincides with the presidential term, should have a number of important effects. Under normal conditions, it would insure the same political complexion for the House as the President's. It would reduce the continuous campaign and constituency pressures which a two-year term almost inevitably fosters. It would give Congressmen sufficient time to learn their trade and to make a substantial contribution to public life.

Also, if an eight-year term were provided for members of the Senate (half of them coming up for election every four years at the same time as the Presidency), the likelihood that the President would have a working majority in both Houses would be overwhelming. At the same time, the conservative utility of overlapping terms would be maintained with only a slight modification in the constitutional wish for continuity.

Enhancing the possibility of one-party control of the government would enhance the possibility of substantial governmental power and would unmistakably fix responsibility for governmental policy.

6. Party Policy Committees in the Congress

The Legislative Branch Appropriation Act of 1946 established party policy committees in the Senate after the House of Representatives had rejected the idea in the Legislative Reorganization bill of that same year. The Democrats in the Senate have placed their majority leader in charge of their policy committee. Lyndon Johnson's power comes in large part from his own personal ability; but it seems certain that his leadership has been strengthened by his policy committee role. His power would more truly reflect the interests of the majority of his party in the Senate if the representative character of the policy committee were broadened and more caucuses were held.[29] The Republican policy committee in the Senate is far more representative than its Democratic counterpart; what it needs is to be tied more closely to the operations of the Republican floor leader who is a member of the policy committee, but not its chairman.

With these changes, the example set by the Senate should be followed by the House of Representatives. Adequately staffed party policy committees should be elected in both Houses by caucus. In the House of Representatives, the Speaker should chair his party's committee; the minority leader should chair the minority party's committee. The majority policy committee should assume the functions of the House Rules Committee. Both policy committees should act as the committee on committees for their party, and should perform policy and steering functions presently scattered or moribund.

In order to bring greater cohesion to the handling of major presidential recommendations, the four policy committees should meet jointly for two weeks in late January and early February each year to conduct general hearings on the President's State of the Union message. The hearings should be widely covered by press, radio, and television; the leaders in the administration and in the out-party should be heard; and majority and minority reports should be issued for the general guidance of legislators and of the general public. These reports would demonstrate the differences in program between the parties and also the areas of national agreement.

These changes in the basic units of party power in the Congress are designed to make power more visible and more responsive to party majorities in each House than now obtains. But if they are to be effective they must be accompanied by the following reform.

7. Seniority

The principle of seniority has always been defended in the Congress on the ground that it is the only system for elevation to positions of power that has the virtue of being automatic. Congress, it is argued, is already so charged with tension and conflict that additional struggles for power would be dangerous to the underlying agreement upon which compromise and unity rest.

There is enough weight to this argument to suggest that if responsible majority rule can be achieved without destroying the impersonal attributes of the seniority system, the system should be kept. However, there seems to be no reason why a simple mathematical formula cannot be devised to give added seniority credit to legislators who come from competitive two-party districts and states. For example, a Member might receive two points for every *general* election in which his opponent received more than 20 per cent of the vote. Seniority would still rule, automatically, but power would tend to shift toward those Congressmen who come from districts in which vigorous two-party competition searches out the majority interest.[30]

8. 22nd Amendment

The 22nd Amendment places a two-term limit on American Presidents. Its effect is to weaken the political power and influence of the President in his second term, particularly in his last two years. At a time when foreign policy and national defense hold apocalyptic potentialities, it is madness to retain in our Constitution an Amendment which *guarantees* fitful national power.

9. Executive Talent

The strength and responsiveness of the national government depend upon many factors, but one of the most basic requirements is a core of able political executives to direct the sprawling departments and agencies of the government.[31] Present recruiting for these men is a hit-or-miss affair carried on at the departmental, presidential, congressional, and national party level.

No greater service could be performed by the national party committees, especially by their regional representatives, than to compile a continuing roster of good people in and out of the party organization for these strategic jobs. Selecting the right men, of course, would have to be done ultimately by the President in a full understanding of state and congressional party interests.

But the job is too important not to be undertaken systematically, and the national committees are the ones to do it.

THE TRADITIONAL CONFLICTS

The contention that a political shift is inevitable in this country and that changes, such as those advocated above, in the traditional national party arrangements are now possible rests on a theory of politics supported by empirical evidence.

The theory, borrowed intact from Professor E. E. Schattschneider,[32] is that politics is basically concerned with the expression and resolution of conflict. The relevant corollary of the theory is that if the nature of social conflict changes, either political institutions must adjust in order to reflect the new social impulses or society suffers the penalties which inertia and impairment of function exact. In a democratic society, the atmosphere is conducive to adjustment.

The parties historically have performed a variety of very valuable functions in American society. They have been functions of accommodation, compromise, and the peaceful transmission of power. Only rarely have the parties been concerned with insuring coherence of program or responsible power in the carrying out of program. Their lack of interest in national policies backed by national political power can be largely explained by the nature of the social conflicts with which they have had to deal. These traditional conflicts merit brief examination before we pass on to the contention of this paper that the character of the conflicts is changing and that the party system must change with it.

New and Old Settlers

One of the perennial conflicts in American history has been that between new and old settlers. Fear of the stranger is as old as and as far-flung as the earth. In this country the struggle was sometimes muted, sometimes intensified, but always present. Cries to stop immigration pre-date the Constitution. In the hundred years from 1820 to 1920, over thirty-five million Europeans came to the United States. Emma Lazarus' moving words inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty have not been a mockery, but it would be idle to pretend that the wave upon wave of newcomers did not cause frictions and controversies and, at times, bitter battles. We know it still. A quarter of a million people still enter the United States annually under our immigration quotas; and of course Puerto Ricans, the center of various current tensions in New York City, are not under the quota at all.

Historically, as one generation became settled and adjusted, it tended to look hostilely at new arrivals, particularly if the newcomers were from a different part of the old world, spoke a different language, or had a different religion. In the fourteen years before World War I, immigration rose to a peak of a million a year. In contrast to the nineteenth century immigration, the largest part of this million came from southern and eastern Europe: Italy, Poland, Russia, Hungary, Greece. Their attempts to find a life for themselves, especially in the urban areas of the East and Middle West; the resistances they met; the fears they created and suffered; the help local politicians gave them in exchange for their votes — all this has been and, although greatly modified by now, still is the stuff of American politics. Each group in turn has pursued the American dream; each in turn has found the upward ladder wobbly, and at times sticky. Part of the glory of our traditional party system has been that when other ladders were removed the political ladder was almost always open. But many crowded on the ladder at once; and as some of those below overtook those on the higher rungs, conflict was inevitable.

Sections and Classes

If the new and the old have warred, so have sections and classes. In the early days it was the frontier farmer against the commercial and financial interests of the seaboard. How much of our history has been devoted to this struggle! The alignments that it formed were the most influential causes of our two-party system. Hamilton and Jefferson, Federalists and Republicans, found their focus in this sectional struggle.

As the continent expanded, other regional economic interests developed to complicate the conflict: commodity interests — tobacco, cotton, wheat, corn, sheep, minerals, fish, cattle, fruit, dairy products, oil, and an infinite variety of regional manufacturing interests. Some wanted high tariffs, some wanted low; some wanted federal aid, some wanted no federal interference of any kind. For years these regional interests were dominant forces in American politics.

For a brief period during the Jacksonian era, the Whig party forged an uneasy upper-class national alliance which attempted to bind regional interests into a national party. But the localized economic and social pressures were too strong, and the Whigs disintegrated in 1852. It was the parochialism of the economic and social interests of the South before the Civil War that made the irrepressible conflict irrepressible. After the war, a relatively nation-wide two-party system came into being, but, as regional pressures erupted, the system became increasingly unstable. By 1896 the "solid Democratic South" had become a fixed political reality, and it was more than matched by a "solid Republican North" which effectively dominated American politics, except in the Wilsonian period, for a generation.

The remnants of these and other regional struggles are still with us, especially in the Congress, but they have been complicated — sometimes modified, sometimes egregiously promoted — by far-ranging class conflicts between rich and poor, debtor and creditor, capital and labor, small farmers and big farmers. On a few occasions, these class collisions have got beyond the control of existing political machinery. But this has been rare. In the words of David Potter we have been a "people of plenty," and for much of our history the frontier has provided a real as well as a psychological safety-valve. What it could not provide, democratic politics by and large has provided: a redress of intolerable economic grievances.

The Negro Issue

In one form or another the Negro problem has always been with us. Like some vast geologic fault it has rendered the land unstable and created deep moral fissures. It was an issue in colonial days; it had to be compromised in the drafting of our Constitution. It was the emotional core of the Civil War. In the cruel and stupid days of reconstruction, the social and political inversions imposed by northern occupation terrified both whites and Negroes and left raw scars of fear, hatred, and anti-Republicanism.

The Negro issue has occupied a central place in the development of the national party organizations and in the formation of political alliances. Because the issue seemed until recently a "southern" problem, the Democratic party as the more national of the two parties had to live a precarious existence astride a two-headed donkey. It survived by promising the Presidency to the North and the Congress to the South. The Republican party, on the other hand, as a party operating effectively only in the North, was able to strike a bargain with southern Democrats which linked white supremacy and business supremacy in the policy labyrinths of the Congress. The bargain clouded the image of each party and put largely irresponsible power over policy in the hands of a southern Democratic-northern Republican coalition, buttressed by seniority and hallowed by carefully designed rules. None of this would have happened if the parties had not had to juggle the Negro issue. It has been the single most useful device of the economic conservatives to keep the political parties from becoming coherent instruments of majority rule.

Personal Ambitions

Like every country, America has known the conflicts of clashing personal ambitions. Politics is, among other things, a study of power and the powerful, of influence and the influential. Issues are often a cover for the struggle of personalities for deference and status. Politics is unintelligible without an understanding of the raw strivings of people for recognition. The struggles between ambitious politicians have left ineradicable marks on the history of the national parties.

THE CHANGES IN THE CONFLICTS

The national parties have become what they are because of these historical conflicts which they have had to settle, hide, or gloss over. In some cases they have been the master brokers between rich and poor, country and city, butter and oleo, capital and labor, Italian and Irish, new and old. At other times, they have hidden certain conflicts in order to satisfy powerful economic interests which have stood to gain by exploiting conflict locally and disguising it nationally. Each party has been caught in the dilemma, on the one hand, of trying to forge an image of harmony in the interests of the majority in order to win the Presidency, and, on the other hand, of being unable to eradicate the very different kind of image which generations of conservative log-rolls and bipartisan "inner-clubism" in the Congress have created in the public eye.

But what happens when the conditions of conflict change? For they are changing, and rapidly, in the United States.

The Social Changes

Take the struggle between the old and the new. We used to be able to tell the difference between old and new settlers by their accent, or dress, or occupational level. But we are fuller of hundred-per cent Americans every day and are rapidly reaching the time when nationality politics will be as anachronistic as the trolley car. Samuel Lubell has set the beginning of the end of this traditional conflict in the late Thirties,[33] with the coming of age of those whose parents and grandparents had arrived in the great immigration surge at the turn of this century. With the acceptance of the stranger as a person has come acceptance of his ways and his beliefs. A Jew is Governor of Connecticut; a Catholic is almost certain to be on the national ticket of at least one of our two national parties in 1960. Matters which once split us and made us fearful are now absorbed almost without question as our population becomes increasingly homogenized.

Or take sectional and class conflict. The heart has been cut out of sectionalism by vast changes in technology and communications which have dispersed industry and revolutionized agriculture. Where are the one-crop "Cotton Ed" Smiths of a few years back? The fact is that there are precious few one-crop areas left in America. And even where there are, as in some of the great agricultural regions of the Great Plains, technology is bringing a revolution of another kind. In the last five years almost four million people have left the farm. The forecast for reapportionment of congressional seats after the 1960 census suggests a dramatic decrease in rural representation in the United States Congress, and this trend will continue as the rise in population throws more and more people into metropolitan areas.

The movement in urban politics tends to be toward class rather than regional politics. But even class politics has changed. It is no longer a kind of rabble vs. gentry rivalry. Rather, among other things, it is national industry against highly bureaucratized and well-paid national labor. Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona is not a regional figure. In the congressional elections of 1958, national giants contended in that sparsely populated desert state, and for national stakes.

What bothers the auto worker in Detroit bothers the auto worker in Los Angeles. What worries the businessman in Chicago worries his competitor in Boston. With transcontinental jet planes, the political or labor or industrial leader whose home is in San Francisco is

almost more accessible to his counterpart in New York than is a train traveler from Boston; and, in any case, distance has been obliterated by electricity, electronics, and the direct-dial telephone.

And what is happening to the Negro issue? It, too, is becoming nationalized. Today there are more Negroes in New York than in New Orleans; more in Detroit than in Birmingham, Alabama; more in Pittsburgh than in Little Rock; more in Los Angeles than in Richmond; more in Chicago than in Atlanta.[34] The Negroes' locust-like migration to northern metropolitan centers may have brought new problems to city governments, but it has aroused a critical competition between the two major parties in the North and West to capture the Negro vote. In heavily populated, evenly divided states, a bloc shift of a few votes can mean thirty or forty electoral college votes for a presidential candidate.

Perhaps more than any one other factor, the northern migration of the Negro is working tremendous transformations in our political life. The South no longer can exercise a veto in either presidential convention. Some diehards may walk out in 1960, but the result will only be that they will risk losing what waning power they have in the Congress. For, in more than sixty congressional districts in the North and West, the Negro holds the political balance of power if he decides to bloc-vote; and in the South his political power is likely to increase steadily despite the present tensions.[35]

As for the clash of personal political ambitions in the United States, they are being completely submerged by the international and domestic concerns of the American public. War and peace, inflation and depression, are both personal and universal issues; tariffs, taxes, foreign aid, military spending, federal reserve policies, and hosts of other national policies affect local economic activities across the land. Politicians who wish to become statesmen must be able to talk intelligently about issues that concern people in *all* constituencies. The extraordinary social and economic changes now going on are absorbing and transcending the old conflicts of personal ambitions.

The Party Changes

The shifts in the nature of the conflicts are reflected in the changes that are already taking place in our party system:

1) The number of one-party states and one-party congressional districts is dramatically declining.

In less than twenty years, the number of one-party delegations in Congress (in which the two Senators and all members of the House from a single state are of one party) has dropped more than 50 per cent — from twenty-four in 1942 to eleven in 1958.[36]

The number of southern congressional districts which had contested elections increased from forty-eight to sixty in the brief period from 1952 to 1956.[37] In the same period of time, the total Republican vote in the South for members of the House rose from 1,872,000 in 1952 to 2,371,000 in 1956.[38]

2) The permanent staffs of the national party committees and the variety of committee functions have grown greatly during the past decade. Until World War II both national committees were served by skeletal staffs, except for the few months before national presidential elections. Today both of them maintain year-round staffs of between seventy-five and a hundred people.[39] In election years this number doubles or triples. The annual budget of each committee amounts to almost a million dollars — a figure which skyrockets during election years.

3) Both national committees are doing everything within their power to spread their financial base. The evolution has been from fat-cats and expensive fund-raising banquets to mass appeals and direct-mail solicitation.[40]

4) Almost unnoticed, a revolution has occurred in the "nationalization" of off-year senatorial and congressional campaigns. As recently as 1938, the press and the public criticized President Roosevelt for campaigning in an off-year election. But in 1954, when both the President and the titular leader of the Democrats actively campaigned in their parties' congressional elections, both the newspapers and the voters seemed to accept the fact that it was perfectly all right for the executive wings of the parties to interest themselves actively in the outcome of the legislative contests. In 1958, both national committees sent out representatives to help develop party strength in various regions and to give services to local campaigns. The campaign committees on Capitol Hill also provided services to these campaigns as a matter of course and, in spite of occasional frictions, worked in closer cooperation with the national committees than in any previous off-year election in history.

5) Since 1937, the Presidents have met regularly with party leaders in the Congress on matters of legislative priority and strategy. This has elevated the prestige and power of these men, particularly on matters of

foreign policy and national defense. The passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 further recognized the need for party leadership in the Congress, and succeeded to some degree in institutionalizing the leadership function in the Senate which established party policy committees with paid staffs.

6) The creation of the Democratic Advisory Council and the recent appearance of an embryonic Republican counterpart[41] show a new concern in both parties for clarifying the party image. There is little doubt that, eventually, pronouncements of these "executive wings" of the parties will be more effective than similar attempts by congressional leaders or individual party spokesmen excepting the President.

The Conclusion

This far from exhaustive list of the responses of our political system to nationalizing forces represents only the beginnings of adaptation and adjustment. Our basic political institutions, and their relationships to each other and to the public, are in a state of flux. If we want a political system designed to give full play to America's political energies and to hold them within bounds set by a popular majority, we are obligated to modify the system still further.

The reforms outlined in these pages will not obviate America's continuing need for personal force and political virtuosity in the office of the Presidency and in top positions in the Congress. Nor will these or any other party reforms dispel the terrifying military, diplomatic, and social problems of our age. But they will help the parties toward stronger leadership in a more responsible framework than has been traditional. To paraphrase Emerson, they can help us to perceive the terror of life and to man ourselves to face it. In this apocalyptic age, can we ask for greater service from our political parties? We must not ask for less.

FOOTNOTES

1. See especially John Kenneth Galbraith, *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952), and Arthur N. Holcombe, *Our More Perfect Union* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

2. See U. S. Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, *Task Force Report on Personnel and Civil Service* (Washington: G.P.O., 1955); see also William Pincus, "The Opposition to the Senior Civil Service," *Public Administration Review,* Vol. XVIII, Autumn 1958, pp. 324-331; and Norton E. Long, "Public Policy and Administration, the Goals of Rationality and Responsibility," *Public Administration Review,* Vol. XIV, Winter 1954, pp. 22-31.

3. V. O. Key, *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups* (fourth edition, New York: Crowell, 1958), p. 762.

4. For useful discussions of this issue see John Fischer, "Unwritten Rules of American Politics," *Harper's,* November 1948, pp. 27-36; Peter Drucker, "A Key to American Politics: Calhoun's Pluralism," *Review of Politics,* October 1948, pp. 412-26; Ernest F. Griffith, *Congress: Its Contemporary Role* (New York: New York University Press, 1951); Murray Stedman and Herbert Sonthoff, "Party Responsibility — A Critical Inquiry," *Western Political Quarterly,* Sept. 1951, pp. 454-86; Julius Turner, "Responsible Politics: A Dissent from the Floor," *American Political Science Review,* March 1951, pp. 143-52; William Goodman, "How Much Political Party Centralization Do We Want?", *Journal of Politics,* November 1951, pp. 536-61; and, especially, Austin Ranney, *The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954).

5. The Roper Public Opinion Research Center at Williams College provided me with a complete tabulation of public-opinion polls since 1946, addressed to questions of public images of the two parties. To sum up a vast amount of data in one sentence, a consistent majority — at times as high as two-thirds to three-quarters — of the adult population of the United States perceives a clear distinction in ideological and interest-group propensity between the two major parties. The polls tend to verify the commonly accepted caricature that the Democratic Party is the party of the poor and of labor and the Republican Party is the party of business and of the rich. In the field of foreign policy the public sees little difference between the parties, although at times it has given a slight edge to the Republican Party as the more successful avoider of open combat. These stereotypes may be less important as accurate descriptions of party differences than as reflections of the public's belief that the parties actually provide meaningful alternatives in many areas of policy, even though there are important areas of consensus.

6. See Footnote 4.

7. E. E. Schattschneider, "The Struggle for Party Government" (pamphlet) (University of Maryland, 1950), pp. 28-29.

8. See Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government* (fifth edition, Boston, 1889); Henry Jones Ford, *The Rise and Growth of American Politics* (New York, 1898); A. Lawrence Lowell, *Public Opinion and Popular Government* (New York, 1913); William MacDonald, *A New Constitution for a New America* (New York, 1921); William Y. Elliott, *The Need for Constitutional Reform* (New York, 1935); E. E. Schattschneider, *Party Government* (New York, 1942); Henry Hazlitt, *A New Constitution Now* (New York, 1942); Thomas K. Finletter, *Can Representative Government Do the Job?* (New York, 1945); James M. Burns, *Congress on Trial* (New York, 1949); Paul T. David, E. E. Schattschneider, Bertram M. Gross, *et al,* "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," Report of the Committee on Political Parties, American Political Science Association; printed as a Supplement to the *American Political Science Review,* September, 1950.

9. *Congressional Government,* pp. 332-333.

10. *Can Representative Government Do the Job?,* pp. 2, 7, 8, 9, and 64.

11. *Op. cit.*

12. In 1952 certain Republican state chairmen were added to the Republican National Committee under a "reward for victory" formula. See V. O. Key, *op. cit.,* p. 348, for details.

13. *Ibid.,* p. 347.

14. An exception to this rule is the state of Indiana in which congressional district organizations are a formal part of the state party machinery.

15. *Op. cit.,* p. 368.

16. *The American Presidency* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1956), p. 17.

17. *The New York Times,* Jan. 1, 1950, p. 1.

18. See particularly the speech of Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin, and the ensuing debate, in the *Congressional Record,* March 9, 1959, pp. 3176-3200.

19. Democratic Advisory Council, "Plan of Operations" (mimeo.) approved by the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee on May 3, 1957.

20. See Alexander Heard, *Money and Politics* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1956); and "Report 1956 General Election Campaigns," 85th Congress, 1st Sess., 1957, for discussions of the Hatch Act and other corrupt practices acts in relation to campaign financing. The latter report was based upon Hearings "1956 Presidential and Senatorial Campaign Contributions and Practices," 84th Congress, 2d Sess., 1956, Parts I & II. These Hearings before the so-called Gore Subcommittee constitute the most thorough Congressional investigation of campaign financing in the nation's history. For precise recommendations on tax incentives for political contributions, see Herbert Alexander, "A Tax Incentive as a Political Instrument," Research on Self-Government, Inc., Report No. 2, Princeton, N. J., 1959.

21. Guy B. Hathorn, "Congressional and Senatorial Campaign Committees in the Midterm Election Year 1954," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly,* December 1956, p. 208.

22. There is no reason why Harry Byrd should not continue to represent Virginia in the Democratic Party in the Senate. There is every reason why he should not exercise *power* in the Democratic Party in the Senate.

23. Prompted by a proposal put forward by Philip Graham, publisher of the *Washington Post and Times-Herald,* the Advertising Council and the American Heritage Foundation joined forces in the summer and early fall of 1958 to sponsor a multimillion-dollar national advertising campaign on the theme: "Don't Pass the Buck! Give a Buck! to the party of your choice." No one really knows how much money was collected by the two parties as a result of the campaign. Estimates go as high as $12,000,000 but only a small fraction of this

reached the national committees or the Capitol Hill campaign committees. For a brief description of this campaign see David Sarnoff, "Campaign for Campaign Money," *New York Times Magazine*, June 1, 1958.

24. The Hatch Act of 1940 provides that "no political committee shall receive contributions aggregating more than three million dollars, or make expenditures aggregating more than three million dollars during any calendar year." The Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 sets a limit on expenditures of either a flat maximum of $10,000 by a candidate for Senator and $2,500 for Representative, or 3 cents per vote cast, up to $25,000 maximum for Senator and $5,000 for Representative. These unrealistic limitations lead only to subterfuge and evasion. For recommendations concerning a thorough revision of the statutes governing campaign finance, see Senate Report No. 395, 85th Congress, 1st Sess. (1957).

25. Precedents already exist at the state level. Both Minnesota and California have statutes permitting certain deductions of political contributions under state income-tax law. See V. O. Key, *op. cit.*, p. 565. Key also notes that in 1957 Puerto Rico enacted legislation granting government subsidies to political parties on the island.

26. *Op. cit.*, p. 593.

27. Francis M. Carney in a paper presented at the 1958 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 4-6, 1958, notes that there are presently nineteen states in which the Democratic Party has an "active, permanent, full-time professional staff worker." The Democratic National Committee leaders believe from experience that strong state party organizations are, in the main, friendly to the National Committee and "more conscious of the idea of a national party than are the states with weaker organizations." "Towards More Responsible Parties: Some Notes on the Staff Organization of the Democratic National Committee" (mimeo.), p. 15.

28. See V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1949); and Alexander Heard, *Two-Party South?* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952).

29. The nine-member Democratic Policy Committee consists of one member from Texas, two from Montana, one from Missouri, one from Oklahoma, one from Georgia, one from Alabama, one from Arizona, and one from Rhode Island. Senator Paul Douglas has commented: "There are nine members from eight states. I find that the population of those states amounts to approximately 22 million . . . and that they represent only eighty electoral votes; that in terms of the total votes cast in those states for President in 1956, there were only 6,762,000." Douglas then refers to states which have Democratic Senators but which are not represented on the Policy Committee: Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, Oregon, and Washington. Douglas finds that these states have a total population of 68 million, and 255 electoral votes, and that in the last presidential election they cast 35,118,000 votes. *Congressional Record*, March 9, 1959, p. 3195.

30. It is of the utmost importance that seniority be tempered in the money committees of the Congress (the Senate Finance Committee, the House Ways and Means Committee, and the Appropriations Committee in each house). Seniority not only affects privileges and advancement within a committee; it dictates assignment to those committees and subcommittees which involve the greatest concentration of legislative power. Independent action by the money committees and subcommittees of the Congress can make or break substantive policy recommended by other standing committees, by the full Congress, and by the executive branch. No change in congressional organization will be anything but token until and unless majority interests are effectively represented in the four crucial money committees.

31. See Marver H. Bernstein, *The Job of the Federal Executive* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1958) for an excellent summary of this problem. For the role of political parties in the process of recruiting political executives, see chapter 6.

32. *Op. cit.*, pp. 28-29. See also E. E. Schattschneider's chapter, "United States: The Functional Approach to Party Government," in Sigmund Neumann (ed.), *Modern Political Parties* (Chicago, 1956), pp. 194-215.

33. *The Future of American Politics* (New York: Harper, 1952), chap. 7.

34. Hodding Carter, "Is Relocation an Answer?", *Virginia Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 2, Spring 1957, p. 166.

35. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 1957, pp. 704-5. See also Richard M. Scammon, "How Will Negroes Vote?", *New Republic*, September 16, 1957, pp. 11-14. NAACP predicts that there will be more than 3,000,000 Negro votes cast in the South by 1960. A special Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) is promoting Negro registration in the southern states. *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, May 30, 1958, p. 683.

36. *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, November 7, 1958, p. 1419.

37. Paul T. David (with the assistance of Richard C. Bain), "Intensity of Inter-Party Competition and the Problem of Party Realignment," a paper presented, September 6, 1957, at the 53rd annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (mimeo.), p. 27.

38. *Ibid.*

39. See Philip S. Wilder, Jr., "The National Committee of the Party in Power, 1953-1958," a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 4-6, 1958 (mimeo.), p. 7; and Francis Carney, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

40. See Wilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18, and Carney, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12. See also the back cover of the Nov.-Dec. 1958 *Democratic Digest*. Late in January, 1959, the Republican National Committee sponsored a national meeting of party leaders in Des Moines, Iowa. The Republican National Chairman at that time, Meade Alcorn, spent considerable time in talking over party finance. He said in part, "We need continuing and sustaining fund-raising . . . I can't make plans for September, 1959, or September, 1960, because I don't know how much money we're going to have . . . To try and get money on a crash basis . . . is a thing of the past so far as I am concerned." *Washington Post and Times-Herald*, January 22, 1959, p. A-2. For a general summary of party finance activities, see Hugh Bone, *Party Committees and National Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1958), Ch. 4.

41. On February 25, 1959, the Republican National Committee created a new Republican Committee on Program and Progress, which held its first meeting March 13 and 14. In his press statement on February 25, Meade Alcorn took pains to point out that the group had no similarity to the Democratic Advisory Council because it included top Republican congressional leaders (Everett Dirksen, Senate Minority Leader, and Charles Halleck, House Minority Leader). But whether emphasis is placed upon the congressional wing or the executive wing of the national party, the existence of the Democratic Advisory Council and the Republican Committee on Program and Progress suggests that the national committees cannot avoid the function of trying to create a more coherent party philosophy.

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For providing a summary of relevant public-opinion polls addressed to questions of popular images of our two national parties, I am obliged to the Roper Public Opinion Research Center in Williamstown, Massachusetts.

My reliance upon the writings of others is evident in footnotes and in the following selected bibliography:

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

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Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 2, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for the excellent advice. I'm sure you are right. If we do anything in television on the big economic notions I'm sure we will be taking the line that you suggest.

I was in Boston this weekend and noticed the same paradox about Murrow there that is so noticeable here: everyone believes everything that you say on the air about the news; few believe anything that you say about your own plans.

Warmest from all here,

Sincerely,

W. H. Ferry

Fund for Rep.

February 24, 1959

Dear Ping:

Belatedly, a brief comment on your letter of February 11. I think the canvas is too big or, to use your terminology, the boundaries of the field are not sufficiently defined. I would like to see the proposition stated in more explicit terms. The question that intrigues my feeble mind is this. Can American corporations compete effectively with the Russian trade monopoly? I don't think they can and, if they cannot, then we have got to re-examine a whole hell of a lot of traditional premises and prejudices.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

(signed in Mr. Murrow's absence)

Mr. W.H. Ferry
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 11, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I've been thinking about putting on an Arden House conference on problems of economic growth, and so on.

It occurred to me that these ideas might more effectively be exploited on television. I've been thinking about using the educational TV facilities in Boston that the Fund is using now for Press and People.

Would you take the time to look at the enclosures and tell me whether you see any TViable idea in it? I don't mean to involve you or CBS on anybody in this; I just want to know whether I ought to quit thinking about it.

The "Extract" is from a letter by Bob Heilbroner.

All you need to say if either Forget it, or Plow on, my good man.

Thanks and regards,

Bill

W. H. Ferry

Enc.

EXTRACT

I think there is a good deal to be said for a kind of TV debate about The Division of Economic Function. Almost necessarily, however, its effectiveness hinges on the quality of the protagonists of the issues and on the "identificability" of the issues themselves. So far as the latter is concerned, I see two issues which are now sufficiently "in the news" to offer good foci of debate. They are: 1) The Affluent Society, and 2) The Ugly American. Or to get away from best-seller titles, they concern : 1) the extent to which business values stand in the way of our achieving The Good Society at home, and 2) the extent to which an inflexible idea of what private and public enterprise should do in the underdeveloped economies has undermined our foreign prestige and effectiveness. I can imagine sharp, even passionate debates, on both of these subjects if you can find intelligent, forceful advocates for both sides. I say "both" sides advisedly. The program will not be effective if the "conservative" resorts to flag-waving. This means that the choice of the conservative is necessarily pushed toward the middle of the ideological spectrum. I am inclined to think that someone like Ed Mason could admirably present a genuinely conservative and highly intelligent point of view which, while not defending the present dinosaurian outlook, would at least deflate the easy reformism and the often empty indignation of the typical "liberal" who swears by the two books which pose our central issues.

If someone like Mason (Mason himself is not a very effective lecturer) were to present the conservative side, who would be "liberal"? Here we must shy clear of the C. Wright Mills wing which would simply indict. I think that perhaps Barbara Ward might

provide the right tone and position, although perhaps she and Mason would be too close. Galbraith himself would be perfect if he were not so determined not to be determined. A British socialist, such as Mikardo, Crossland, etc. might do the trick, but I do not know how well they would come off on an American show. Anyway, here is a list of candidates to think about:

1. The Affluent Society

Conservative	Liberal
Walter Lippmann	Lewis Mumford
Nelson Rockefeller	Erich Fromm
Adolf Berle	Ken Galbraith
Peter Drucker	Max Lerner
Neil Jacoby	David Riesman
Sumner Slichter	Reinhold Niebuhr

This is not an attempt to match opponents, but to suggest the general intellectual position of the two points of view. Now for the second debate:

2. The Ugly American

Conservative	Liberal
Edward Mason	Barbara Ward
Paul Douglas	John Strachey
Paul Hoffman	John Gunther
Dean Acheson	Nenru

You can see with that last name that I am reaching high. But again In am interested in making clear what must be the tenor of the debate.

I can imagine two one-to-two-hour TV shows in which perhaps two protagonists of each view simply debated the issue at stake. No doubt you would want a moderator. His purpose would not only be to make sure the contestants broke cleanly, rarely hit below the belt, etc., but also to come prepared with critical questions aimed at both positions in case the debate got soggy. I think--I'm not sure about this--that it would also be advisable to tape this show in order to make sure of its reasonable effectiveness.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

MEMORANDUM

February 6, 1959

TO: Consultants on the Basic Issues

FROM: Robert M. Hutchins

SUBJECT: The Economic Order In The Free Society

Questions for the Meeting February 22-23

The United States appears to be passing from military to economic competition with Russia. It would seem appropriate therefore that we move from the long discussion we have had of foreign policy and the common defense to a consideration of the economic order in a free society. It is not suggested that the task ahead is necessarily that of keeping up with Russia, but rather that of forming a just and stable society in the face of unprecedented conditions and challenges.

In Congress and elsewhere we are seeing the beginnings of an historic debate on domestic and foreign economic policy. Although economic questions will be the subject of the debate social aspiration and political goals for the crucial years ahead will inspire it. I propose therefore that the Consultants devote at least one day of the meeting on February 22-23 to a preliminary discussion of The Economic Order in the Free Society. I would hope that the discussion would disclose how we might most profitably continue our consideration of this and related subjects.

The terms of the oncoming debate are unusually clear. Unlike most controversies about political-economic policy, the main issues today appear to lie in the open. At a minimum two major questions of policy are involved. One is the question of economic growth; what is the optimum rate, and how it should be managed and maintained. The second is the division of economic function; what should be expected of the private profit-making enterprise -- the so-called Private Sector -- and what should be provided by non-profit activities (a) governmental, and (b) quasi-public but privately run, such as universities and other "philanthropic" (though quite necessary) organizations -- the so-called Public Sector.

Both of these imply a third question. Productivity obviously can be raised to far greater heights than at present. But how in the American system can the requisite portion of that productivity be steered toward those socially desirable activities which cannot be left to or which are not performed by private enterprise under the profit system?

A large amount of newspaper and magazine space is being devoted these days to one or another aspect of these questions. Professor Galbraith's The Affluent Society set off a wave of comment and reaction. Some of this material is reproduced or excerpted and attached to this memorandum.

I propose that we discuss the following questions:

Economic Growth

In view of the Russian challenge, should swift economic growth be promoted "at any price," so to speak? Should we aim at a rate of growth that would keep the U.S. comparably ahead of the Soviet Union? Why should the U.S. seek to do so?

What should be done now by government or industry to meet the problems that will arise when the Cold War slows down or comes to a halt?

Would government planning on the large scale proposed by some to assure "sound economic growth" result in a diminution of freedom, as many argue? How can this be shown?

As a practical matter, how could the government enforce an established level of economic growth, whether the level might be 4% or 6% or whatever? Is not the answer to this question somewhat obscured by the requirements of the Cold War?

How should we relate our problems of economic growth and private enterprise to the economic needs of the billion-plus people in underdeveloped lands?

Reference: "Liberals and the U.S. Economy," by Robert Lekachman, The New Leader, Jan. 26, 1959
Editorial, Fortune, February 1959
"Tortoise and Hare," New York Times, Jan. 29, 1959
Problems and Possibilities in Economic Growth: Staff memorandum

The Division of Economic Function: Public and Private Responsibilities

Is it possible or desirable to separate public and private economic responsibilities? Can workable criteria be established for the Public and Private Sectors?

Is the "unbalance" in the economy -- plenty of lipstick but not enough schoolrooms -- beyond correction in a free society? (Stuart Chase has contributed a memorandum listing some of the categories of unbalance -- attached.)

Can the "social responsibility" of business be trusted to reduce "unbalance" and keep it at a minimum?

On the other hand, presuming that correction would mean action by government, what form should it take? Is present machinery adequate? Are new inventions called for, both formal and non-governmental?

Reference: Memorandum by Stuart Chase
Review of The Affluent Society by Colin Clark
Review of The Affluent Society by Stuart Chase

Because he will be in Greece at the time of the meeting, Mr. Berle has promised to prepare a memorandum commenting on the questions raised above.

Stuart Chase
February 3, 1959

NOTES ON
"UNBALANCE" IN U.S. ECONOMY, 1959

J. K. Galbraith in The Affluent Society builds a main thesis around economic unbalance. (He writes it "imbalance" but I can't find the word in either the Shorter Oxford or Webster's New World, and will stick to unbalance.) He affirms that large surpluses in the private sector are matched by serious shortages in the public sector - "private opulence and public squalor." He cites a number of cases (see Appendix A), dwelling especially on the shining opulence of the 20-foot 1959 motor car and the squalor and disorder of its traffic and parking conditions.

Furthermore, "our wealth in privately produced goods is, to a marked degree, the cause of crisis in the supply of public services. For we have failed to see the importance, indeed the urgent need, of maintaining a balance between the two." Balance is reasonably well maintained within the private sector--the gasoline supply, for example, keeps abreast of car sales--but not between private and public sectors.

Before getting down to cases, it may be useful to outline briefly what we mean by "balance" in this analysis. An economic system can be in excellent balance so far as the flow of income goes, yet be a miserable place to live in. Balance as here defined is a situation where economic arrangements produce well adjusted people and sound human values. Few tranquilizers are in demand.

As a minimum requirement, the good society demands two things: an ample margin for survival, and a well-balanced flow of essential goods and services. Survival today means the abolition of nuclear war; all other threats can probably be taken care of in high energy societies. What are the material components of the good life? Every citizen must have adequate access to six classes of consumer goods:

Food	Education, including books and magazines
Shelter	Health services
Clothing	Leisure time activities, including pleasure travel.

If these commodities came out of the air, there would be no particular need for a plant and overhead establishment to manufacture and distribute them. They do not come so felicitously, and an overhead establishment is mandatory, including:

Energy sources - coal, oil, hydro, presently atomic
Transport and communication networks
Industrial and commercial plant
Money and banking system
Administration of justice and national defense.

The above six end products, plus the means to produce and defend them, can be analyzed in various ways, from which I will select two: (1) the agencies which have the items in charge, whether government, private business or non-profit private enterprise; (2) the extent of shortages and surpluses, leading to distortion and unbalance from the viewpoint of the good society.

In respect to the agencies, it should be emphasized that they carry heavy moral overtones in the American belief system. Activities in the private sector are held to be benevolent, while many of those in the public sector are considered malevolent, or at best a necessary evil. This attitude has done a good deal

to aid unbalance.

Let us now prepare a statement indicating in a preliminary way both the agencies involved, and the extent of unbalance. We will follow with some chapter-and-verse citations from my card file of shortages and surpluses.

FOOD

Agencies. The U.S. food supply is mostly in private hands, but government on all levels is also deeply involved, via huge annual subsidies to farmers, farm credit, Department of Agriculture services, R.E.A., inspection of meats, pure food and drug legislation, etc. In the non-profit sector we find some large farmers' cooperatives, and some small cooperative food stores.

Shortages. Americans eat well, perhaps, judging by fads in dieting, too well. There is some skimping of staffs for pure food and drug inspection.

Surpluses. Mountains of wheat, feed grains and other food-stuffs are annually bought and stored by the federal government. Much goes to rot. This curious procedure costs the taxpayers some billions a year, and is a striking exhibit in unbalance.

SHELTER

Agencies. Construction is mostly in the private sector - except for the armed services and the AEC - but government is responsible for much regulation and inspection, for public housing, slum clearance, FHA loans. The non-profit sector finances churches, clubs, lodge buildings, etc.

Shortages. Housing for lower and middle income groups is inadequate. Slum clearance lags, and urban redevelopment is way behind what the good life calls for. Not enough inspection, fire protection, planning and zoning authorities, not enough modern building codes, not enough preparation for another 100 million Americans by 2,000 A.D.

Surpluses. Too much production in house furnishings and equipment on an annual model basis.

CLOTHING

Agencies. Mostly private, except uniforms for the armed services, and subsidies to cotton farmers.

Shortages. Not much. Some shoddy garments, but nothing like the paper boots of the old days.

Surpluses. Huge cotton surpluses are purchased by the government and held off the market. The usual changes in fashions create surpluses in sack dresses and last year's hats but nothing new in this.

EDUCATION

Agencies. Mostly in public sector, especially local government. Some federal aid, G.I. Bill, etc. Some private schools for profit. Non-profit sector includes colleges, libraries, foundations concerned with education. Private sector includes text books and school equipment.

Shortages. Not enough class rooms and teachers. Low salaries, inadequate teaching of mathematics and science. Insufficient scholarships for bright youngsters. (In Russia bright youngsters

receive all the education they can take, on the theory that this makes a stronger and more intelligent nation.) Shortage in public libraries. Feeble TV education programs.

Surpluses. High pressure selling of text books and school supplies. Comic books, trash reading.

HEALTH SERVICES

Agencies. Public, private and non-profit sectors all heavily engaged. Public Health Service, Blue Cross, American Medical Association, Veterans' Administration, Cooperative Clinics, Foundations, University research.

Shortages. Not enough hospitals, mental health work, care of old people, mass health insurance. Not enough research into cancer, "the pill" for birth control, other medical mysteries. Inadequate pure food and drug inspection. Inadequate planning for growing pollution of water and air, and atomic waste disposal.

Surpluses. A plethora of quacks, dubious patent medicines, the spirited activities of the "pain and beauty" boys. Too many drug houses making same products, which stores must stock. Too many drives for worthy medical causes - polio, heart, T.B., muscular dystrophy, etcet, etcet, causing duplication, and excessive overhead expense.

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

Agencies. Public, private and non-profit sectors all heavily engaged. As hours of labor go down, this department expands. Includes recreation of all kinds, the arts, entertainment, travel, do-it-yourself, hobbies, pleasure motoring, etc. Public parks,

TV, radio, the roadside industries, country clubs, Boy Scouts, YMCA's, athletic teams.

Shortages. Not enough parks, playgrounds, beaches, open spaces, wilderness areas, wild life preserves. Inadequate support of the arts.

Surpluses. Jazz, junk, children's toys, gadgets, Hollywood, Miami Beach hotels, commercialized sports, hot rods, comic strips, slicks, horse operas, soap operas, phonies, pitch men and quiz programs - mostly canted to the lowest common denominator.

GENERAL SHORTAGES

Government personnel. Many of the most able leave for the better pay and status of private employment. The few devoted, and the second-rate, stay on. Not enough policemen, judges, inspectors.

Weather Bureau appropriations tragically curtailed.

Commuter service breaking down.

Not enough research in the behavioral sciences. E.g., how to reduce crime and delinquency, conduct international conferences, negotiate with Russia, strengthen the United Nations, draw level with advances in the natural sciences.

Not enough safety research -- highways and airways.

Not enough atomic power research.

More TVA's badly needed. Not for power alone, but for balanced watershed development, water supplies, flood control, navigation, recreation, conservation.

Conservation of soils, forests, grass lands, wild life,

minerals, seriously inadequate.

Foreign economic aid inadequate, and often badly administered.

GENERAL SURPLUSES

Planned obsolescence.

Advertising, motivational research, billboards--the assault on the consumer has reached fabulous levels in the U.S., not seriously offset by Consumers' Union.

Excess plant capacity in some departments. Peak load operation for part of year; shutdowns for part--as in motor car production, and garment trades.

But the greatest of all the surpluses is in the department of defense. We are spending $40 billion a year in lethal hardware purely as a deterrent. If we ever use it, if we ever loose one bomb against an enemy, we are lost; 70 million Americans will die in the next few hours. This surplus, furthermore, will have some very unpleasant repercussions if and when it is reduced, and a genuine peace "breaks out." No plans have been made to effect balance. Closed societies can take it in stride, but not open societies without meticulous planning.

SUPPORTING DATA

Summary of S.C.'s 5 x 8 cards with cases of "unbalance"

Shelter

* In the next 20 years urban areas in the U.S. must make room for 72 million more people, with all utilities, services, schools. The cost of modernizing our obsolete cities will be at least $1,000 percapita. Metropolitan reconstruction "has

now become the foundation of our national power." Luther Gulick, N.Y. Times, Nov. 25, 1958.

Education

* In 1956 2.3 million children out of 31.5 million in public schools had no classrooms. School Life, Nov. 1957.

* We spend $3 billion a year on higher education, which is less than one percent of G.N.P. Utterly inadequate. In 10 years, costs of higher education will be three times today's. President Pusey of Harvard, Nov. 1958.

* Libraries in Trouble. Underfinanced, short hours, closed Saturdays. Editorial in N.Y. Times, Nov. 25, 1958.

Health

* "The pollution of the Potomac as it flows through the capital is a national disgrace." Public Affairs Institute monograph, Jan. 1959.

* City Will Survey Croton Pollution. Headline, New York Times, Dec. 5, 1958.

* Hospital Plants Held to be Aging. Headline N.Y. Herald Tribune, Nov. 24, 1958; 13 of N.Y.C. hospitals seriously run down.

* "The amazing thing about American medical research is that it has accomplished so much while being forced to crawl." Hank Bloomgarden in his book Before We Sleep. It is his belief that the federal government must do far more for medical research and medical education. Not enough doctors are being graduated to maintain even the current ratio of one to every 750 persons.

* Passing the hat for Epilepsy, Cerebral Palsy, Emotionally Disturbed Children, Blindness, Allergies, Diabetes, Nephrosis, Multiple Sclerosis, Social Hygiene, Arthritis, Alcoholism, Hemophilea, Myasthenia Gravis, Tropical Diseases, Paraplegia--to name a few--is rapidly becoming a reductio ad absurdum. Marion K. Sanders in Harper's Magazine, Dec. 1958.

* Mental Ills Cost Put at 3 Billion. Headline in N.Y. Times, Nov. 7, 1958.

* Adlai Stevenson after a trip to Russia says that more money for research and more education to train psychiatrists, is needed for mental health. "To hesitate now, to pull back, to economize, just as we are beginning to climb upward, would be the most extravagant thing we could do, for mental illness is unquestionably America's number one health problem." N. Y. Times, Nov. 21, 1958.

* "Smog, which until recently was associated with Los Angeles, has been spreading over the face of the land. ... Unless something is done most major cities in the U.S. will be affected..." Leonard Engel in N.Y. Times Magazine, Jan. 18, 1959.

* What's in the Air? Trouble, lots of trouble! Public Affairs Pamphlet #275, 1958. Excellent summary of air pollution in U.S. to date.

* Survivors of '48 Poison Fog at Donora, Pa., Show an Increased Death Rate. Headline in N.Y. Times, Nov. 29, 1958. 20 killed in Donora, and half thepopulation of 12,000 made ill by smog on Oct. 27, 1948, lasting five days.

* U.S. Plans Air Pollution Team to Push Program of Research. Headline in N.Y. Times, Dec. 2, 1958. Is auto exhaust the worst offender?

* Smog Is Termed A Cancer Cause. Headline in N.Y. Times, Nov. 19, 1958. In Seattle autos dump 100 tons of hydrocarbons, 20 to 80 tons of nitrogen dioxide, and 4 tons of sulfur dioxide into the air every day.

* Acid Mist in Smog Stirs Los Angeles. Headline in N.Y. Times Nov. 26, 1958. (I had thought the Angelicos were beyond stirring.)

* Extension Urged of Anti-Smog Bill. Washington Conference Also Favors Strengthening of Federal Statute. Flemming Pledges Aid. Headlines in N.Y. Times, Nov. 21, 1958.

Leisure Time Activity Shortage

* As a nation we are running out of adequate outdoor recreation areas to play in. The facilities of our national parks and forests are already strained to the breaking point. Only 240 miles of the 3,700 mile Atlantic shore line are still open to the general public. "We have experienced a steady and alarming decrease in the quantity and quality of outdoor recreation resources" says the House Interior & Insular Affairs Committee, Feb. 25, 1957. Connecticut State Journal, 1957.

General Shortages.

* "The police force is 5,000 men short of what Commissioner Kennedy considers needed to police this city properly." Editorial, N.Y. Times, Nov. 21, 1958.

* "For the first time in several years there is no class of recruits training in the Police Academy; this is 'economy'." N.Y. Times editorial, Aug. 22, 1958.

* "The delay and the choking congestion in the Federal Courts today have created a crucial problem for constitutional government in the U.S." Chief Justice Warren quoted in N.Y. Times, Aug. 22, 1958. Cases have increased 62 percent since 1941, but only 26 percent more judges to handle them.

* Tackle Commuter Crisis. Headline in N.Y. Herald Tribune, Jan. 14, 1959. Commuter transit, says Mayor Wagner, is "a matter of survival for metropolitan areas."

* Atomic wastes if dumped in the ocean may poison fish over vast areas. May undercut world's future food supply. More research badly needed. Saturday Review, July 1958.

Academic note on unbalance

"Sometimes the argument is advanced that business spending is preferable to government spending because it leads to greater productivity. But who is prepared to prove that Government spending for research, health and education does not also increase production, perhaps in even greater measure?" Victor R. Fuchs, Professor of Economics, Columbia University. Letter to N.Y. Times, Mar. 9, 1957.

APPENDIX A

Shortages mentioned, but not developed, by Galbraith in The Affluent Society, Chapter 18.

Schools and Colleges
Housing
Slum Clearance
Police
Parks
Playgrounds

Litter collection
Overcrowded transit
" airways
Parking facilities
Hospitals, including mental
Highways
Blighted areas
Pollution control
Traffic control
Smog control, Los Angeles
Neglect of scientific research
Competent government personnel leave for better jobs.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

February 6, 1959

Problems and Possibilities in Economic Growth

The Consultants might wish to consider some of the following questions in their discussion of Economic Policy in The Free Society.

1. The Maintenance of American Growth.

a. A confrontation of the degree to which the U.S. economy is now dependent on war expenditure to maintain its momentum, and an exploration of the magnitude of government expenditure, if war expenditures level off. Example: If we continue our rate of growth of the past decade for another two decades, the Gross National Production will be approximately $900 billion. Private investment will aggregate to at least $100 billions. War expenditure, it is optimistically assumed, will still be around the $50 level. Now if--and this is a crucially important "if"--we then encounter a substantial investment dip--if plant and equipment spending should fall by half, as it did in 1957, and if this fall were followed by an equivalent fall of construction (which we were spared in 1957)--the necessary government expenditures to maintain growth would be likely to amount to $50 to $75 billions a year. The U.S. has absolutely no acceptance of such a magnitude of public expenditure. Our present very high level of defense spending is serving as a substitute for civil government expenditure, and masks the problem of determining for what purposes that expenditure might be made.

Hence the question: what are to be the big avenues of public expenditure of the future?

b. We may make the national decision that our rate of growth is inadequate, particularly if the Russians keep forging ahead, which they are likely to do. Already there are appeals for "stepping up" our growth from wherever it is now to 4%, to 5%, 6%, 7%. What such appeals never consider is that over the last decade when we were growing at "only" 4%--the highest sustained peacetime rate in our history, by the way--our resources were engaged to the hilt. We had no unemployment, little or no excess capacity. Hence to grow faster we shall have to adopt a substantial measure of economic planning--allocations, consumer restraint, wage-and-price controls. Have the people faced up to this reality? Has business? Has the Administration?

2. The Use of American Growth.

a. An important core of intellectual dissent in the country looks with growing hostility upon business values and motives. This is not because of a desire to "do away with the profit motive" or to have done with "private ownership", but because this body of opinion feels that business arrogates to itself responsibilities beyond its own competence, which is entrepreneurial. Business makes the assumption that the business process is the ultimate rationalization of the social process. Thus in sanctifying "growth", in fact the business community has simply sanctified sales. It has not

shown an understanding of how social and cultural life can be deformed by being subjected to the criteria of the market. One is impressed, for instance, with the growth and transformation of Park Avenue from 46th Street to 59th Street. What is equally impressive is that not a single representative of the business community has said, "This is essentially immoral. How can we justify building office buildings--which do not even raise 'productivity' appreciably--when only forty blocks away there is poverty and disgrace? Why do we not move the steel and glass and building machines forty blocks up the street to work where everyone admits they are more needed?" The problem is not that the business community is flinty-hearted. It is that the business orientation spreads out over all of life. The moral issue itself does not seem to occur to it. Business often identifies its growth with the general welfare: whatever is good for business must be good for the general welfare. The standards of business turn out to be the best because they are those of free enterprise.

A reconsideration of some basic propositions like the following is indicated:

1. That the intellectual growth of the country is best served by those magazines, newspapers, etc. which sell best. Query: can a people hoist itself intellectually by its own bootstraps? What is the proper role of profit in the distribution of thought and necessary information?
2. That the trickle-down method of spreading well-being is adequate

to the problem of social poverty which persists in large pockets in this country; that the trickle-down theory is adequate policy for U.S. aid to underdeveloped countries.

3. That the material improvement of the American nation now be left wholly up to business.

3. The attitude of American Capitalism to Foreign Socialism.

a. What we need to do is to puncture some myths about American history (that the government played only a minor role in our development, e.g.) and to correct some stereotypes about the potential course of economic development abroad. Edward Mason's recent book, Economic Planning in Underdeveloped Countries, is excellent in this regard. One might stress a little more a point he only mentions in passing: that economic development in many nations will await total social change, otherwise known as revolution. "Arabia," says Mason, "is plunging madly ahead from the eleventh century into the twelfth."

One alternative is that of very considerable growth of public responsibility--or a gradual estrangement from the rest of the world community. This will not happen tomorrow. But one cannot be so sure about the situation twenty to forty years hence. Many businessmen think that the "crucial" issue is the choice between the "conservativism" of the Republicans and the "liberalism" of the Democrats. This seems myopic. The choice would appear to be between a long-term growth toward a state

of public accountability far to the "left" of the Democrats--and anachronism. We used to think that the great change in thinking of capitalism in the Roosevelt era took care of our social evolution for a long time ahead. Another major ideological shift, like that of the '30s, may be essential if the enterprise economy is to salvage whatever is salvageable in this rapidly collectivizing world.

It is not easy to define "capitalism" these days. But the ideology which our system produces may endanger our long term chances to survive as a healthy, creative, society. Many think that in the long run the business sector must shrink back, and a non-business oriented public sector must assume the responsibility for guiding the nation through the perilous channels ahead. Within the business sector, one may hope that the market, private property, the profit motive, etc. can be retained; and indeed they are the best way of running the productive side of society. But the overall determination of the pace of economic advance, the direction of the avenues in which advance will be encouraged, the supervision of science, the conduct of foreign economic affairs--all matters which now respond mainly to the traditional economic stimuli--may have to be removed from business and given to public institutions. This may or may not be "socialism", that confusing term. It seems to be the kind of social organization toward which all industrialized societies inch their way. The problems of such a new social order would be immense. It would be no utopia.

If it seems to present a terrible restriction to the business community, so also does it hold out threats to the intellectual community. Talleyrand once said that only those who had lived under the ancien regime knew how sweet life could be. This may be the unhappy fate of many of us. Nonetheless the movement toward public responsibility may turn out to be relentlessly effectuated by impersonal historic forces, technological, political, and economic, to which there is no feasible alternative.

Fund file

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 26, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I want to thank you again for the wonderful cooperation you gave us for "The Press and the People" programs in Boston on Saturday. I apologize again for putting you through a one-hour session, but when I heard you talking at lunch it seemed to me that you had so many important things to say that we should take advantage of the opportunity to the greatest possible extent.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I received from Cyrus Eaton, replying to a note I sent him after I talked with you about the possibility of a special Murrow report on a meeting of American and Soviet scientists. I told Eaton you had indicated to me that you would be tied up until the middle of February.

Would it be possible for you to meet with Eaton, Hutchins, and me for lunch on February 16 or 17 to discuss this idea?

All the best, as ever,

Cordially,

Frank

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

Enclosure

Spoke telephoned
proceed
17 Feb.

THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO RAILWAY COMPANY

TERMINAL TOWER - CLEVELAND 1, OHIO

CYRUS S. EATON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

January 22, 1959

Dear Frank:

Many thanks for your letter of the 20th. I shall be delighted to meet with Bob Hutchins, Ed Murrow and you and will endeavor to be in New York for the date you select.

Sincerely yours,

Cyrus

Mr. Frank K. Kelly
Vice President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

CE:cmr

Fund for Republic

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 16, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Here are ten copies of the transcript of your broadcast on The Press and the People. I thought you might have some use for them.

If you should want any more for any reason, I hope you will let me know. I hope also that you will like the way they have turned out.

Cordially yours,

Edward Reed
Director of Publications

attachments

N.B. I have the rest outside

Fund

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Telephone:
Mu 2-1250

NOTE TO EDITORS

Through an oversight, the text of Robert M. Hutchins' address accepting the Sidney Hillman Award on January 21 did not include his name.

It should, of course, have been identified as an address by Mr. Hutchins, president of The Fund for the Republic.

We regret this error.

Sincerely yours,

Frank K Kelly

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

January 19, 1959

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Newspapers
Thursday, January 22, 1959

Speech on accepting the
Sidney Hillman Award for 1958
New York, N.Y.
January 21, 1959

IS DEMOCRACY POSSIBLE?

Last Saturday was the anniversary of an event I have sometimes regretted. Sixty years ago last Saturday, on the other side of the River, near the fire station on Herkimer Street, I was born. Another of the 19th century's last gifts to Chicago, Alphonse Capone, was born on the same day. Readers of the Chicago Tribune may remember that that newspaper sometimes seemed confused about which one of us capricorns it was talking about. I have always thought that the Tribune's astrologer had in those days a strong influence on its policies.

Sixty years is a long time, and naturally I have been thinking about what has happened in this period. I must tell you that the award of the Hillman prize is one of the pleasantest things that has happened to me. To be associated in this way with the name Sidney Hillman, whom I knew and admired, to hear that I have been thought worthy of this association by those who knew him best, this is a consolation and an encouragement. The people who really need and deserve this consolation and encouragement are those who in spite of many appeals to their better judgment gave me the opportunity to do whatever I have done and who thereafter instructed me in private and supported me in public: the faculty of the Yale Law School; the trustees and faculty of the University of Chicago, the directors and staff of the Fund for the Republic. To them for their guidance, confidence, and long-suffering patience, and to you for recog-

nizing them through me my grateful thanks are due.

My earliest memories of my childhood in Brooklyn are of the horse cars, the ice wagon, the cruller wagon; of yelling git-a-hoss at an occasional automobile, and playing one-o-cat in front of our house on Dean Street, where we had moved to be near my father's church on the corner of Nostrand and Dean. The faith in which I was brought up was as simple and confident as the environment. Democracy was the answer to everything, including the ills of democracy. These ills would be cured by more democracy. The ideal toward which we were moving was the civilization of the dialogue, where everybody talked with everybody else about everything, where nobody tried to get his way by force or fraud, where everybody was content to abide by the decision of the majority as long as the dialogue could continue. Democracy meant self-government, and self government meant primarily participation by the individual, at least through the selection of his representatives, in decisions affecting his life and happiness. Since decisions affecting the citizen's life and happiness were taken not merely by his government, but also by many other institutions, corporations, trade unions, and political parties, for example, the thing to do was to democratize them, as well as the government.

In this view the great crime is to try to prevent other people from speaking up, or to say that there are certain things you won't talk about, or certain people you won't talk to, either at home or abroad. In this

view education and communication are of prime importance, because if you can't hear what the others are saying, or can't understand it, or if they can't hear or understand you, there can't be any dialogue, and democracy becomes meaningless.

It is clear, then, that the democratic faith is faith in man, faith in every man, faith that man, if he is well enough educated and well enough informed, can solve the problems raised by his own aggregation.

One advantage of this faith is that it is practically shock-proof. Industrialization can sweep the world. Nationalism and technology can threaten the extinction of the human race. Population can break out all over. Man can take off from this planet as his ancestors took off from the primordial ooze and try to make other planets to shoot from. Education can be trivialized beyond belief. The media of communication can be turned into media of entertainment. The dialogue can almost stop because people have nothing to say, or, if they have something to say, no place to say it. And still it is possible to believe that if democracy and the dialogue can continue, if they can be expanded, if they can be improved, freedom, justice, equality, and peace will untimately be achieved.

Some shocks I have received lately have bothered me a little. The first came when during the excitement of last year I was recommending my democratic panacea as a remedy for the ills of the labor unions to the people on the trade union project of the Fund for the Republic. They

informed me that the idea of government by the people had little application to labor unions and that in any event democratic forms in unions were no safeguard against anti-social behavior on their part. In fact, they said, some of the unions in which democratic forms were most conspicuous were the most anti-social.

The second shock came when at the conclusion of my usual tirade against the wild irrationality of our foreign policy I explained to the people on the common defense project of the Fund for the Republic that we should subject that policy to democratic control. My colleagues pointed out to me that in addition to being impossible this was unconstitutional, and had always been regarded as such, and that whatever I might think of the policies followed by the President and the Secretary of State, and however much I might dislike being blown up or suffocated as a result of these policies, the Founding Fathers intended that I should be in precisely this position. In any event, they said, there was no way, particularly in view of the enormous technical problems of modern warfare and international relations, in which the citizens could actually participate in the decisions upon which their lives depended.

The third shock came when I was proposing my usual remedy to the people on the project on political parties, which deals with the political process in a free society. Participation was my watchword. Get out the vote. Or, as the Advertising Council has it, Vote as You Please, but Please Vote. My associates indicated to me that getting people out to vote when they did not know what they were voting for was not helpful,

and might be harmful, to the objects I had in view. Under modern conditions, they said, it might be that responsible political participation and decision by the citizens would prove to be impossible, anyway.

Somewhat shaken, I went to the conference on the Island of Rhodes on Representative Government and Public Liberties in the New States. The basic problem of the conference turned out to be whether government by the people is possible, or even desirable, in the modern world, in states old or new. The sense of relief with which members from the new states welcomed military dictatorships in their countries and with which the Frenchmen present welcomed De Gaulle was a measure of the current disenchantment with democracy. These men saw no way of adjusting democratic institutions to contemporary realities. What they hoped for is a period of order in which the most acute problems, like Algeria in France and corruption in Siam, may be solved; after which they may, or may not, try government by the people again.

Eminent European philosophers and political scientists present reassured the members from the new states, three of whose governments turned into military dictatorships while the conference was in session, by telling them that democracy was an illusion in both old and new states, for different reasons. In the new states we could not expect government by the people because they lacked education, communication, organization, and law. In the old states it had been out of date since the Peloponnesian War, and even then it was not what we mean by democracy now. Pericles,

a leader of the Left, struck thousands of voters from the rolls because they could not prove that both their parents were native-born Athenians. Greek democracy was based on a uniformity of ideas and practices appropriate to an extended family group. The kind of government by the people that may be said to have worked in Athens and in the New England town meeting could not possibly work in a large, heterogeneous, industrial, bureaucratic society. The most we could hope for was order, efficiency, and the maintenance of civil liberties, those rights historically carved out against governmental interference with private life. Alexander Pope, whose celebrated lines had always seemed to me as false as they were celebrated, was justified at last:

> "For forms of government let fools contest
> Whate'er is best administered is best."

I came away from Rhodes with the foreboding that we might be at the beginning of something new in the last 100 years -- a world-wide anti-democratic trend that had little or nothing to do with the intimidations or seductions of the Kremlin. (It was significant that in eight days of discussion no member from any new state said a word about Communism or Russia.) This anti-democratic trend would reverse the aspirations of all men of good will at least since 1848 for government by the people. It would have alarming connotations for the United States in the realm of foreign policy. It should force us to re-examine the assumptions and slogans by which we have lived in the light of the actual operation of our

institutions in the new industrialized, polarized, bureaucratic world.

If you ask how my democratic faith is doing,

> "Whither is fled the visionary gleam
> Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

I reply that it is still here. Perhaps the gleam is not quite as bright as it used to be, and somewhat more visionary, but it is still here. Still, even at my age, I cannot long sustain a position to which my reason will not assent. The shocks I have received are recent; and I cannot claim that I have absorbed them or that I know how to repel others in the future. Perhaps what I can do is to communicate the sense of crisis that I feel, and to ask you, since you have all shared my faith (and most of you were born in Brooklyn) to join in thinking for a moment how that faith can be defended.

The faith rests on the propositions that man is a political animal, that participation in political decisions is necessary to his fulfilment and happiness, that all men can and must be sufficiently educated and informed to take part in making these decisions, that protection against arbitrary power, though indispensable, is insufficient to make either free individuals or a free society, that such a society must make positive provisions for its development into a community learning together; for this is what political participation, government by consent, and the civilization of the dialogue all add up to.

If we are to become a community learning together, as I insist we can, the first thing we have to do is to make up our minds that we want

to learn. We have lived on a note of triumphant philistinism. Here is a characteristically triumphant proclamation made by Carl D. Becker, perhaps the most celebrated American historian of his day, in 1931. He said, "Our supreme object is to measure and master the world, rather than to understand it. . . . Viewed scientifically, it appears as something to be accepted, something to be manipulated and mastered, something to adjust ourselves to with the least possible stress. So long as we can make efficient use of things, we feel no irresistible need to understand them. No doubt it is for this reason chiefly that the modern mind can be so wonderfully at ease in a mysterious universe."

At ease, indeed! Anybody who feels at ease in the world today is a fool. And anybody who would say now that he was content to master and manipulate the environment without bothering to understand how it worked or what to do with it would show first that he did not know what science was, for science is nothing but organized understanding of the subjects with which it deals, and second that he had no grasp of the kind of problems we now confront. The great overwhelming problems of our country are how to make democracy a reality, how to survive in the nuclear age, and what to do with ourselves if we do survive. None of these problems is technological, though technology has helped to create all of them, and none of them will yield to the kind of measurement, manipulation, or mastery that Professor Becker had in mind. We may, in fact, reverse his statement of 1931 and come nearer the truth of 1959.

Then it would go like this: no doubt it is because we have felt no irresistible need to understand the world that the modern mind can be so wonderfully ill at ease in a mysterious universe.

The next question is, how are we going to learn? History will have trouble with American education in the 20th century. It will see a people who say they are dedicated to education and who are the richest in the world indifferent to education and unwilling to pay for it. It will see an educational system that delivers less education per dollar than almost any other saying that all it needs is more money. The people and the educators are united only in this: they both want education without pain, either intellectual or financial. History will find it hard to explain how a nation that is one, a nation in which the political subdivisions have almost no relation to social or economic life and very little to political life, can entrust its future to these subdivisions by relegating education to them. History will smile sardonically at the spectacle of this great country getting interested, slightly and temporarily, in education only because of the technical achievements of Russia, and then being able to act as a nation only by assimilating education to the Cold War and calling an education bill a defense act.

We might as well make up our minds to it. If our hopes of democracy are to be realized, every citizen of this country is going to have to be educated to the limit of his capacity. And I don't mean trained, amused, exercised, accommodated, or adjusted. I mean that his intellectual power

must be developed. A good way to start finding the money that is needed for education would be to kick out of it those subjects, those activities, and those people that make no contribution to the development of intellectual power. Such an operation would produce vast sums. I suggest that two things might be done with this money and with any more that may be needed: first, we should double teachers' salaries, not because all the teachers we have deserve twice as much as they are getting, but because we want to attract the ablest people into the profession; and second, we should establish a national system of scholarships that makes it possible for every citizen of this country to be educated to the limit of his mental capacity, regardless of the financial capacity of his parents.

If life is learning, and I think it is, and if our object is to become a community learning together, education ought to continue throughout life. Here is the great educational opportunity and obligation of the next generation. The education of adults is not only indispensable to the continuation, expansion, and improvement of the dialogue, but it is also an answer to the question of what we are going to do with ourselves if we survive. As automation advances, as new sources of energy are applied in industry, as the hours of labor decline, we have the chance to become truly human by using our new and disturbing leisure to develop our highest human powers to the utmost. Here we can build on the experience of such organizations as the Great Books Foundation, which has ~~helped to meet the needs of~~ SUCCORED tens of thousands of refugees from television all over the country.

This brings me to the media of mass communications. If our hopes of democracy are to be realized, the media must supply full and accurate information on which the people can base their judgment on public affairs and they must offer a forum for the discussion of those affairs. I doubt if there are six cities of any size in the United States in which the newspapers come anywhere near meeting these requirements. As for radio and television, with a few distinguished exceptions now and then, they make no attempt to meet them. The so-called "extended news coverage" supplied by radio and television during the recent newspaper strike in New York was a bad joke. A dozen years ago the Commission on the Freedom of the Press recommended the establishment of a continuing independent agency, privately financed, to appraise and report periodically on the performance of the media. Everything that has happened since, and especially the use of the most marvelous electronic methods of communication for the communication of triviality, to give it no harder name, makes the adoption of this recommendation more urgent every day.

If we were well educated and well informed, could we make ourselves felt in the realm of political action? In the Republic as I have described it every act of assent on the part of the governed is a product of learning. Could we learn by doing in politics? Or would the archaic structure of our government and the vast bureaucratic machine that goes creaking on, following the right procedure instead

of seeking the right result, prevent us from using our newly won education and information as active, deciding, responsible citizens?

Today the dialogue is impeded by obsolescent practices and institutions from the long ballot to the presidential primary, from the electoral college to the organization of cities, counties, and states. In too frequent elections unknown persons by the hundreds running for insignificant offices and improper questions, like the dozens submitted at every California election, are presented to the electorate. This is not democracy, but a perversion of it. The political anatomy is full of vermiform appendices, many of them, like Arkansas, inflamed.

Some of these obsolescent practices stop the dialogue in its tracks, like the failure of the FCC and Congress to develop any concept of the public interest, convenience, and necessity. Some of them distort the dialogue by throwing false weights into it, as the electoral college gives a false weight to the large states and the laws on campaign expenditures give money an overwhelmingly false weight in elections. One thing is certain, and that is that if our hopes of democracy are to be realized, the next generation is in for a job of institutional remodeling the like of which has not been seen since the Founding Fathers.

Well, suppose we got this remodeling done. Could we then turn ourselves into active, responsible, participating citizens?

Wouldn't the bureaucracy, though better, and administering better laws, still have us by the throat? The answer depends partly on our capacity for political invention, which in 1787 was quite large, and partly on what participation means. If we can be equipped for the dialogue and then invent the means by which the bureaucracy can hear it and be made responsive to it, we shall have come a long way from where we are now in relation, for example, to the State Department and the Atomic Energy Commission. Then political participation would mean not only what it too often means exclusively now, the ballot, but also participation in the dialogue about the ends and means of the political society.

The notion that the sole concern of a free society is the limitation of governmental authority and that that government is best which governs least is certainly archaic. Our object today is not to weaken government in competition with other centers of power, but rather to strengthen government as the agency charged with the responsibility for the common good. That government is best which governs best. Mr. Hoover could see no constitutional way of coping with depression, as Buchanan before him could see no constitutional way of coping with secession. We started out to show in 1932 that our institutions were sufficiently flexible to care for the welfare of all the people. The demonstration was never made. We have got instead the pressure group state, which cares for the welfare of those who

are well enough organized to put on the pressure.

The genealogy of this development is strange. When I was a boy, we knew what stood between us and freedom, justice and equality: it was special privilege. Get rid of special privilege, we said, and the common good will be achieved. In our time pacification has been attained not by getting rid of special privilege, but by extending it, by extending it to those well enough organized to threaten the special privileges under attack.

Is the tariff hurting the farmers? Retain the tariff and subsidize the farmers. Are administered prices hurting labor? Let's have administered wages, too. Is industry demoralized by expense accounts and tax dodges? Let's have featherbedding in labor, too. Is something done by some group anti-social? Let's all of us -- all of us who can put on the pressure -- be anti-social, too. And if a federal agency is established to regulate us, never fear: we have the pressure that will shortly make the agency the servant and mouthpiece of the interests it was intended to control. And as we laughingly count our gains at the expense of the public, we can reverently repeat the solemn incantation that helped to make them possible: that government is best which governs least.

The Constitution must protect the citizen against the government. The government must protect him against the pressure groups.

The stresses and strains in our society are obscured for us partly by our pre-occupation with Russia, which plays a curious double role in our lives as the devil in our world and as the standard by which we measure our own progress. If we weren't getting ahead of Russia, or falling behind her, how would we tell where we were?

Our real problems are also concealed from us by our current remarkable prosperity, which results in part from the production of arms that we do not expect to use ~~against Russia,~~ and in part from our new way of getting rich, which is to buy things from one another that we do not want at prices we cannot pay on terms we cannot meet because of advertising we do not believe.

But beneath these superficial manifestations, beneath our fantasies of fear on the one hand and wealth on the other, are moving great, fundamental, historic forces that will put our institutions and our democratic faith to the test. This is the basic fact of our lives.

I have never subscribed to the proposition once debated in the Oxford Union, that in the opinion of this House Columbus went too far. Nor can I bring myself to refer to man as he is now referred to in military technology, as a "biomechanical link." If Columbus had not gone so far, man might never have had the chance to become anything more than a biomechanical link. America is still the hope of mankind. It is still our responsibility, now more than ever, to see to it that government of the people, by the people, and for the people does not perish from the earth.

# # # # # # #

7 7. Pub ~~Kelly, Frank~~

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 24, 1958

7

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks very much for letting me have a copy of the transcript of your Person-to-Person interview with Harold Burton.

I was glad to hear that you were going to go on our Louis Lyons program. Louis is very pleased, and I know that it will be one of the best discussions we could possibly get.

I saw "Small World" last night, and it seems to me that it is getting better and better -- if that is possible.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

Fund for Republic

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 19, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Letter of

By Messenger

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Called.

As I told your secretary yesterday on the phone, we are having a luncheon on November 25, at which Walter Millis and Dr. I. I. Rabi will discuss the first publication in our basic issues program -- a pamphlet by Mr. Millis, entitled "Individual Freedom and the Common Defense."

The lunch will ~~begin at~~ 12:15, and it will be held in Room 112 at the Hotel Biltmore. Robert Hutchins thought you might be interested in joining us and it is our hope that you will be able to attend.

I enclose a copy of the Millis pamphlet which is likely to make news across the country. In his preface, Mr. Millis states: "The sputnik demonstrates, what was already becoming increasingly apparent, that many of our policies adopted in the name of the common defense demand modification. The monograph which follows discusses some of the lines along which these policies may be re-examined and some of the ways in which modification seems desirable." Mr. Millis writes: "We have suffered a diplomatic and psychological defeat in the cold war so severe as to call in question the whole cold war strategy which we have been following... Neither the practical measures taken in the interests of the common defense nor the foreign policies based upon them have succeeded in 'winning' the cold war; indeed, we are ourselves very largely the architects of Khrushchev's triumph, since, if we had not so insistently put our relations with the Soviet Union in the terms of war, the psychological impact of the Russian feat would have been far less." The pamphlet will be published on November 27, with release for morning papers of that date.

I do hope you will come to lunch with us, and I hope you will have a chance to look over the pamphlet in advance of the luncheon.

Sincerely,

Frank Kelly

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

Enclosure

P.S. - I want to thank you again for your kind cooperation in making possible my chapter on you in my book Reporters Around the World.

Fund

October 31, 1958

Dear Frank:

I, too, enjoyed our conversation the other day very much.

I do not yet know what the prospects are for my being able to join Louis Lyons in a discussion of the role of the press in a free society, but will try to let you know in about ten days.

Cordially,

Mr. Frank K. Kelly
Vice President
The Fund for the
Republic, Inc.
60 East 42 Street
New York, New York

mcc

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 27, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I enjoyed our conversation the other day very much.

I do hope you will be able to join Louis Lyons in a discussion of the role of the press in a free society. It would be very valuable for all of us.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

Fund for Rep.

October 22, 1958

Dear Frank:

About the seven-hour television program, I doubt the advisability of such a sustained and prolonged effort. The idea of reviving the old-fashioned debate is altogether admirable, but even in the old days when there were few distractions, I doubt that a seven-hour debate would have held up.

Indeed, there is no chance whatever of my undertaking any shows in addition to my present commitments.

Cordially yours,

Mr. Frank K. Kelly
Vice President
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

gw

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 16, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Enclosed is a copy of a proposal which has been made to us for a seven-hour television program on the theme of "Survival and Freedom."

We would like very much to have your views on this, with two questions in mind:

(1) Do you think it is worth doing?

(2) Would you be willing to participate in it if we decide to do it?

Robert Horton called my attention to your recent address which was reported in Variety. We are getting copies of it for distribution to our staff and Consultants. It sounds like a blockbuster.

Cordially yours,

Frank Kelly

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

Enclosure

P.S. I thought you were in very good form the other night at the Freedom House dinner.

A NATIONAL FORUM ON
SURVIVAL AND FREEDOM

October 9, 1958

October 9, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Frank Kelly

From: Edward L. Greenfield

This memorandum further develops our proposal for a seven-hour, Fund for the Republic-sponsored TV program, an emergency town meeting devoted to the really crucial issues we face today. We call it "A National Forum on Survival and Freedom."

Essentially, this program is an attack: an attack on complacency, on the low level of public debate and inquiry, on the crisis of belief. More concretely, it is an attack on those shortcomings of our institutions which tend to foster complacency, discourage debate, and create cynicism. The sole reason for a continuous seven-hour television program -- as opposed to, say, seven one-hour programs -- is that this unusual effort itself would emphasize the enormity of the problems facing us.

We propose that "A National Forum on Survival and Freedom" be held in Constitution Hall in Washington, from seven p.m., January 3, 1959, until two a.m., January 4, 1959. We selected this date because the New Year's week is traditionally a time for reassessment and rededication. And January 3 is a Saturday on which, presumably, many Americans will be tired of frolicking and will be at home watching television.

Channel Five or Channel Thirteen would be the continuous outlet for the program, but we would hope that all national networks would want to broadcast substantial segments, especially after ten p.m. when the more lucrative programs go off the air.

"A National Forum on Survival and Freedom" would be presided over by a single commentator for the full seven hours. Past experience has shown that the viewing public will identify with an individual who is conducting a strenuous program and tends to stay with it long past bedtime out of regard and concern for that individual. We suggest that Eric Sevareid or Edward R. Murrow would be rather an ideal figure for this task, but there are several other men who might also be considered.

The program should open with a ten-minute statement by Sevareid or Murrow. This opening statement would document the rise of American complacency and the decline of real debate. One strong example, for instance, would be a brief account of the decline and fall of the public forum in America. Twenty years ago, across the country, every church, synagogue, and public

hall was the scene of open forum discussions and debates on the major issues of the day. Many of these forums no longer exist. The debates are discontinued. Even a majority of the lecture services that used to provide speakers are out of business.

This introductory statement should also briefly review the nature of our political, educational, economic, religious and defense institutions in terms of the vast changes that have taken place between 1776 and today.

After this preliminary, the moderator would open a series of 70-minute discussions of the basic issues. Each issue would be discussed as a self-contained unit. Indeed, we suggest that a separate team of producer, director, and continuity-writer organize each segment. These issues would be illuminated and debated in several ways:

First: Several protagonists would read brief prepared statements, say, on the half hour.

Second: Each protagonist would be interrogated by an expert, who might or might not agree with him.

Third: A carefully selected panel of newsmen would be invited to question each protagonist and his interrogator. These newsmen would help clarify what had been said and would sharpen the news value of each segment.

We feel that "A National Forum on Survival and Freedom" should take as its guide six of the basic issues about which the Fund for the Republic itself has been concerned. These are:

1. Our political institutions and individual freedom.
2. Our religious institutions and individual freedom.
3. Our economic institutions and individual freedom.
4. Our educational institutions and individual freedom.
5. Our national defense and individual freedom.
6. Our sources of information -- the mass media -- and individual freedom.

A list of names of national and international figures is appended, from which "protagonists", expert interrogators" and "interviewers" might be selected.

At the end of each segment, we suggest that the moderator offer the help of the Fund for the Republic to any group in the nation which desires materials to organize and produce forum discussions on this issue at the grass roots.

And at the end of the program, we feel that the participants should sign a document in which, among other things, they call for an end to complacency, resumption of debate in America, and renewal of a belief in ourselves and our freedoms.

Both the offer to help set up forums and the final document give the program a further sense of urgency and one more reason for being. They give the program a beginning and an end as well as a sharply-focused middle.

We would also like to emphasize here our conviction that the "and individual freedom" part of each major issue should be discussed as fully as the objective facts about the possibilities and failings of our institutions. This program should not take for granted the idea of freedom. So many papers and studies produced by the Fund have assumed that everybody understands the meaning of freedom and believes in it. But we cannot now skirt the key question: why believe in freedom? This must be answered time and time again to balance the widespread impression that we have no beliefs save mere survival and wall-to-wall crab grass.

This TV program would be preceded for weeks by a massive press publicity campaign. The public would be urged to form groups to listen to all or part of the program. Each "protagonist" would prepare for prior release a clear statement outlining his position. It is our belief that these statements would literally blanket the press of the nation on the morning of Sunday, January 4, just after the program. And these statements would have been the jumping off point for each "protagonist's" discussion during the previous evening's TV forum.

A soft cover book would be rapidly produced, containing the best material from the seven hours of debate. This book would be made a part of the grass roots forum kit which the Fund would provide to groups across the country. In addition, magazine editors and writers would be invited to use materials developed on the program for articles and research.

The cost of "A National Forum on Survival and Freedom" will be well under $75,000. We feel that either WNEW or WNTA may be willing to provide the TV time at a very low cost or perhaps for nothing. Certainly, many speakers will donate their time. Some newsmen will have to be paid an honorarium. Technical people must receive standard rates. The meeting place may require rental fees unless a TV studio is used. Research, transportation and production costs, as well as planning and public relations, will entail customary expenditures.

This is our proposal. "A National Forum on Survival and Freedom" seems entirely possible to us and substantial enough to do justice to

the issues themselves. Since our last meeting, we have informally discussed this TV forum with many seasoned TV professionals and newsmen, as well as a number of men who may well be protagonists on the program. Without exception, their response was enthusiastic.

Edward L. Greenfield

Enclosure

POSSIBLE PARTICIPANTS IN NATIONAL FORUM ON SURVIVAL AND FREEDOM

George Kennan

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer

Prof. Jerry Weisner

Martin Luther King

William O. Douglas

Hugo Black

Paul J. Tillich

Cyrus Eaton

Walter Lippman

James Reston

Elmo Roper

Richard Rovere

Martin Agronsky

Adlai Stevenson

Bertrand Russell

Luis Munoz-Marin

Drew Pearson

Kenneth Galbraith

Margaret Chase Smith

Arthur Miller

Nelson Rockefeller

David Rockefeller

Dean Acheson

Erich Fromm

Jacques Maritain

Lord Boyd-Orr

William S. White

George N. Shuster

Henry Wriston

Edward R. Murrow

Alicia Patterson

Prof. Harold Lasswell

Ernest F. Burchard

Thomas K. Finletter

Chester Bowles

William Benton

Ben Cohen

Mike Cowles or John Cowles

Walter Reuther

Dan Bell

Linus Pauling

Charles E. Wilson (GE)

Bishop James A. Pike

Gov. Mennen Williams of Michigan

Richard Dilworth

Senator Joe Clark

Governor McKeldin of Maryland

Paul Nitze

Roger Baldwin

George Pickett

Alexander Meiklejohn

Barry Bingham

Joseph Welch

Ernest Breach

Charles Cole

Arthur Larson

Henry Steele Commager

Senator Paul Douglas

Pat Malin

Roger Lapham, ex-Mayor of San Francisco

Clark Kerr

Max Millikan

Stringfellow Barr

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Ralph Bunche

William Holmes Borders, Atlanta

Sarah Blanding

Ernest Hemingway

William Faulkner

Robert Penn Warren

John Steinbeck

Telford Taylor

Dean Neibert, Howard U. Law School

Mrs. and Mrs. (Daisy) Bates, Arkansas NAACP

Dore Schary

Lewis Mumford

Stuart Chase

Dean Griswold

Prof. Zacharias, M. I. T.

Norbert Weiner

Harold Urey

Gen. James Gavin

C. Wright Mills

John McCloy

Reinhold Niebuhr

Estes Kefauver

Senator Mike Mansfield

Harry S. Truman

David Reisman

Isaiah Berlin

Scott Buchanan

Archibald MacLeish

Lester Pearson

Bruce Catton

Msgr. Francis J. Lally

Oscar Hammerstein II

Harry Ashmore

Isidor Rabi

Walter Millis

Robert Redfield

Allen Ginsberg

John Clellon Holmes

Mort Sahl

Jack Kerouac

Alan Barth

General S. L. A. Marshall

Harrison Brown

Lillian Smith

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Francis Biddle

Marquis Childs

Doris Fleeson

John LaFarge

Carl Sandburg

Richard Wright

Norman Mailer

Ralph McGill, Atlanta

Fund for Republic

October 22, 1958

Dear Ping:

Have read THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY; it's excellent. Galbraith is an old friend.

There is nothing I can do about it. SEE IT NOW is dead. Remember?

As ever yours,

Mr. W. H. Ferry
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

gw

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 20, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Have you read Galbraith's "The Affluent Society"? Berle, Stuart Chase, Andrew Hacker, and others consider it to be the most original contribution to economic thinking since Keynes.

In looking through it again last night it occurred to me that here is the basis for a first class television show. Production for the sake of production? You auto buy now, not because you need an auto but in order to provide jobs? The paradox of our stinginess where real needs are concerned--highways, schools, social services, hospitals, and so on--and our lavishness in providing mink-tipped can openers, jet-served toothpaste, portable TV sets, and six tail lights on every car? All businesses plan ahead, why is it unspeakable for a government or an economy to plan ahead?

If you haven't read the book you shouldn't be put off by drab reconstructions of its scintillating propositions. Better read it yourself, in other words. It just struck me that you could make an outstanding contribution to the discussion by presenting some of Galbraith's propositions in the way you and Fred have developed so successfully.

Regards,

W. H. Ferry

Fund for the Republic

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 14, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Frank Kelly runs the Project on the Mass Media, one of the major undertakings in the Fund's Basic Issues Program. As Hutchins and I told you one day perhaps a year ago, this project is concentrating for the time being on television. He would like to talk with you. Can we arrange it? We could fix things up almost any time at your convenience.

Best,

W. H. Ferry

See Frank Kelly Oct 23.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 30, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Ten days ago I sent you the draft of a memorandum, The Structure of the Problem, dealing with a number of questions about the relation between the Corporation and issues of freedom and justice.

I fear that I did not make it entirely clear that the discussion of these and related matters would be conducted by a distinguished Committee of Consultants, and that all will be considered within the context of a program on the basic issues that is described in the attached Bulletin of the Fund. I am also enclosing a recent news release concerning the related Projects on the Corporation and the Trade Union.

The discussion of these subjects by the Central Committee is in its first stages, and no conclusions or recommendations are likely to emerge from the Committee for some time. Mr. Reagan's draft will be one of a number of papers on these topics to be taken up by the Central Committee when it meets again next month.

May I take this opportunity to thank those of you who have sent me such constructive responses and suggestions concerning Mr. Reagan's draft?

Sincerely,

W. H. Ferry

W. H. Ferry
For the Project on the Corporation

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: A. M. Newspapers
Tuesday, July 2, 1957

FUND COMMITTEE WILL EXAMINE
CORPORATION, LABOR UNION
EFFECT ON FREEDOMS.

NEW YORK, N. Y. -- The Fund for the Republic announced today that its newly appointed group of 10 distinguished consultants will undertake an inquiry into the impact of two major U. S. institutions -- the industrial corporation and the labor union -- on individual freedom and civil liberty in America.

The two projects are part of the Fund's recently announced "basic issues" program on which it will concentrate its efforts for the present.

Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund, said that he hoped the corporation and labor union projects "would form the basis for intelligent

(MORE)

discussion of two of the most powerful influences affecting contemporary society."

Mr. Hutchins said that the corporation and the labor union are institutions "which may affect the individual for good or ill quite as intimately as big government does. The U. S. is now a nation of employees, with more than 75% of the working force employed by corporations. Almost 16,000,000 workers are members of unions."

He declared that "until there is a full inquiry into the effects of these institutions the modern problems of liberty and justice in a free society cannot be clearly defined."

He stated that additional Fund projects have been designed to look into other institutions affecting freedom in contemporary life, and that details about these projects will be forthcoming soon. All projects are directed solely at obtaining material that will aid the Central Committee of Consultants in its efforts to clarify the issues.

The consultants, who, with Mr. Hutchins and various members of the Fund's Board of Directors, will conduct the inquiries into the industrial corporation and labor union are:

Adolf A. Berle, professor of corporation law, Columbia University.

Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief and publisher of Time, Life and Fortune.

(MORE)

Scott Buchanan, professor of philosophy and author.

Eugene Burdick, assistant professor of political science at the University of California.

Eric Goldman, professor of history at Princeton University.

Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California.

John Courtney Murray, S. J., professor of theology at Woodstock College, Maryland.

Isidor I. Rabi, professor of physics at Columbia University and chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Robert Redfield, professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago.

Reinhold Niebuhr, vice-president of the Union Theological Seminary.

The project on the labor union will examine the relation between the union and its membership, between the union and the community, and the implications for individual rights of collective bargaining practices, terms of union contracts, size of the bargaining unit and other factors.

The labor union project will get underway with informal conferences and discussions with trade union officials, industrial relations experts, arbitrators and others qualified to contribute.

The project on the industrial corporation will first endeavor to appraise the impact of the corporation on its employees in certain "traditional" areas: freedom of speech, association and political activity. It will also

(MORE)

seek to obtain a comprehensive summary of the various opinions concerning the proper relationship between employer and employed. Later it will go into other questions abour corporative-employee relations and will try also to assess the corporation's relation to other institutions. The project will seek the cooperation of industry and assistance from universities, trade associations, and scholars, journalists, and others.

Mr. Hutchins explained that the Fund's "basic issues" program, under which the corporation and labor union studies have been set up, requires every member of the Central Committee of Consultants to be jointly responsible for conclusions reached in every field of study.

At the outset, one or more consultants will assume a special responsibility for each project, while two or more members of the Fund's Board of Directors have agreed to lend counsel and assistance and to provide liaison between the Board and the project.

The Fund consultant who will take special responsibility for the labor union project is Chancellor Kerr. Mr. Kerr is a specialist in labor economics and industrial relations and is a former member of the War Labor Board and of Presidential fact-finding boards.

Board members of the Fund who will act as liaison between the project and the Board are Oscar Hammerstein II, theatrical producer; Paul G. Hoffman, U.S. delegate to the United Nations, and Meyer Kestnbaum,

(MORE)

president of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, who is also serving as a special assistant to President Eisenhower.

Mr. Berle will represent the Central Committee of Consultants on the corporation project. He has been a professor of corporation law at Columbia University since 1927, and is a former Assistant Secretary of State and a former Ambassador to Brazil.

Fund directors acting as liaison between the project and the Board are M. Albert Linton, chairman of the Board of the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company and J. Howard Marshall, vice-president of the Signal Oil and Gas Company.

The ten-member Committee of Consultants will meet several times a year for extended sessions of study and analysis and will direct the collection of factual and analytical material. They expect from time to time to publish their findings and conclusions.

Mr. Hutchins said the Fund has decided to examine such modern situations as the industrial corporation and the labor union because tremendous changes have taken place since the 18th century, when civil liberties were defined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. "The United States at that time was a small, scattered, almost wholly agrarian society," Mr. Hutchins pointed out. "Except for the church, government was almost the only significant social organization. There were no industrial corporations; labor unions were unknown; there was nothing remotely like the colossal modern organization of mass communications.

(MORE)

Even political parties were so rudimentary that the Constitution made no provision for them. The private pressure group as we know it scarcely existed."

"Today social institutions have grown to gigantic size, with consequences which the authors of the Constitution could not even imagine. If we are to continue as free men in a free society, we must find out how these developments affect freedom and justice. We must discover the basic issues they present. We probably cannot solve the fundamental problems; but we can and must present them in terms making possible a rational debate."

The Fund for the Republic was created by the Ford Foundation in late 1952. It has spent or allocated about 8 1/2 million of the $15,000,000 granted to it by the Foundation at that time.

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BULLETIN • JULY 1957

The Fund for the Republic

The sixth number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties, and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

FREEDOM AND JUSTICE: THE BASIC ISSUES

The Modern Problem of Civil Liberties

The Fund for the Republic has enlisted ten distinguished Americans, outstanding for their experience and competence in relevant fields, to conduct an extensive enquiry into the basic issues of individual freedom and civil liberty in the United States. In a coordinated program on which the Fund will presently put a major emphasis, they will seek to identify and clarify those fundamental issues that underlie most of the tumult concerning questions of freedom and justice in our contemporary society.

When the Fund was established in 1953 it took as its charter the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. The purpose of the Fund, as the Directors expressed it, was to make these founding statements "living documents" in the daily affairs of the nation. This work must and can continue. Yet it has become increasingly clear that the defense of civil liberties, as traditionally understood —a mere insistence upon the letter of such texts as the free-speech clause of the First Amendment or the constitutional protection against self-incrimination— is no longer enough to meet the real issues which are constantly arising in this field.

After intensive thought and consultation, lasting over a year or more, the Directors and Officers of the Fund for the Republic have concluded that their fundamental problem does not lie in the ill-observance of the great Eighteenth Century texts; it lies rather in the immense changes in the circumstances and institutions of the American people, which have rendered the application of those texts to contemporary affairs so confusing and difficult a task.

The Eighteenth Century constitutional structure, with its Federal and state bills of rights, was developed for a small, scattered, almost wholly agrarian society. Except for the church, government was virtually the only large, organized institution with significant impact on the individual; and the constitutional guarantees were, naturally, concerned almost wholly with the protection of individual and minority interests against government. There were no giant industrial corporations; no trade unions; the modern political party was not even contemplated; mass communications were not in the hands of huge, highly organized and centrally controlled media; the voluntary pressure group scarcely existed. Today these and other "big" institutions affect the individual for good or ill quite as intimately as "big government" does. Without a re-examination of the modern context—without full enquiry into the true, as opposed to the alleged, effects of these institutions—the modern problems of liberty and justice in a free society will remain insoluble.

To Clarify the Basic Issues

The Fund for the Republic does not delude itself with a hope that final solutions for those problems can be found through any single effort. It does believe that the basic issues of freedom and justice can be defined; that the mistaken or fictitious issues which absorb most current dispute can be stripped away; that the real problems can be clarified and set forth in terms permitting of their rational debate among free men.

This is the purpose of the new program. The primary responsibility for the work will be in the hands of the ten consultants, who are:

A. A. BERLE, JR., attorney, former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Brazil, professor of corporation law at Columbia University since 1927 and author of a number of books on the corporation, including (with Gardiner C. Means) *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, a foundation work on the subject published in 1932.

SCOTT BUCHANAN, professor of philosophy, with a wide background of teaching at Amherst, Harvard, University of Virginia, University of Chicago, St. John's College, Fisk University and elsewhere; a member of the American Mathematics Association and American Philosophical Association and author of works on philosophy and politics.

EUGENE BURDICK, assistant professor of political science at the University of California, a Rhodes scholar, a novelist as well as political scientist and in 1950-'51 a member of the staff of the Naval War College.

ERIC F. GOLDMAN, contemporary historian and presently a professor of history at Princeton. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow, a Library of Congress Fellow and a State Department lecturer in Europe and India.

CLARK KERR, chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, and a specialist in the fields of labor economics and industrial relations. A member of the War Labor Board, 1943-'45, and of Presidential Fact-Finding Boards, he has had extensive experience as impartial chairman or arbitrator in industrial relations.

HENRY R. LUCE, editor and publisher, the founder of *Time, Life* and *Fortune* magazines, a director of the Union Theological Seminary, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Roosevelt Hospital.

JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S. J., Catholic theologian, editor of the quarterly, *Theological Studies*, formerly visiting professor of philosophy at Yale and trustee of Manhattanville College.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, graduate professor of theology and ethics at Union Theological Seminary, New York, editor of the quarterly, *Christianity and Society*, and the bi-weekly, *Christianity and Crisis*, author of works on Christian ethics and on Christianity and international and domestic politics.

ISIDOR I. RABI, physicist, presently chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission, a member of the United States National Commission for UNESCO and author of many contributions on quantum mechanics, nuclear physics and molecular beams.

ROBERT REDFIELD, anthropologist, professor at the University of Chicago since 1927, past president of the American Anthropological Association. He has served as research associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in charge of ethnological and sociological field work.

With Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, these men will meet regularly for extended sessions of study and discussion, directed toward the clarification of the basic issues of freedom and justice in the modern state. Elmo Roper, chairman, and George N. Shuster, vice-chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fund, will participate in the work of the group in order to maintain a close liaison between the consultants' committee and the Board.

The consultants will initiate and coordinate whatever factual studies or theoretical or practical investigations they may need to help them in their primary task of clarification. They expect to have published, through whatever media may be most appropriate, the results of such supporting studies, as well as reports of their own discussions, preliminary findings and such conclusions as appear to be of value. The work is seen as one of continuing enquiry, discussion and publication.

In announcing the program, Mr. Hutchins said: "It is our hope that the program will develop findings and reports which will form the basis for intelligent discussion of the most important issues of our time."

The program has been conceived as a single undertaking in which every member of the consultant group will be jointly responsible for the conclusions in every field of study. At the outset, however, some division of the task is obviously necessary: four separate study projects are now being organized, and others will be developed later. For each project one or more of the consultants have assumed a special responsibility, while two or more members of the Fund's Board of Directors have agreed to lend counsel and assistance and to provide liaison between the Board and the project. The four initial projects are:

On the Industrial Corporation. This project will seek to appraise the effects of the corporation on the economic, political and social freedoms of the individual; later it will try to determine the meaning for a free society of the corporation's relation to other institutions. The project will seek the cooperation of industry and assistance from universities, trade associations and competent individuals.

Special Consultant: A. A. Berle, Jr.
Liaison Directors: M. Albert Linton
J. Howard Marshall

On the Trade Union. This project will examine the relationship between the union and its membership, between the union and the community, and the implications for individual rights of collective bargaining practices, terms of union contracts, size of the bargaining unit and other factors. The project will develop initially through informal conferences and discussions with trade union officials, industrial relations experts, arbitrators and others qualified to contribute.

Special Consultant: Clark Kerr
Liaison Directors: Oscar Hammerstein II
Paul G. Hoffman
Meyer Kestnbaum

On Individual Freedom and the Common Defense. While the expansion of modern "big government" is one of the most striking of the institutional changes since 1789, government as a whole is too vast a subject for any single study. It was therefore decided to begin with a study of government in its capacity as an institution to provide for the common defense. The project will seek to identify the significant points of impact of government's measures for defense (against both internal and foreign threats) on

the traditional concepts of freedom and liberty; it will explore the effects on individual freedom of the draft and other military manpower policies; of measures for the control of sedition; of measures directed toward the prevention or detection of espionage and similar conspiratorial crimes. The project will probably commission certain special factual studies and will consult with qualified persons in government, law, education and science.

Special Consultant: I. I. Rabi
Liaison Directors: Charles W. Cole
Herbert H. Lehman
Jubal R. Parten

On Religion in a Democratic Society. The First Amendment guarantees the right of the individual to the free exercise of religion and prohibits governmental establishment of any church. But in our increasingly complex society many issues remain unsettled – problems of censorship, parochial schools, adoptions, etc. To explore the basic issues underlying these controversies the project will deal with the relationship between church and state, the role of religion in public life, the right of religious dissent, the meaning of freedom *from* as well as *for* religion. The project will appoint a consultant sub-group composed of Protestants, Catholics, Jews and humanists who will meet regularly with the special consultants and liaison directors. Spokesmen for various points of view on these questions will be called upon for consultation and advice. The project will also sponsor special seminars and commission needed studies and research from qualified individuals and institutions.

Special Consultants:
Father John Courtney Murray, S.J.
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr
Liaison Directors: Msgr. Francis J. Lally
Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson
Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen

For Later Development

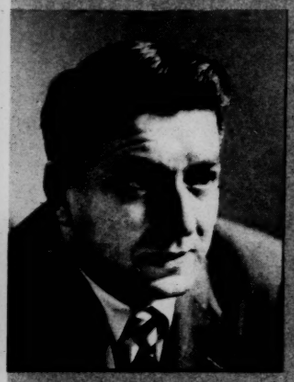
Other similar projects will be undertaken in the future. These may be devoted to other institutions; they may, particularly in the case of government, be devoted to different aspects of the institutions already under examination; they may study certain central problems of freedom which do not lend themselves to the "institutional" approach. The organization of these projects will be flexible enough to permit the employment of whatever methods seem most useful and whatever minds have most to contribute, but it will in general follow the pattern approved by the Board of Directors for the four initial undertakings.

The ten members of the consultants' committee have agreed to serve for at least one year, and in June 1958 the progress of the program will be reviewed and its further direction defined. The present group, as Mr. Hutchins reported to the Board on its formation, "is remarkable for the individual distinction of its members; for the diversity of their interests, backgrounds and points of view; for the harmony and ease of communication in their meetings; for their dedication to the purposes of the Fund and for their enthusiasm for the program on which they are working together." Theirs may well prove a contribution of major significance to freedom and justice in the United States.

A. A. BERLE, JR.

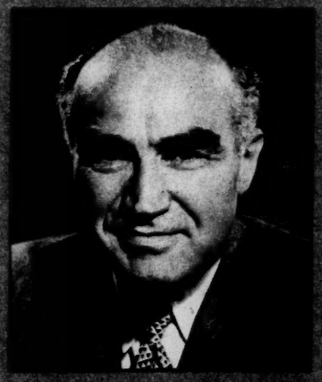
SCOTT BUCHANAN

EUGENE BURDICK



ERIC F. GOLDMAN

CLARK KERR



HENRY R. LUCE

JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

ISIDOR I. RABI

ROBERT REDFIELD

Sherwood Television Awards

At a luncheon on June 19 at the Hotel Plaza in New York the Fund for the Republic announced the winners of the second series of Robert E. Sherwood Awards for those television programs contributing to an understanding of freedom and justice most effectively and distinctively.

The winner of the $20,000 prize for the best drama on a network during the season from October 1, 1956 to May 31, 1957 was "Island in the City," which was produced over the Columbia Broadcasting System on October 4, 1956 as one of the programs in the series entitled CLIMAX. "Island in the City" told of a New York City detective of Puerto Rican origin whose efforts to improve the reputation of all Puerto Ricans cost him his job and his own family's safety. The producer of "Island in the City" was Edgar Peterson, the director was Buzz Kulik and the writer was Adrian Spies; each of these shared in the Award.

The $20,000 Award for the best network documentary was given to "Clinton and the Law," produced over the Columbia Broadcasting System on the SEE IT NOW series on January 6, 1957. "Clinton and the Law" was a documentation of the chain of events that brought strife, violence, shame and hope to the community of Clinton, Tennessee as the result of the court ruling to integrate the local high school. It was produced by Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly.

The $15,000 Award for the best production – either drama or documentary—by an independent station was not given this year because the jurors felt that no program entered as a candidate was of sufficient calibre to warrant the prize. Instead, the jurors voted to award $5,000 each to the following program series which do not fall into either the drama or documentary category: CAMERA THREE, produced on WCBS, New York; NIGHTBEAT, produced on WABD, New York and THE OPEN MIND, produced on WRCA, New York.

The jurors for the Robert E. Sherwood Awards for 1956-57 were: Kermit Bloomgarden, Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, Robert M. Purcell, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, James J. Rorimer, Gilbert Seldes, Harrison Tweed and Philip H. Willkie.

The Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

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President, Union Theological Seminary
New York, N. Y.

Additional copies of this Bulletin are available on request.

~~Ferry, W. H.~~
Fund

May 2, 1957

Dear Ping:

This letter is to introduce to you Monsieur A. Papier of the S.A. Free World Publishing Company.

Monsieur Papier is here in connection with the publication of "The Free World Review - 1958."

I had a long and interesting talk with him and I know you would enjoy meeting him. Anything you can do to help Monsieur Papier will be greatly appreciated.

As ever yours,

Mr. W.H. Ferry
The Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York, New York

fc

May 2, 1957

Dear Blanche:

This letter is to introduce to you Monsieur A. Papier of the S.A. Free World Publishing Company.

Monsieur Papier is here in connection with the publication of "The Free World Review - 1958."

I had a long and interesting talk with him and I know you would enjoy meeting him. Anything you can do to help Monsieur Papier will be greatly appreciated.

As ever yours,

Mrs. Blanche Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

fc

May 2, 1957

Dear Johnny:

This letter is to introduce to you Monsieur A. Papier of the S.A. Free World Publishing Company.

Monsieur Papier is here in connection with the publication of "The Free World Review - 1958."

I had a long and interesting talk with him and I know you would enjoy meeting him. Anything you can do to help Monsieur Papier will be greatly appreciated.

As ever yours,

Mr. George W. Johnstone
National Association of Manufacturers
2 East 48th Street
New York, New York

fc

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LONDON,

April 11th, 1957

Butterne Hotel
541.

Dear Ed,

Many thanks for your letter of April 5th. It is very good of you to agree to receive Monsieur A. Papier of the S.A. Free World Publishing Company, when he comes to New York, and to offer him your advice and help in connection with the "Free World Review."

I am sorry that you have no definite plans for coming to London. Dorothy and I shall very much hope to see you and Janet before too long. If you should happen to come before July 31st, you will still find us here. Thereafter I do not yet know what our address will be since we are leaving the E.S.U. on 1st August. We shall probably be taking a holiday somewhere on the Mediterranean seaboard during August and September, but we have not yet settled exactly where, nor have we as yet any plans for the period after that holiday.

Yours ever,

Frank Darvall

Frank Darvall
Chairman of the Board

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

april 17
4pm

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President of Honor of the Congress of European American Associations

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Publisher — Council Foreign Relations

Jerry —

Rusk

Nathan —

J. P. A. —

N. A. M. Johnstone

Adult. Fr. C.B.S.

Adult. Council.

~~Hutchins, Robert~~
Fund

October 3, 1956

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for your letter of September 24th bringing Beverly Gary to my attention.

Since there are no openings on my staff at present and no likelihood of any occuring in the near future, I fear there will be little purpose in my talking with her. However, I would be glad to keep her in mind until something opens up.

Sincerely,

Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

fc

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 24, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Beverly Gary, whom I met on Dave Garroway's show, tells me that after three years in the management of that enterprise she is ready to move on to something more spiritual. I told her I would ask you whether you had any jobs.

After graduating from Barnard she worked with Murray Kempton on The Post and has spent the last three years doing anything that needed to be done on "Today".

If you have a vacancy you might be interested in talking to her. She can be reached in care of NBC.

Sincerely yours,

Bob

Robert M. Hutchins
President

Fund for The Republic
Eng Past

June 5, 1956

Dear Paul:

This is merely a note to tell you that I will be present at the presentation of the Robert E. Sherwood Awards on Friday, June 22nd.

As ever yours,

Mr. Paul C. Hoffman, Chairman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42 Street
New York 17, New York

rh

★ ★ ★

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

cordially invites you to be its guest

at the presentation of the

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD AWARDS

for the best television programs

of the 1955-56 season

dealing with freedom and justice

★ ★ ★

Friday, June 22 at 12:45 o'clock

Terrace Room, Hotel Plaza

R. S. V. P.

Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42 Street
New York 17

Robert E. Sherwood will be remembered for his contribution to the world of the entertainment arts. He may be remembered longer for his dedication to American liberty, and his service to the freedom of mankind. It was this quality that made him so valued as a director of the Fund for the Republic. To honor the ideals for which he lived, the Fund established the

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD AWARDS

Like its former director, the Fund has sought means to advance understanding and discussion of the catalogue of liberties set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. When the television industry turns its talents to the subjects of freedom and justice, it can make an unmatched contribution to their discussion and understanding. When it produces programs of unusual taste and distinction, it should be honored. This is the intention of the Fund for the Republic in establishing the Robert E. Sherwood Awards.

Awards for 1955-56 to those television programs dealing most effectively with freedom and justice are:

$20,000 for a network drama

$20,000 for a network documentary

$15,000 for a production by an independent station in either the drama or the documentary class.

The jurors for 1955-56 are:

Kermit Bloomgarden
Dr. Buell G. Gallagher
Robert M. Purcell
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Gilbert Seldes
Robert Taft, Jr.
Harrison Tweed
Philip H. Willkie

★ ★ ★

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Hutchins, Robert
Fund

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y. MU 2-1250

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

7/1

NEW YORK, Sept. 13.---Robert M. Hutchins, President of The Fund for the Republic, made public today (Sept. 13) the text of a telegram to Henry H. Dudley, National Adjutant, American Legion, in reply to the "misleading and libelous" statements of Sept. 12 by Seaborn P. Collins, National Commander of the Legion. The text of the telegram follows:

SEPTEMBER 13, 1955

HENRY H. DUDLEY
NATIONAL ADJUTANT
AMERICAN LEGION
PENNSYLVANIA STREET
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

RECENT STATEMENTS OF LEGION NATIONAL COMMANDER COLLINS CONCERNING THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC ARE MISLEADING AND LIBELOUS. LEGIONNAIRES ARE ENTITLED TO KNOW FACTS ABOUT THE FUND AND ITS PROGRAM IN SUPPORT OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, CONSTITUTION, BILL OF RIGHTS. I THEREFORE REQUEST NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF LEGION'S 17,000 LOCAL POST COMMANDERS SO THAT WE MAY SEND THEM ANNUAL REPORT OF FUND. IF CONTRARY TO LEGION POLICY TO RELEASE THIS LIST, FUND WILL SUPPLY SUFFICIENT COPIES

(MORE)

OF REPORT TO ENABLE LEGION HEADQUARTERS TO MAIL TO ALL LOCAL POST COMMANDERS. FUND WILL PAY POSTAGE, HANDLING, AND ALL OTHER COSTS. COPY OF THIS TELEGRAM IS BEING SENT TO MR. COLLINS. REQUEST IMMEDIATE REPLY COLLECT.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
PRESIDENT
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

* * * * *

Fund

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
~~1 EAST 54TH STREET~~
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

October 14, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your letter of October 8 to Mr. Hutchins arrived during his absence in England. I shall be glad to bring it to his attention when he returns to the office the last week of October.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara Munn

Barbara Munn
Secretary to Mr. Hutchins

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

May 31, 1955

Report of

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

May 31, 1955

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*Died May 6, 1955

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California

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Report of the President

The Fund for the Republic was authorized by the Trustees of the Ford Foundation in October, 1951, and a million dollars was appropriated for it at that time. The basis of the action of the Trustees was contained in a statement of their plans published in 1950: "The Foundation will support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension."

The Trustees of the Foundation said: "Basic to human welfare is general acceptance of the dignity of man. This rests on the conviction that man is endowed with certain unalienable rights and must be regarded as an end in himself, not as a cog in the mechanism of society or a mere means to some social end. At its heart, this is a belief in the inherent worth of the individual and the intrinsic value of human life. Implicit in this concept is the conviction that society must accord all men equal rights and equal opportunity. Human welfare requires tolerance and respect for individual social, religious, and cultural differences, and for the varying needs and aspirations to which these differences give rise. It requires freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, and freedom of association. Within wide limits, every person has a right to go his own way and to be free from interference or harassment because of non-conformity."

The Trustees of the Ford Foundation decided that the freedom of Americans was too important to be dealt with as part of the general program of the Foundation. They concluded that a separate, independent corporation should be established with directors chosen because of their interest in civil liberties and their ability to make a contribution to increasing understanding of these basic rights. The Trustees determined that if the Directors of the new corporation presented, in general terms, a program calculated to achieve the results the Foundation had in mind, the Foundation would make a large lump-sum appropriation for its support. It was understood that, within these general terms, the Directors of the new corporation were to feel free to work out their own policies

and to make such grants as they thought proper, without further reference to the Ford Foundation.

Pursuant to these decisions, the Fund for the Republic was incorporated with a Board of Directors of its own in December, 1952. In February, 1953, the Ford Foundation appropriated $14,000,000 additional for the Fund. At that time the Fund assumed a completely independent status. The Fund has not asked the Foundation to approve the policies of the Fund; the Foundation has not sought to exert influence over the Fund. The relation of the Fund to the Foundation is the same as that of any other independent beneficiary of the Foundation.

In May, 1953, Clifford P. Case, a member of Congress from New Jersey, was elected President of the Fund. Mr. Case took office in August, 1953. He resigned to accept nomination to the Senate April 1, 1954. I succeeded him on June 1, 1954.

GENERAL POLICIES

The Fund for the Republic was established to deal with problems that exist today. It expects to spend its principal as fast as this can be judiciously done. It is not engaged in the support of long-term research. It is not interested in scholarship as such. Nor is it concerned with general education. Its efforts are focused on the immediate issues of civil liberties. When it engages in research, or sponsors it, the Fund is seeking to obtain answers to questions that are pressing now.

The object of the Fund is to advance understanding of civil liberties. The Board of Directors believes that the rights of Americans should not be compromised or lost through neglect or confusion. It believes that the citizen should know what his rights are and what is happening to them. This is the reason why the Fund has used all the media of communication — radio, television, newspapers, magazines, records, and books — to arouse an interest in civil liberties and to encourage debate about them.

The Fund for the Republic is a kind of fund for the American

Dream. This dream undoubtedly has economic aspects; many people came to this country in the hope of getting rich. But the essence of the dream is and always has been freedom, the escape from tyranny — political, religious, economic, social — into a free country where a man could work out his own destiny in his own way. The Fund for the Republic is dedicated to reminding Americans of this essential quality of the American Dream and to reporting on the state of freedom today.

There has seldom been a time at which these matters have not deserved attention. But it must be admitted that the Cold War has thrown the whole subject into unusual disorder. A political party in this country has been identified with the "enemy." Those associated with this party have therefore come under suspicion as an imminent danger to the state. In view of the weapons now available and of the examples of subversion that other countries have offered, the danger has seemed great, though often mysterious and intangible. It has appeared that the peril to the country could be dealt with only by methods that drastically departed from those which have characterized Anglo-American jurisprudence.

The range of suspected persons has been enormously extended by resort to guilt by association. The evidence offered to show that a man is a danger to American institutions has often been farcically remote. The treatment accorded suspected persons in Congressional investigations and administrative hearings has not always been that contemplated by the Sixth Amendment. A kind of continuous propaganda and social pressure has been kept up that has tended to suppress conscientious non-conformity. Political advantage has accrued from claiming that others were indifferent to the threat of communism. The result has been that governmental officers, university presidents, and ordinary citizens have felt it necessary to exhibit inordinate anxiety on this score.

The Fund for the Republic takes no position on these matters, beyond affirming its faith in the principles upon which our government is founded, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The Fund does believe, however, that the American people, who must take a position

on these matters, should pay attention to them and be adequately informed about them. The object of the Fund is to help supply the requisite information.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

At its first meeting the Board authorized a grant for the work of the Special Committee of the American Bar Association on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security. This committee decided to study Congressional investigations as its first subject. The recommendations of the Committee, which are printed in the Appendix, were adopted by the American Bar Association by an overwhelming vote in August, 1954. The administration of Congressional investigations has improved since that date. One of the factors in the improvement has undoubtedly been the influence of the Bar Association.

AMERICAN LEGACY

Another early action taken by the Board was the creation of a study committee on the American Legacy under Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library in Chicago. In late 1953 this committee presented a series of recommendations, a number of which have since been adopted. Among these was a recommendation for a study of the groups on the extreme right in this country. The Fund has since commissioned several pilot studies on this topic.

THE COMMUNISTS IN AMERICA

Since most of the pressure on civil liberties has resulted from fear of the Communists in America, the Fund financed a study of the official records bearing on Communist activity by a committee under the chairmanship of Professor Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School. The Committee is listed in the Appendix. Mr. Sutherland's group has prepared

a digest of the principal judicial and administrative hearings in which the Communist party has been involved, together with a full bibliography. These volumes have been distributed to university, research, and public libraries. Microfilm records of the leading court cases on Communist activities have been placed in a few large libraries throughout the country.

In order to discover what the attitudes of the American people toward Communists and radicals were, the Fund made an appropriation for a national opinion survey by a committee under the leadership of Professor Samuel A. Stouffer of Harvard University, which has resulted in a book, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*. Mr. Stouffer shows that the American people, at the date of the study, were remarkably intolerant of minority views. The most encouraging aspect of his findings was that young people, better educated people, and "community leaders" were more tolerant than the cross-section of the population. The members of Mr. Stouffer's committee appear in the Appendix.

Many public actions have been taken and many political reputations have been built on assumptions about what the Communists in the United States have been able to accomplish and what they are doing at the present time. It has seemed useful to make some effort to discover whether or not these assumptions are well-founded. The Fund has made an appropriation to enable Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University to carry out a definitive study of what the Communist party has amounted to and what it amounts to now. Mr. Rossiter and his associates will seek to show what the successes and failures of the Communists have been in various important segments of American life. It is expected that the investigation will take two or three years. The members of Mr. Rossiter's group and the topics on which they are working appear in the Appendix.

ANALYSIS OF TESTIMONY RELATIVE TO COMMUNISM

The accepted view of Communist activity in the United States rests in a large part on evidence given in various contexts by a

small number of witnesses. There has never been a sustained and rigorous analysis of the sum total of this material. Indeed, the material has never been collected in one place.

The School of Law of Stanford University has received a grant to assemble the statements of the most important of these witnesses and to make an objective analysis and critical summary of them. The study will be conducted under the direction of Herbert Packer of the New York and Supreme Court Bars, who will work in Washington until January 1 and join the Stanford law faculty on that date.

THE LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAM

One immediate response to the alarm about the activities of American Communists was the loyalty-security program of the Federal government, under which all government employees have to be cleared. This has aroused much controversy. It is alleged that the rights of individuals have been sacrificed to the demands of national security, that these demands are fantastically excessive, and that national security has not in fact been promoted by the measures adopted in its name. There have been frequent calls from many quarters for a private committee to make a dispassionate appraisal of the program. The Fund for the Republic has undertaken to finance such a committee under the auspices of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. In its appointments the Association has included lawyers resident outside of New York. The members of the committee are:

Chairman: DUDLEY B. BONSAL, Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle, New York, New York

RICHARD BENTLEY, Tenney, Sherman, Bentley & Guthrie, Chicago, Illinois

FREDERICK M. BRADLEY, Hogan & Hartson, Washington, D. C.

HENRY J. FRIENDLY, Cleary, Gottlieb, Friendly & Hamilton, New York, New York

HAROLD M. KENNEDY, Burlingham, Hupper & Kennedy, New York, New York

MONTE M. LEMANN, Monroe & Lemann,
New Orleans, Louisiana

JOHN O'MELVENY, O'Melveny & Myers,
Los Angeles, California

GEORGE ROBERTS, Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts,
New York, New York

WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR, Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett,
New York, New York

Staff Director: ELLIOTT E. CHEATHAM, Professor of Law,
Columbia University, New York, New York

The Fund has felt that one way to present the operation of the loyalty-security program was to compile the facts of individual cases. Adam Yarmolinsky of the District of Columbia Bar was asked to obtain such records as he could from defense counsel in these cases. His efforts have been productive beyond all expectation; his report will present abstracts of upwards of 300 cases, a selection of which will be published. The members of Mr. Yarmolinsky's Advisory Committee are listed in the Appendix.

Lawyers defending employees who have become involved in the loyalty-security program have been handicapped by the lack of compilations of laws and regulations and by the absence of the kind of legal reference service that is available in other branches of law. The Fund obtained from Professor Ralph S. Brown, Jr., and Sandra Weinstein of the Yale Law School a statement of the laws and regulations. It has entered into an agreement with the Bureau of National Affairs, a publishing company in Washington, whereby the company will start a reference service that will note the changes in the laws and regulations and keep track of the decisions of courts and administrative tribunals.

The policy against retaining persons in the government service who are regarded as disloyal or as security risks has been extended to those private corporations which have government contracts. Some industries in which there are no government contracts have taken it upon themselves to institute comparable procedures. The Fund is conducting a study of blacklisting in the industry in which the practice has had the longest vogue, the entertainment industry. The director is

John Cogley, formerly executive editor of *Commonweal.* Mr. Cogley's principal assistant is Michael Harrington. Their report will be published early in 1956.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

It is widely believed that teachers in schools, colleges, and universities have been intimidated by pressure groups and by the atmosphere resulting from the Cold War. The Fund asked Professor Paul F. Lazarsfeld of Columbia University to find out whether this is so. His investigation will first deal with the attitudes of college and university teachers and then with those of high school teachers. The first part of the work will be completed in the autumn of 1955. Louis Harris, a partner of the Elmo Roper organization, is co-director of the study. The committee advising Messrs. Lazarsfeld and Harris is shown in the Appendix.

One of the difficulties of teachers in colleges and universities is the widespread ignorance of the laws and practices affecting their rights. The Academic Freedom project of Columbia University has been given funds to make a pilot study in California, Illinois, and Pennsylvania of the acquisition and termination of tenure in the higher institutions of these states. The co-directors of the project will be Clark Byse, Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania, and Louis Joughin, assistant director of the American Civil Liberties Union. The hope is that the study will not only assist teachers to understand their own position, but will also improve the understanding of tenure on the part of administrators, trustees, regents, and the public.

The Fund has cooperated with various national organizations in reporting and analyzing attacks on freedom of expression. It has supported the American Library Association's Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom and an exploratory study of the limits of free expression by the National Book Committee. It is assisting an effort under the leadership of J. Russell Wiggins, Executive Editor of *The Washington Post*

and Times Herald, whereby representatives of all the media of communication that use the printed word may make a concerted attack on the problem of censorship.

The authority of the Post Office Department to interfere with freedom of expression is very great, and the Department has lately shown a disposition to exercise it. The Fund believes that an objective analysis of the powers and conduct of the Department with reference to freedom of expression is called for. The Fund has undertaken to finance a study of this subject.

REPRESENTATION BY COUNSEL

An obviously important aspect of civil liberties is representation by counsel. This involves more than the defense of the accused; it involves also the adequacy of the litigation in defining his rights and those of others who now or in the future may be similarly situated. If an individual is not properly represented, he may not receive fair treatment. In addition, precedents may be established that perpetuate injustice. Among those who suffer from unusual legal difficulties are those who conscientiously differ with prevalent practices and policies. The conscientious objector to military service does not fare well in this country; nor does the person who conscientiously objects to taking an oath or to telling about the unpopular activities of his acquaintances. In order to assist conscientious non-conformists and to help to establish their rights, the Fund has made a grant to the American Friends Service Committee, which will use it to obtain legal representation in cases of conscience, to litigate dubious points in the law, and to provide economic assistance to defendants in certain instances.

The Fund is framing a general program of cooperation with bar associations in assisting defendants to obtain counsel, particularly in cases in which civil liberties are involved. Meanwhile it has made grants to the Voluntary Defenders Committee, Inc., of Massachusetts and to the Association of

the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc. Under the latter grant a committee is aiding unpopular defendants.

IMMIGRANTS AND ALIENS

The difficulties that beset immigrants and aliens in the United States appear to have been growing more numerous and more serious since the War. The legal assistance that is required is specialized and hard to find. The Fund made a grant to the Common Council for American Unity for the purpose of enabling it to go to the rescue of aliens and immigrants caught in the machinery of the law. In May, 1955, the Fund made a second grant that will permit the Common Council to assemble and describe a large number of the cases with which it has dealt. This report should help the people to understand the operation of the laws affecting aliens and immigrants.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

In view of its stated purposes it is natural that the Fund for the Republic should be concerned about racial discrimination. Its largest grant was made to the Southern Regional Council to strengthen its headquarters in Atlanta and to staff twelve state affiliates with full-time professional personnel. The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago has received funds to help it to mitigate the acute racial tension that has developed in Trumbull Park, Chicago. The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, was given a grant to support its efforts to solve problems arising in the border states out of the decision of the Supreme Court declaring segregated schools unconstitutional. The American Friends Service Committee, with the aid of the Fund, is working on the economic situation of the Indians in the Southwest, of Negroes in Dallas, Texas, and Greensboro, North Carolina, and on difficulties in the schools of Washington that have followed the decision of the Supreme Court.

The Public Education Association of New York City, at the request of the Board of Education, is studying racial segregation and educational discrimination in the schools of the city. The Fund is helping to finance this investigation. It is the only one of the sort now being conducted in a northern community. It will seek to answer such questions as: Is there a deliberate attempt to segregate children in city schools? Are Negro and Puerto Rican children given the same educational opportunities that other children in New York City receive? What can be done to promote integration? The Board of Education has appointed a commission to examine the results of this inquiry and to make recommendations for action.

No comprehensive survey of housing for minority groups has ever been made. There is a general impression that minorities, particularly Negroes, encounter serious obstacles in finding places to live or in building new homes. It is thought that they pay more and get less than other sections of the population. The Fund has established a Commission on Race and Housing to look into these questions. Its members are:

Chairman: EARL B. SCHWULST, Chairman of the Board, President, and Trustee of the Bowery Savings Bank, New York, New York

GORDON W. ALLPORT, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

ELLIOTT V. BELL, Chairman, Executive Committee, and Director, McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc.; Editor and Publisher, *Business Week*, New York, New York

LAIRD BELL, Attorney, Bell, Boyd, Marshall & Lloyd, Chicago, Illinois

Reverend JOHN J. CAVANAUGH, C.S.C., Director of the University of Notre Dame Foundation, South Bend, Indiana

PETER GRIMM, Chairman of the Board and Director, William A. White and Sons, New York, New York

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, President, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

CHARLES KELLER, JR., President, Keller Construction Corporation, New Orleans, Louisiana

CLARK KERR, Chancellor, University of California at Berkeley, California

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK, Chairman of the Board, American Community Builders, Inc., Park Forest, Illinois

HENRY R. LUCE, Editor-in-Chief, *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, *Sports Illustrated*, *Architectural Forum*, and *House and Home*, New York, New York

STANLEY MARCUS, President, Neiman-Marcus, Dallas, Texas

H. C. MCCLELLAN, President, Old Colony Paint & Chemical Company, Los Angeles, California

WARD MELVILLE, President, Melville Shoe Corporation, New York, New York

FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON, Attorney, Debevoise, Plimpton & McLean, New York, New York

R. STEWART RAUCH, JR., President, The Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

ROBERT R. TAYLOR, Secretary and Executive Director, Illinois Federal Savings and Loan Association, Chicago, Illinois

POPULAR EDUCATION

The Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund has enlisted the interest of the members of the League of Women Voters and many other organizations in a project known as "Freedom Agenda." The object of this program is to involve all the groups in a community in a continuing discussion of the basic rights of Americans. Five hundred communities are now taking part. The Fund has made a grant for the support of this activity.

The Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches is pursuing a similar object. It is seeking to stimulate debate about civil liberties among the members of its affiliated churches. The Fund has made a grant to the Council for this project. Grants for the same kind of educational work have gone to the Universalist Service Committee, for a program being conducted jointly with the Council of Liberal Churches; to the YMCA, and to the YWCA.

The Illinois Department of the American Legion, in cooperation with the American Heritage Council of Chicago, has adopted a plan of popular education centering around the discussion of the basic documents in the history of the

United States. Irving Breakstone, commander of the Illinois Department, calls this educational effort a "positive approach" to communism. He has expressed the hope that the program will spread throughout the Departments of the Legion. The Fund for the Republic has made a grant to the American Heritage Council to enable it to assist in this enterprise for two years.

The Fund has made arrangements with the Audiobook Company for the manufacture of four records that will present selections from the classics on freedom. The company has developed a process of putting books on 16 r.p.m. records that makes it possible to sell a recorded book at a retail price comparable to the cost of a printed volume.

In the effort to arouse interest in civil liberties, to explain their importance, and to describe their condition at the present time the Fund is working with labor unions; it has helped to finance the radio programs of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools and of the American Friends Service Committee; it has made an expanded version of the television film of Edward R. Murrow's interview with J. Robert Oppenheimer available to educational institutions and groups concerned with public affairs; it has assisted Columbia University in the film and publication program of its Bicentennial, the theme of which was "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." The Fund has also assisted in the distribution of many publications. A list of these appears in the Appendix.

In order to turn the attention of scholars to problems of special concern to the Fund and to aid those already working in the field, the Fund has established a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid. Thirteen such awards had been made by May 31. The names of recipients and the subjects on which they are working appear in the Appendix.

To dramatize the progress made in upholding civil liberties, the Fund gives prizes to persons, organizations, and communities that have distinguished themselves by the stand they have taken. It made two up to May 31, one to the University YWCA of Westwood Village, California, for the maintenance of an open platform in the vicinity of the University of Cali-

fornia at Los Angeles; and the other to the town of Waverly, Iowa, for the efforts of the community on behalf of a Negro Air Force captain and his family.

Two competitions in the field of television have been inaugurated. The first, which was announced in February, called for new scripts on subjects of interest to the Fund. The Fund will try to have the best of them produced in 1955-56. The other competition will honor those television programs during the coming season that deal with civil liberties in the most effective manner.

The Fund has employed television in a small experiment on the Pacific Coast, where short motion pictures of events in the current history of freedom are supplied to television newscasters, who appear to welcome them. This venture has been so successful that the Fund is planning to extend it to other parts of the country.

In the fall, Herblock, the cartoonist of *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, will be presented in a fifteen-minute weekly television series with the aid of the Fund.

THE FUTURE

A majority of the projects mentioned above were started within the last twelve months. Many of them are just getting underway. Some have not even reached that stage: they were approved by the Board of Directors at its meeting this month. Only two or three completed tasks can now be pointed to as indications of the kind of work the Fund will do and the degree of success it may be expected to have. By the time of the next report appraisal should be easier.

I can say after one year in office that the determination of the Trustees of the Ford Foundation to establish the Fund seems justified by the work it is doing. No other organization appears to have the flexibility or the resources to make the impression in the field that the Fund should be able to make.

Although in some particulars the atmosphere is better than it was five years ago, the misunderstanding of civil liberties, the indifference to them, and the violations of them, to which

we too easily grow accustomed, are still such as to give cause for alarm. These hard-won rights are the distinguishing characteristic of the Western tradition; they are the deepest values in American life. America would be unrecognizable without freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, freedom of association, and the freedom to differ; without due process of law and the equal protection of the laws; without the conviction that all men are created equal and are entitled to equality of opportunity. Without these there would be no hope for the American Dream. The Fund for the Republic stands for these fundamental freedoms. It is a symbol of the vitality of these freedoms and of their significance today.

May 31, 1955 ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

Grants

Grantee	Date authorized	Amount authorized
American Bar Foundation		
For studies by the Special Committee on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security.	December, 1952	$ 50,000
American Friends Service Committee		
For job-opportunity programs in Dallas, Texas, and Greensboro, N. C.; integration in Washington, D. C.; and work with American Indians.	June, 1953 June, 1954	55,000 86,500
For a two-year program of support in legal cases to strengthen the right to freedom of conscience.	May, 1955	150,000
For assistance to radio tape programs on civil liberties topics.	May, 1955	5,000
American Heritage Council		
For a two-year program dealing with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, in cooperation with the Illinois Department of the American Legion.	February, 1955	50,000
American Library Association		
For assistance in the production and distribution of the Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom.	November, 1954	6,000
Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc.		
For a study and report by the Special Committee on the Federal Loyalty-Security program.	November, 1954	100,000
For aid to defendants in civil liberties cases.	February, 1955	5,000

Grantee	Date authorized	Amount authorized
Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc.		
For the "Freedom Agenda" program: preparation of educational materials and conduct of a national discussion program.	April, 1954 November, 1954	$45,000 66,610
Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago		
To expand a program for reducing interracial tensions.	June, 1954 May, 1955	10,000 8,000
Civic Area Committee, Waverly (Iowa) Chamber of Commerce		
Special award for constructive action in racial relations.	March, 1955	10,000
Columbia University		
For a two-day conference on "Community Security vs. Man's Right to Knowledge."	August, 1953	4,500
To prepare and distribute material pertaining to the Bicentennial celebration, including a documentary film, "Freedom to Read," radio programs, and a pamphlet series.	September, 1953	40,000
For a pilot study by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of current situations involving pressures on local educational institutions.	April, 1954	3,000
For preparation by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of a program for a study of extremist groups.	June, 1954	15,300
For a pilot study of tenure law and practice of American colleges and universities, by the American Academic Freedom Project.	April, 1955	10,000

Grants (CONTINUED)

Grantee	*Date authorized*	*Amount authorized*
Common Council for American Unity		
For expanding the work of protecting the legal rights of aliens.	June, 1954	$15,000
For research on 2,000 legal cases affecting aliens.	May, 1955	32,500
Cornell University		
For a study by H. Mark Roelofs.	November, 1953	6,500
For a conspectus on civil liberties by Robert E. Cushman.	September, 1954	7,000
Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches		
To promote discussion of civil liberties issues.	May, 1955	20,000
National Book Committee		
For a preliminary exploration of the theory of the right to publish and to read.	February, 1955	9,000
National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools		
For a radio series on problems confronting public schools.	April, 1954	35,000
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.		
For the work of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations in border states.	November, 1954	10,000
New York Public Library		
Toward the support of the Central Reference Room.	January, 1954 February, 1955	1,000 1,000
Public Education Association		
To assist in a survey of alleged segregation in New York City schools.	May, 1955	10,000

Grantee	*Date authorized*	*Amount authorized*
Southern Regional Council		
For preparation and distribution of a summary of the book *The Negro and the Schools.*	January, 1954	$ 5,000
For expanding community education in intergroup relations in twelve states.	April, 1954	240,000
Stanford University School of Law		
To finance a summer study on a civil liberties topic by members of the *Stanford Law Review.*	May, 1955	5,000
For an analysis of testimony of witnesses in proceedings relative to communism.	May, 1955	25,000
Universalist Church of America		
For an educational program by the Universalist Service Committee in cooperation with the Freedom Agenda program.	January, 1955	4,000
University Young Women's Christian Association of Westwood, California		
Special award for maintaining an open platform policy.	March, 1955	5,000
Voluntary Defenders Committee, Inc., of Massachusetts		
To provide counsel to indigent defendants in criminal courts.	September, 1953	40,000
Young Men's Christian Association		
To the National Board for a background paper on civil liberties; and for cooperation with the "Freedom Agenda" program.	April, 1954 December, 1954	1,000 5,000
Young Women's Christian Association		
For cooperation with the "Freedom Agenda" program.	February, 1955	8,000

In addition to direct grants to organizations listed above, the Fund has undertaken a number of projects that are being conducted by staff members or by persons under contract to the Fund.

Projects

Project	*Total appropriated*	*Unexpended balance at May 31, 1955*
Legacy of American Liberty		
For a study group to consider means of appraising the American Legacy. (*authorized May, 1953*)	$ 10,773	none
Communist Influence in the U. S.		
For a study of the Communist Record, including a bibliography, digest, and microfilms. (*authorized June, 1953*)	64,500	($ 2,335)
For a survey of American attitudes toward communism and civil liberties. (*authorized June, 1953*)	185,500	22,608
For an account of Communist influence in major segments of U. S. society. (*authorized November, 1953*)	300,000	259,314
Studies of Loyalty-Security Programs		
For case studies, research, publication, and other work about loyalty-security questions. (*authorized June, 1954*)	100,000	64,914
Study of Extremist Groups		
For research and planning of a study of extremist groups. (*authorized June, 1954*)	106,700	97,354
Present State of Civil Liberties		
For completion of Robert E. Cushman's book, *National Security and the American Tradition*. (*authorized September, 1954*)	3,000	none
Blacklisting in Private Industry		
For a study of blacklisting in the motion picture, radio, and television industries. (*authorized September, 1954*)	100,000	32,215

Project	*Appropriated*	*Unexpended balance at May 31, 1955*
Fear in Education		
For a study of attitudes of college and high school teachers. (*authorized September, 1954*)	$150,000	$ 94,054
Editorial Award Competition		
For awards to publications for distinguished contributions on topics of interest to the Fund. (*authorized September, 1954*)	100,000	96,296
Television		
For production of pilot films; for participation in television programs of interest to the Fund. (*authorized September, 1954*)	200,000	81,169
For a television series featuring Herblock. (*authorized May, 1955*)	200,000	200,000
Awards for outstanding original drama and documentary scripts on civil liberties themes. (*authorized December, 1954*)	75,000	68,030
Awards for outstanding dramatic and documentary television shows already on the air. (*authorized May, 1955*)	65,000	65,000
Distribution of Publications		
(*authorized November, 1954*)	58,150	26,856
Commission on Race and Housing		
(*authorized November, 1954*)	100,000	99,422
Fellowships and Grants-in-Aid		
For work in areas of the Fund's interest. (*authorized November, 1954*)	115,000	59,456

Projects (CONTINUED)

Project	*Total Appropriated*	*Unexpended balance at May 31, 1955*
Special Awards		
For awards for distinguished service to civil liberties. (*authorized May, 1955*)	$100,000	$100,000
Programs with Trade Unions		
For work in civil liberties with unions. (*authorized April, 1955*)	20,000	13,029
Civil Liberties and the Legal Profession		
For preparation and distribution of a service for lawyers on Federal loyalty-security regulations. (*authorized November, 1954*)	21,000	6,000
To support legal referral services on security cases. (*authorized May, 1955*)	65,000	65,000
For grants to bar groups for the defense of civil liberties cases. (*authorized May, 1955*)	17,500	17,500
Commission on Censorship and Related Matters		
For discussion of a commission concerned with all aspects of censorship of the printed word. (*authorized May, 1955*)	5,000	5,000
Commission on Post Office Practices		
For a study of Post Office interference with the flow of information and opinion. (*authorized May, 1955*)	35,000	35,000
Commission on Performance of Mass Media		
For exploration of a continuing agency to appraise the performance of the media of mass communication. (*authorized May, 1955*)	25,000	25,000

Financial Statements

AUDITORS' REPORT

To the Board of Directors of
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.:

We have examined the statement of assets, liabilities, and fund balance of THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC., *as of September 30, 1954, and the related statement of receipts, grants, and expenses for the period from December 9, 1952, the date of inception of the corporation, to September 30, 1954. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.*

In our opinion, the accompanying statements present fairly the financial position of The Fund for the Republic, Inc., at September 30, 1954, and its receipts, grants, and expenses for the period from December 9, 1952, to September 30, 1954.

Lybrand Ross Bros & Montgomery

New York, November 15, 1954

The Fund for the Republic, INC.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES, AND FUND BALANCE

As of September 30, 1954
(examined by independent certified public accountants)
and May 31, 1955
(not examined by independent certified public accountants)

	September 30, 1954	*May 31, 1955*
Assets:		
Cash in bank and on hand	$ 113,389	$ 73,686
Investments in United States Government and other bonds, at cost (at market quotations, $13,725,770 and $12,525,249 respectively)	13,804,130	12,695,240
Accrued interest on investments	77,326	88,210
Deposits, advances and prepayments	10,083	20,612
	$14,004,928	$12,877,748
Liabilities and Fund Balance:		
Accounts payable	$ 23,915	$ 8,416
Fund balance (note)	13,981,013	12,869,332
	$14,004,928	$12,877,748

NOTE: At September 30, 1954, and May 31, 1955, contingent appropriations for grants totaling $278,000 and $317,500, respectively, have been made by the Board of Directors, which are payable upon the fulfillment of certain conditions; at September 30, 1954, and May 31, 1955, such grants had not been paid. The Board of Directors has authorized at September 30, 1954, and May 31, 1955, expenditures for projects administered by the Fund of $1,038,000 and $1,613,382, respectively, of which amounts $174,700 and $766,542 were expended up to September 30, 1954, and May 31, 1955, respectively. (See detailed lists of grants and projects annexed.)

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS, GRANTS, AND EXPENSES

For the period from December 9, 1952 (*Date of Incorporation*),
to September 30, 1954 (*examined by independent certified public accountants*)
and October 1, 1954, to May 31, 1955
(*not examined by independent certified public accountants*)

	December 9, 1952, to September 30, 1954	*October 1, 1954 to May 31, 1955*	*Total*
Receipts:			
Grant from the Ford Foundation	$15,000,000		$15,000,000
Interest earned on investments	229,773	$ 203,115	432,888
Profit or (loss) on disposition of securities	3,998	(52,816)	(48,818)
	$15,233,771	$ 150,299	$15,384,070
Grants and expenses:			
Grants	$ 654,800	$ 419,553	$ 1,074,353
Projects	152,389	541,853	694,242
Program development	35,488	60,091	95,579
Administrative expenses:			
Compensation and employee benefits	267,265	172,150	439,415
Travel	26,390	11,726	38,116
Legal and accounting fees	50,294	14,005	64,299
Conferences and meetings	3,240	1,745	4,985
Rent	25,348	13,585	38,933
Office expense	21,563	16,708	38,271
Purchase of equipment	14,526	5,403	19,929
Other	1,455	5,161	6,616
	$ 1,252,758	$ 1,261,980	$ 2,514,738
Excess (deficiency) of receipts over grants and expenses	$13,981,013	($ 1,111,681)	$12,869,332

APPENDIX

CONSULTANTS TO THE FUND

HOWARD L. CHERNOFF, *San Diego, California*

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN, *Cornell University, Ithaca, New York*

ELMER DAVIS, *Washington, D. C.*

FRANK S. LOESCHER, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

WALTER MILLIS, *New York, New York*

GEORGE W. OVERTON, *Chicago, Illinois*

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL, *Washington, D. C.*

STUDY PROJECT COMMITTEES

Study of Communist Influence in American Life

Director: CLINTON ROSSITER, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Assistant to the Director: WILLIAM M. GOLDSMITH, New York, New York

History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-1945):
Theodore Draper, New York, New York

Communism and Anti-Communism (1945-1956):
David Shannon, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York

Communism in the Labor Movement:
Daniel Bell, *Fortune*, New York, New York

Communism and Religion:
Ralph L. Roy, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York

Communism in Government:
Earl Latham, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts

Communism and Education:
Robert Iversen, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa

Communism and the Arts:
Donald D. Egbert, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey

Communism and Literature:
Daniel Aaron, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts

Communism and the Mass Media:
Moshe Decter, New York, New York

Communism and the Social Structure:
Nathan Glazer, New York, New York

Communism and Science:
Donald Fleming, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island

Communism and Opinion-Making Groups:
John Roche, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania

Study of the Communist Record

Chairman: ARTHUR E. SUTHERLAND, Professor of Law, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Charles Fairman, Nagel Professor of Constitutional Law and Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri

Reverend Joseph M. Snee, S. J., Professor of Law, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

Clinton Rossiter, Professor of Government, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Staff Director: CHARLES E. CORKER, Stanford University, Stanford, California

Study of Attitudes Toward Communism and Civil Liberties

Chairman: SAMUEL A. STOUFFER, Director, Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Porter R. Chandler, Attorney, Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland & Kiendl, New York, New York

Roscoe Drummond, Chief, Washington Bureau, *New York Herald Tribune*, Washington, D. C.

Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University, New York, New York

Alexander F. Leighton, Professor of Anthropology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Frank Stanton, President, Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, New York

Logan Wilson, President, University of Texas, Austin, Texas

Study of Fear in Education

Director: PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University, New York, New York

Co-Director: LOUIS HARRIS, Partner, Elmo Roper & Associates, New York, New York

ADVISORY COMMITTEE:

Samuel A. Stouffer, Director, Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Frank Stanton, President, Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, New York

Marie Jahoda, Professor of Psychology, New York University, New York, New York

Helen M. Lynd, Professor of Social Philosophy, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York

Case Studies in Personnel Security

Director: ADAM YARMOLINSKY, Cleary, Gottlieb, Friendly & Ball, Washington, D. C.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE:

Roger D. Fisher, Covington & Burling, Washington, D. C.

Leon Lipson, Cleary, Gottlieb, Friendly & Ball, Washington, D. C.

Herbert L. Packer, Cox, Langford, Stoddard & Cutler, Washington, D. C.

Paul C. Warnke, Covington & Burling, Washington, D. C.

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS-IN-AID

ELEANOR BONTECOU, Washington, D.C., to complete a book about the Federal loyalty-security program.

DAVID FELLMAN, University of Wisconsin, for a non-technical book on American civil liberties, including summaries of recent state and Federal decisions in this field.

LEWIS P. FICKETT, JR., Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University, to assist in preparation of a study of the government security program.

WALTER GELLHORN, School of Law, Columbia University, for research assistance in preparing the 1956 Edward Douglass White lectures.

J. A. C. GRANT, University of California, to complete a study on "dual sovereignty" and the rights of persons accused of crime.

MORTON GRODZINS, University of Chicago, to assist his study of the extreme right in America.

HAROLD HYMAN, Earlham College, for a book on oaths and other efforts in American history to assure or measure loyalty.

MILTON R. KONVITZ, Cornell University, to complete a book, *First Amendment Freedoms.*

EDWIN SANDERS, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee in Pasadena, to make a study of interference with religious freedom in California.

EDWARD SHILS, University of Chicago, to complete a book on the loyalty-security problem.

JAMES M. SMITH, Ohio State University, to complete a book, *Freedom's Defense: The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.*

MALCOLM SMITH, University of California, and CORNELIUS COTTER, Stanford University, for a study of emergency powers vested in the President and their potential effect on civil liberties.

ROWLAND WATTS, National Secretary of the Workers' Defense League, for a study of "undesirable" discharges of drafted servicemen based on allegations regarding pre-induction activities or associations.

DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS, ARTICLES, AND OTHER MATERIAL

The following materials, distributed by the Fund, are listed by title, author, source, number distributed, and main audience to which they were circulated.

Banned Books by Anne Lyon Haight. Book. 275 distributed to May 31. Librarians and library trustees.

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Special issue on loyalty-security. 25,000 copies. Lists selected by publisher.

Cornell Series in Civil Liberties. Books. Cornell University Press. Fund personnel; lists selected by publisher.

Faceless Informers and Our Schools by Lawrence Martin. Pamphlet. *Denver Post.* 25,000 copies. State School Board Associations.

Freedom Award Speeches. Pamphlet. Freedom House. 600 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

Government by Investigation by Alan Barth. Book. 850 copies. Lists selected by publisher.

Grand Inquest by Telford Taylor. Book. 450 copies. Federal Bench.

Open Occupancy Housing. Article. *House and Home.* 15,000 copies. National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; others in race relations field.

See It Now. Murrow-Oppenheimer television interview. One hundred ten 16 mm. prints. Educational institutions; civic organizations; local discussion groups.

See It Now. Television program on book censorship in California. Five 16 mm. prints. Southern California civic groups.

Strong in Their Pride and Free by Harry P. Cain. Speech. 3,000 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

The Fifth Amendment Today by Erwin N. Griswold. Book. 35,000 copies. Bench and bar.

The Kept Witnesses by Richard H. Rovere. Article. *Harper's*. 25,000 copies. Labor officials; business executives.

The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt by Richard Hofstadter. Article. *American Scholar*. 25,000 copies. Business executives; educators; churchmen.

To Insure the End of Our Hysteria by Paul G. Hoffman. Article. *The New York Times Magazine*. 10,000 copies. Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; American Dental Association.

To Make Our Security System Secure by Vannevar Bush. Article. *The New York Times Magazine*. 10,000 copies. Educators.

Who "Collaborated" with Russia? by Paul Willen. Article. *Antioch Review*. 600 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

Recommendations of the American Bar Association On the Subject of CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURE

Approved by The House of Delegates, August 17, 1954

RESOLVED that the American Bar Association recommends to the Congress the adoption of a Code of Investigative Procedure which embodies the following principles:

I. COMMITTEE AS OPPOSED TO INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

A. *Scope of the investigation*

The jurisdiction of each investigative committee should be clearly defined. The resolution is the charter of the committee and it should state the subject matter and scope of the investigation in such a straightforward fashion that the parent organization, a witness, and counsel for a witness can determine when the committee is exceeding its jurisdiction. In the case of a select or standing committee the resolution should be adopted by the appropriate house, and in the case of a subcommittee by the parent committee.

B. *Majority control*

The following matters should be decided by majority vote:

1. The subject matter of any preliminary inquiry.
2. The authorization for any specific investigation that is to be conducted within the framework of the resolution.
3. The appointment and dismissal of members of the staff.
4. The issuance of subpoenas (unless delegated by the majority to the chairman and a member of the minority).
5. The scheduling of hearings (unless delegated to the chairman and a member of the minority).

6. The type of hearing to be conducted, *i.e.*, private, public, or a combination of the two.
7. The direction to a witness to answer a question to which objection has been made. (This should be decided by a majority of the committee present or unanimously if only two members are sitting.)
8. The release of the contents of any report or any summary thereof.
9. The propriety of the scope of any subpoena *duces tecum* if challenged.

C. *Quorum*

The number of members required to conduct the actual hearing should be determined in advance by majority vote. The number so required should be announced to the public. No hearing should be conducted with less than two members present.

II. RIGHTS OF WITNESSES

The witness should have the following rights:

A. *Notice*

1. He should have ample time to secure counsel, if he so desires, and to make arrangements to appear.
2. He should be advised of the purpose of the investigation and furnished with a copy of the resolution which authorized it.

B. *Right to counsel*

1. Counsel should be allowed to accompany him to all hearings, both public and private. (If in the opinion of a majority of the committee the national interest requires an oath of secrecy as to proceedings at a private hearing, such oath may be administered.)
2. Counsel should be allowed to interpose proper objections to questions or to any failure to follow procedural requirements and to submit legal memoranda in support of his objections.
3. Counsel should be allowed to advise the witness as to his rights before the committee.
4. Counsel should be allowed to ask clarifying questions of the witness and to cross-examine adverse witnesses, subject to control of the length of the interrogation by a majority of the members present to prevent abuse. It is recognized that some counsel may attempt to abuse the right to cross-examine and try to impede the progress of the investigation. If this occurs, the committee may withdraw the right of oral cross-examination in a particular case and require that questions asked of adverse witnesses be handled by written interrogatories given to the chairman or counsel of the committee and propounded by him to the witness.

C. *Statements for the record*

Every witness should be free to make a brief written or oral statement at the conclusion of his testimony. It must be relevant to the subject matter of the examination. It should become a part of the record. Every witness should be given the opportunity to explain his answers, *i.e.*, at his request he may qualify his yes or no answers.

D. *Transcript of the hearing*

An accurate transcript of all hearings should be taken and the witness should be entitled, at reasonable expense, to a copy of his testimony at a public hearing. He should have an opportunity to make proper corrections in the transcript.

E. *Broadcasts*

If Congress does not adopt the earlier recommendation of the Association barring such broadcasts entirely the witness should at least have the right to testify without television or radio broadcasting, providing he notifies the committee of his desires a reasonable time prior to the hearing. He should be permitted to make this decision in advance, not under public scrutiny, and no prejudice should be allowed to attach to his decision.

F. *Oaths*

All witnesses should be sworn.

G. *Executive sessions*

The witness should have certain additional rights in regard to private hearings.

1. At executive sessions, no one should be present except committee members, committee staff, the witness, and his counsel.
2. There should be a positive ban against the disclosure of proceedings at executive sessions, except (a) where the proceedings may be made a part of the record at a public hearing, or (b) where the testimony discloses that there may have been a violation of law. In the latter situation the committee may submit a transcript of the proceedings to the prosecuting authorities, but the transcript should then be available to the witness on request.
3. The witness and his counsel should be permitted to examine the transcript of his testimony taken in executive session. Any changes in form or substance which the witness desires to make should be entered upon the transcript together with a statement as to the reason the witness wishes to make them.
4. If the committee intends to use, at a public hearing, all or part of a transcript taken at an executive session, the committee should give reasonable notice of its intended use to the witness, with a statement of the time and

place of such use and a copy of the transcript of the testimony. The witness should have an opportunity at the public hearing to explain or comment upon the testimony so used and to introduce the balance of any portion of the transcript offered by the committee which shall be necessary to supply a fair context.

III. RIGHTS OF THIRD PARTIES

Any person whose name is mentioned or who is specifically identified, and who believes that testimony or other evidence given in a public hearing, or comment made by any member of the committee or its counsel, tends to defame him or otherwise adversely affect his reputation, should be afforded the following privileges at the earliest practicable date:

A. To request that he be supoenaed before the committee and testify in his own behalf. Once he appears he should have the same rights as those witnesses under II above.

B. If this request be denied, that he be permitted to file with the committee a sworn statement concerning such testimony, evidence, or comment which would be made part of the record of the hearing at which he was adversely mentioned.

IV. USE OF COMMITTEE FILES

Committee files, relating to individuals, should be treated as confidential and should be used only for the proper purposes of the committee.

V. SUPERVISION OF THE CODE OF INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURE

In the House, the Speaker and the majority and minority leaders, and in the Senate, the Vice-President and the majority and minority leaders, should constitute an *ad hoc* committee on Congressional investigations.

The *ad hoc* committee's duties shall include the following:

1. The committee would consider (a) whether or not there was need of a particular investigation, (b) how the investigation could best be conducted, whether by a standing, special, or joint committee, and (c) whether any special procedures or safeguards should be adopted. The group would, of course, only make recommendations on these subjects. Each house would retain ultimate responsibility for action.

2. The committee would supervise the application of the Code of Investigative Procedure but only in an appellate sense.

Printed in U. S. A.

Fund for Republic

October 8, 1954

Dear Walter:

I am not sure when General Bradley will be here, but I understand from Ferry that Hutchins and General Bradley have had a talk in Los Angeles, but I do not know the outcome.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter Millis
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
1 East 54 Street
New York 22, New York

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

September 28, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting Company,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York City, New York.

Dear Ed:

The suggestion you gave me at lunch-time today in respect to General Bradley met with immediate interest when I got back to this office. If you could arrange to bring the officers of the Fund in contact with General Bradley we would all be most grateful.

Bob Hutchins is going to be in New York on October 6, 7, and 8, but is then leaving for Europe. If you think it is possible to arrange a meeting with the General on these days it would be most desirable. Anytime or place would, of course, be convenient and we would gladly be hosts if it were a luncheon or dinner meeting.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Walter Millis

Walter Millis

~~Hutchins, Robert~~
Fund

October 8, 1954

Dear Bob:

I am naturally disposed to do anything you ask me to do, but in this case I honestly feel that I have neither the achievements nor the antiquity to make a suitable subject for your project.

Let us have lunch one day at your convenience and talk about this and other things.

As ever yours,

Mr. Robert Hutchins
President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
1 East 54 Street
New York 22, New York

rh

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PLAZA 1-3170

PLEASE REPLY TO:
1444 WENTWORTH AVENUE
PASADENA 5, CALIFORNIA
SYCAMORE 3-6121

September 27, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

The Fund for the Republic and John H. Skirball, the well-known independent motion picture producer, are interested in the presentation of a new television series on film, tentatively entitled, "The Great Contemporaries." The object of this series is to show the possibilities of our country through the life stories of our most distinguished fellow-citizens. The Fund and Mr. Skirball hope that you will honor them by becoming the subject of one of the first films.

The films will be about half an hour long. I will introduce each one, explaining the purpose of the series and saying a few words about the person whose life is to be presented. At the close we hope to have a minute or two devoted to an interview between the hero of the picture and me.

The entire script would be subject to your approval.

All that you would have to do would be to allow one of our interviewers to go over the story with you in advance and to permit yourself to be photographed for a minute or so at a time and place of your own choosing. The dramatic portions of the script would be portrayed by actors.

The Fund for the Republic was established as an independent corporation by the Ford Foundation for the purpose of supporting civil liberties as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It received a grant of fifteen million dollars for this purpose. The members of its Board of Directors are: Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman, Charles W. Cole, Russell L. Dearmont, Richard J. Finnegan, Erwin N. Griswold, William H. Joyce, Jr., Meyer Kestnbaum, M. Albert Linton, John Lord O'Brian, Jubal R. Parten, Elmo Roper, George N. Shuster, Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, and James D. Zellerbach.

Mr. Skirball is the producer of such pictures as "Shadow of a Doubt," "The Birth of a Baby", "Payment on Demand" and "Saboteur."

We believe that this series can do much to build up understanding of and confidence in our institutions and our way of life. We think that it can be an inspiration to Americans and foreigners alike. We believe that it will be shown everywhere in the world and that after its initial appearance on commercial television, where we hope it may be sponsored, it will appear in motion picture

Mr. Edward R. Murrow September 27, 1954

theatres, on educational stations, and in schools, colleges, and universities. We hope to make the series so good that it will be a permanent addition to American art, history, and literature. We can think of no better way of guaranteeing the success of the series than to have you in one of the first.

I hope very much that you will consent. I should of course be glad to come to see you anywhere at any time to answer any questions that you may have.

With kindest regards and best wishes, believe me

Sincerely yours,

Bob

Robert M. Hutchins
President